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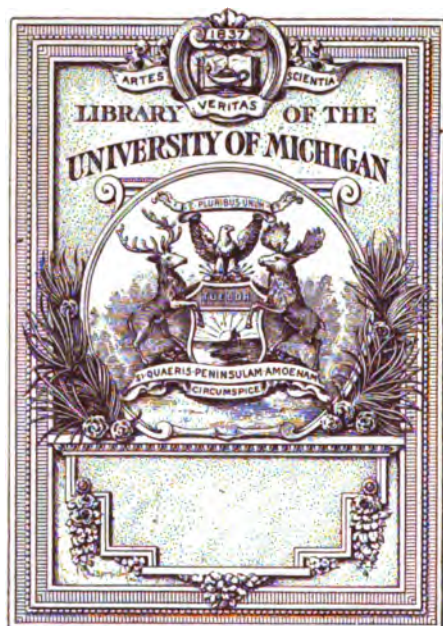
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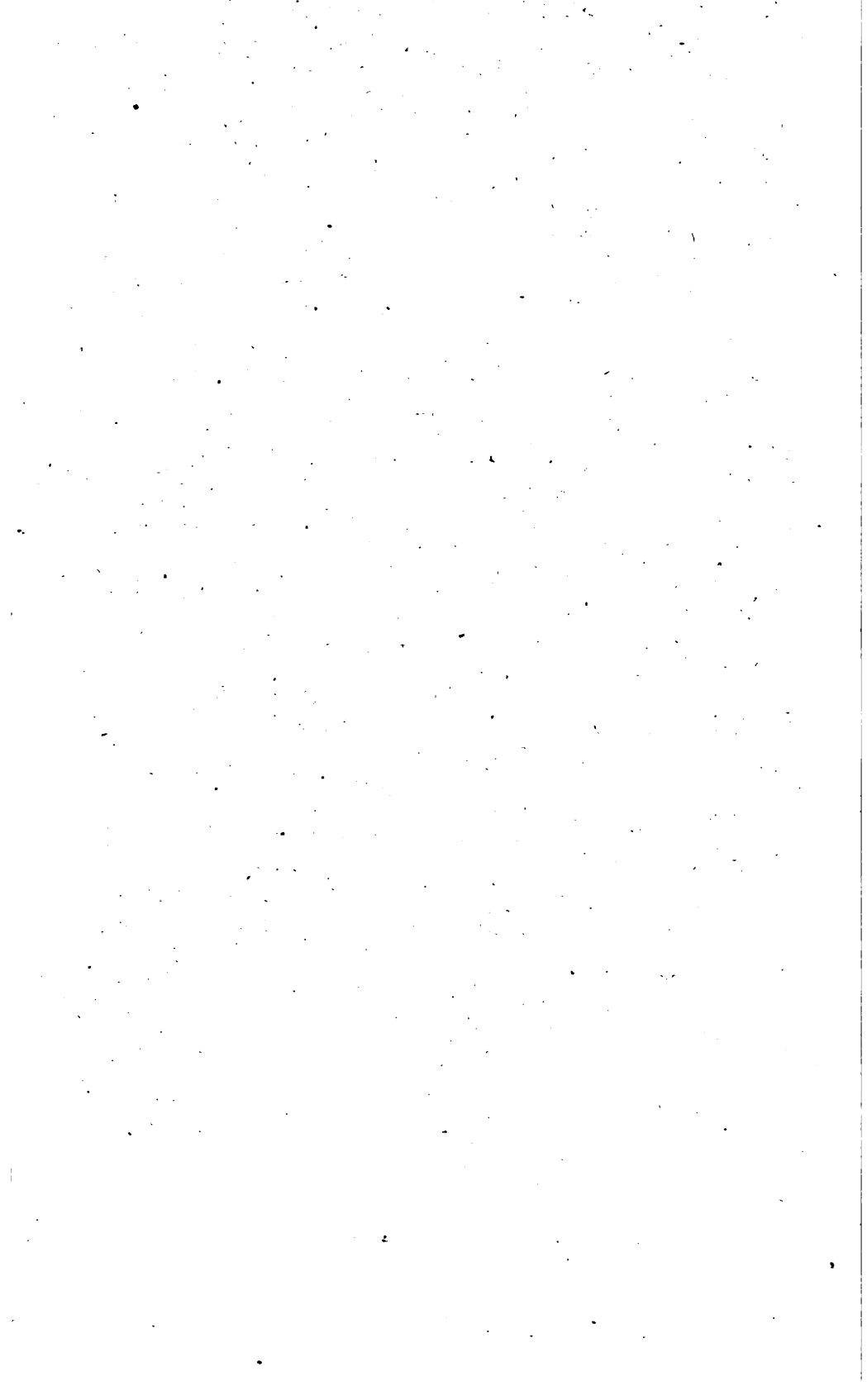
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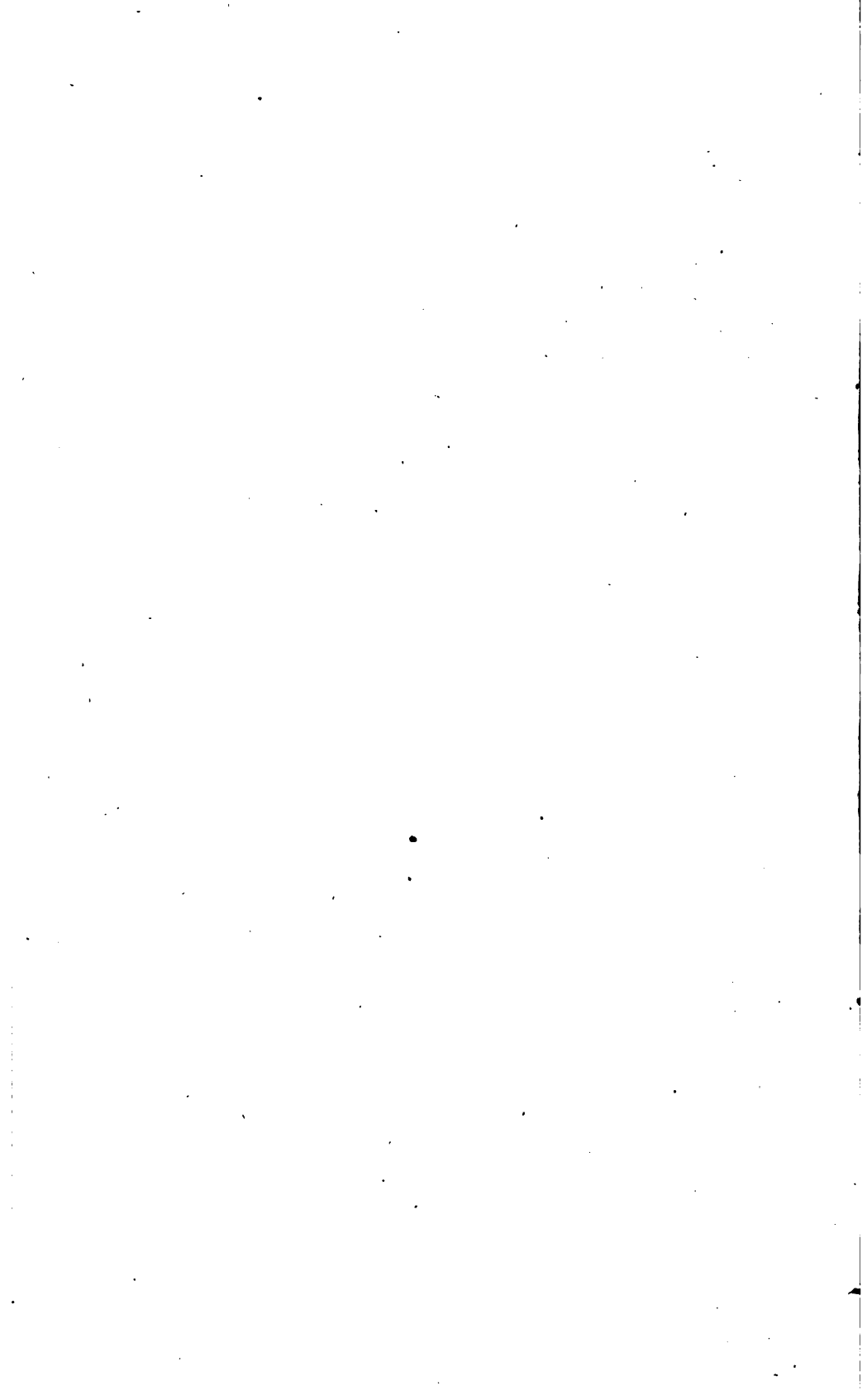












T H E  
L I F E

O F

EDWARD, <sup>Hyde 1st</sup> Earl of CLARENDON,  
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND,  
AND  
CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.

CONTAINING,

- I. An Account of the CHANCELLOR's  
LIFE from his BIRTH to the  
RESTORATION in 1660.
- II. A Continuation of the same, and of his  
HISTORY of the GRAND REBELLION,  
from the RESTORATION to his  
BANISHMENT in 1667.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Printed from his ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, given  
to the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD by  
the Heirs of the late EARL of  
CLARENDON.

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat.* Cic.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

O X F O R D,

At the CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE. MDCCLX.

11551

# THE P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Reader can desire no better Recommendation of the History now published, than to be assured that it is the genuine Work of the great Earl of Clarendon. The Work itself bears plain Characteristics of its Author. The same Dignity of Sentiment, and Style, which distinguishes THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, and all other the Works of this noble Writer, breathes through the whole of this Performance.

THE Reason, why this History has lain so long concealed, will appear from the \* Title of it, which shews that his Lordship intended it only for the Information of his Children. But the late Lord Hyde, judging that so faithful and authentick an Account of this interesting Period of our History would be an useful and acceptable Present to the Publick, and bearing a grateful Remembrance of this Place of his Education, left by his Will this, and the other Remains of his Great Grandfather, in the Hands of Trustees, to be printed at our Press, and directed that the Profits arising from the Sale should be employed towards the establishing a Riding-School in the University. But Lord Hyde dying before his Father, the then Earl of Clarendon, the Property of these Papers never became vested in him, and consequently this Bequest was void. However, the noble Heiresses of the Earl of Clarendon, out of their Regard to the

\* See Continuation, Page 1.



*Publick, and to this Seat of Learning, have been pleased to fulfill the kind Intentions of Lord Hyde, and adopt a Scheme recommended both by him, \* and his Great Grandfather. To this End They have sent to the University this History to be printed at our Press, on Condition that the Profits arising from the Publication or Sale of this Work be applied, as a Beginning for a Fund for supporting a Manage, or Academy for Riding, and other useful Exercises, in Oxford.*

*THE Work here offered to the Publick consists of two Parts. The Second, which is the most important and interesting Part of the Work, is THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE FROM THE YEAR 1660 TO 1667, from the Restoration to the Time of his Banishment, and includes in it the most memorable Transactions of those Times. It may be therefore considered in two Views. It is a Second Part of LORD CLARENDON'S LIFE: And is also a Continuation of his former History, entitled THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, from the Year 1660, where that ends, to the Year 1667. This is carefully printed, without any material Variations, from a Manuscript all of Lord Clarendon's own Hand-writing, excepting some few Pages in the Hand of his Amanuensis, which are only Transcripts from two Papers, the one, a Letter from the Chancellor to the King on the Subject of his Majesty's declared Displeasure; the other, a Paper containing his Reasons for withdrawing himself, which He left behind him to be presented to the House of Peers.*

*TO this our noble Benefactresses have thought fit to prefix, as a First Part, THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE, FROM HIS BIRTH, TO THE YEAR 1660, extracted from another Manuscript of Lord Clarendon's own Hand-writing.*

\* See his Dialogue on Education, Page 325, &c.

## THE PREFACE.

III

*This other Manuscript is entitled by his Lordship, THE HISTORY OF HIS OWN LIFE, and contains likewise the Substance of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. However, it is not the Manuscript from whence that History was printed, but appears rather to be the rough Draught from whence that History, or however great Part of it, was afterwards compiled. For although He tells us towards the Close of this Work, that He wrote the first four Books of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION in the Island of Jersey, (many Years before the Date of this HISTORY OF HIS LIFE) yet He likewise informs us, that He did not proceed to compleat that History till after his Banishment. It is therefore supposed by the Family (and the Supposition seems to carry with it great Probability) that, seeing an unjust and cruel Persecution prevail against him, He was induced at that Time to extend the original Plan of his Work, by introducing the particular History of his own Life, from his earliest Days down to the Time of his Disgrace, as the most effectual Means of vindicating his Character, wickedly traduced by his Enemies, and artfully misrepresented to a Master, whom He had long and faithfully served, whose Countenance and Favour being transferred to the Authors and Abettors of his Ruin, might probably in the Eyes of the World, give too much Colour to their Aspersions. But afterwards, on more mature Thoughts, his great Benevolence, and publick Spirit, prevailed on him to drop the Defence of his own private Character, and resume his original Plan of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. However his noble Descendants, willing to do Justice to the Memory of their Great Grandfather, and thinking it might be also of Service to the Publick to deliver his Exemplary Life as compleat, as They could authentically collect it, have caused such Parts of this Manuscript, as related to the Earl of Clarendon's private Life,*

## THE PREFACE.

*to be extracted, and according to their Directions it is printed.*

*The Directions are as follows.*

“THE LIFE OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RESTORATION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, is extracted from a large Manuscript in his own Hand-writing, in which is contained what has already been printed in THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION; and therefore Care has been taken to transcribe only what has never yet been published: But as those Passages are often intermixed with the History already printed, it has been found necessary to preserve Connection, by giving \* Abstracts of some Parts of the printed History, with References to the Pages, where the Reader may be satisfied more at large. And, as great Pains have been taken to put this First Part in the Order it now stands, it is desired that in this first Edition it may be printed exactly after the Copy to be sent.

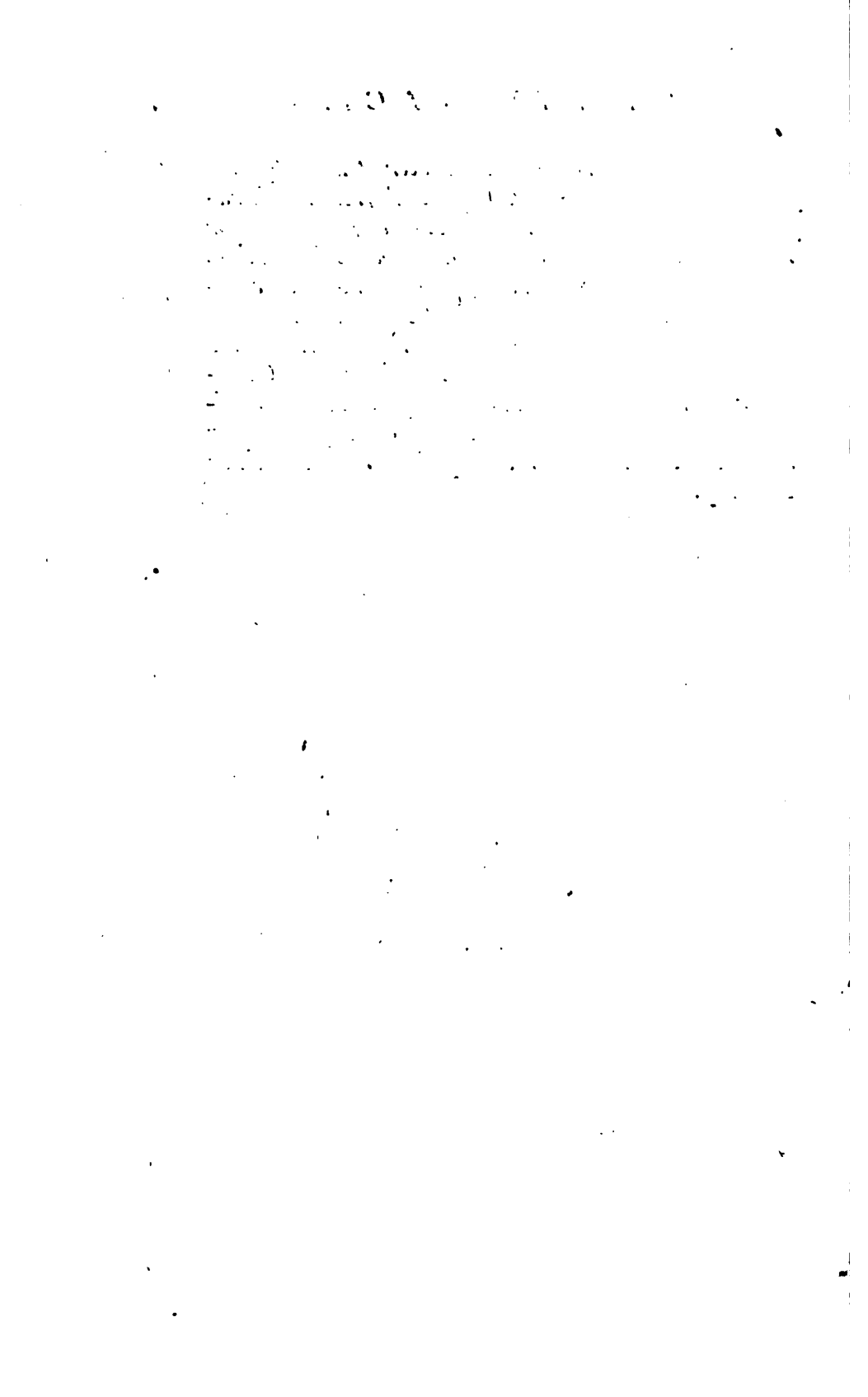
“THE original Manuscript of THE CONTINUATION OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON'S LIFE FROM 1660 TO 1667 INCLUSIVE is very incorrect, many Words being omitted, that must necessarily be supplied: But it is desired that no other Alterations may be made, except in the Orthography, or where literal, or grammatical Errors require it, or where little Inaccuracies may have escaped the Attention of the Author. The Work must be printed entire, as it now stands, no Part of it left out, not an Abstract, nor a Reference omitted.

\* Those Passages are indented. Those printed in *Italicks*, Pages 59, 82, 90, 133, the Note Page 100, and some others still less material, were added with the same View.

## THE PREFACE.

*THESE Directions have been punctually observed. The Second Part is printed from his Lordship's Manuscripts entire, without any Omission, or Variation, except as above. And with Regard to the First Part, the Extract sent to us has been carefully compared with the Original Manuscript it self, and found to agree: So that the Whole here offered to the Publick is the genuine Work of the Lord Chancellor CLARENDON. And both these Valuable Original Manuscripts are given to the University by our noble Benefactresses, to be deposited in the Publick Library.*





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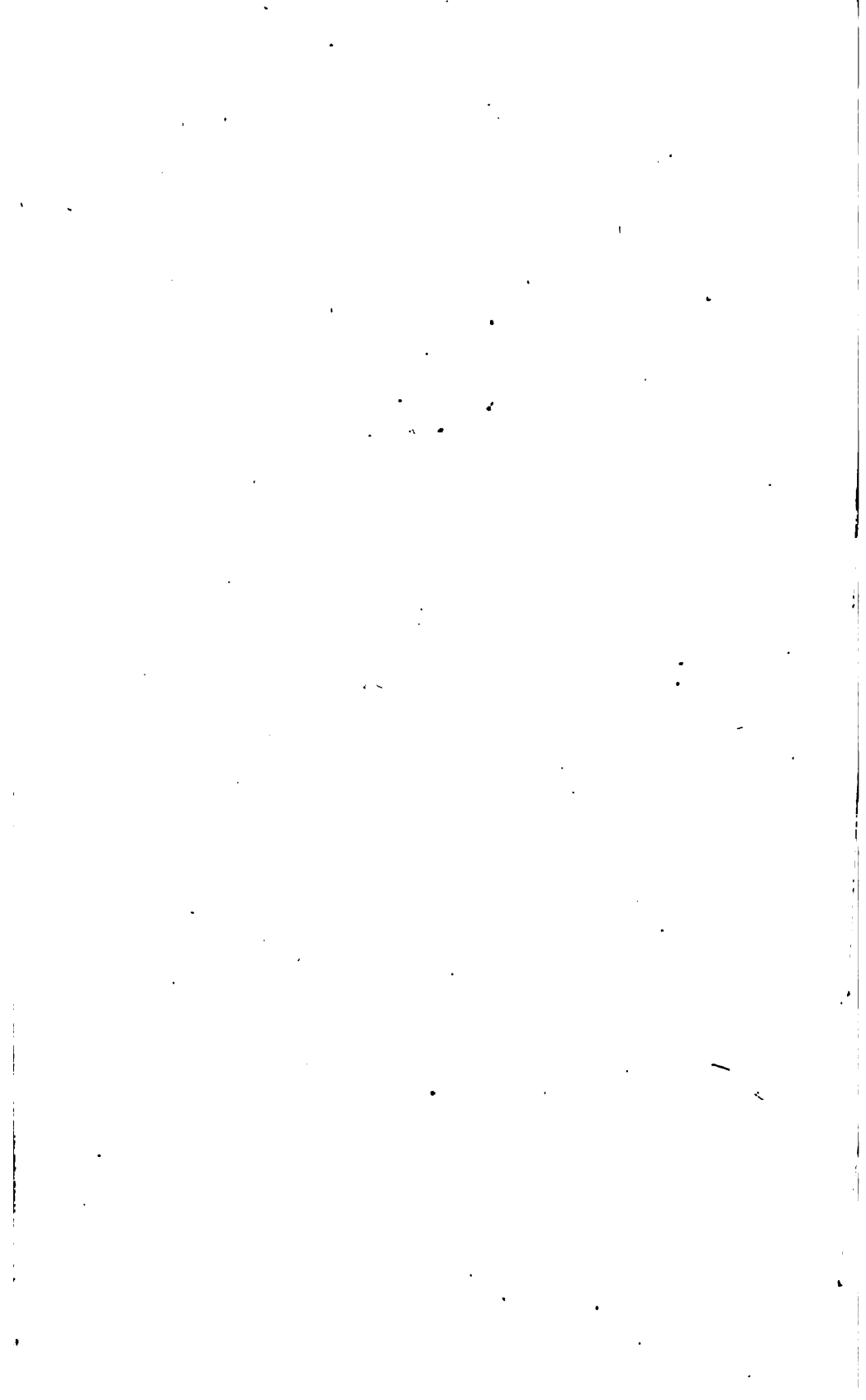
*EDWARD* EARL of *CLARENDON*

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of *ENGLAND*,

A N D

CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*,

From his Birth to the Restoration in 1660.



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The LIFE of  
**EDWARD** EARL of **CLARENDON**

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL  
 FAMILY in the Year 1660.

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PART the FIRST.

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*Montpelier, 23 July 1668.*

**H**E was born in *Dinton* in the County of *Wilts*, Place of Mr. E. Hyde's Birth. His Genealogy. six Miles from *Salisbury*, in the House of his Father who was *Henry Hyde*, the third Son of *Laurence Hyde*, of *West-Hatch*, Esq; which *Laurence* was the younger Son of *Robert Hyde* of *Norbury* in the County of *Chester*, Esq; which Estate of *Norbury* had continued in that Family, and descended from Father to Son from before the Conquest, and continues to this Day in *Edward Hyde*, who is possessed thereof: The other Estate of *Hyde* having some Ages since fallen into that of *Norbury*, by a Marriage, and continues still in that House.

**LAURENCE**, being as was said, the younger Son of *Robert Hyde* of *Norbury*, and the Custom of that County of *Chester* being, to make small Provisions for the younger Sons of the best Families, was by the Care and Providence of his Mother, well educated, and when his Age was fit for it, was placed as a Clerk in one of the Auditor's Offices of the Exchequer, where He gained great Experience, and was employed in the Affairs and Business of *Sir John Thynne*, who under the Protection and Service of the Duke of *Somerset*, had in a short Time raised a very great Estate, and was the first of that Name who was known, and left the House of *Longleat* to his Heir, with  
 A other



other Lands to a great Value. *Laurence Hyde* continued not above a Year (or very little more) in that Relation, and never gained any Thing by it; but shortly after married *Anne*, the Relict and Widow of *Matthew Caltburst*, Esq; of *Claverton* near *Bath* in the County of *Somerset*, by whom He had a fair Fortune: And by her had four Sons and four Daughters, that is to say, *Robert*, *Laurence*, *Henry*, and *Nicholas*, *Joanna*, married to *Edward Tounge* of *Durnford* near *Salisbury*, Esq; *Alice*, married to *John St. Loe* of *Kingston* in the County of *Wilts*, Esq; *Anne*, married to *Thomas Baynard* of *Wanslow* in the County of *Somerset*, Esq; and *Susanna*, married to Sir *George Fuy* of *Kyneton* in the County of *Wilts*, Knight: And these four Sons and four Daughters lived all above forty Years after the Death of their Father.

*LAURENCE*, shortly after his Marriage with *Anne*, purchased the Manor of *West-Hatch*, where He died, and several other Lands; and having taken Care to breed his Sons at the University of *Oxford*, and Inns of Court, leaving his Wife, the Mother of all his Children, possessed of the greatest Part of his Estate, presuming that She would be careful and kind to all their Children, upon that Account left the Bulk of his Estate to *Robert* his eldest Son, who married *Anne* the Daughter of — *Castilion* of *Benham* in the County of *Berks*, Esq; who had many Children, and lived to the Age of eighty, and left his Estate, a little impaired by the Marriage of many Daughters, to his Son. To *Laurence* his second Son, (who was afterwards Sir *Laurence*, and Attorney General to Queen *Anne*, and a Lawyer of great Name and Practice) He left the impropriate Rectory of *Dinton*, after the Life of *Anne* his Mother, charged with an Annuity of forty Pounds *per Annum* to his third Son *Henry* for his Life; and He charged some other Part of his Estate with an Annuity of thirty Pounds *per Annum* to his youngest Son *Nicholas*, for his Life, relying upon the Goodness of his Wife, who was left very rich, as well by his Donation, as from her Husband *Caltburst*, that She would provide for the better Support of the younger Children; two of which raised their Fortunes by the Law, *Laurence*, as was said before, being Attorney General to the Queen, and *Nicholas*, the youngest Son, living to be Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and dying in that Office; both of them leaving behind them many Sons and Daughters.

HENRY

HENRY, the third Son, being of the *Middle Temple* <sup>Of his Father.</sup> at his Father's Death, and being thought to be most in the Favour of his Mother, and being ready to be called to the Bar, though He had studied the Law very well, and was a very good Scholar, having proceeded Master of Arts in *Oxford*, had yet no Mind to the Practice of the Law, but had long had an Inclination to travel beyond the Seas, which in that strict Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was not usual, except to Merchants, and such Gentlemen who resolved to be Soldiers; and at last prevailed with his Mother to give him Leave to go to the *Spa* for his Health, from whence He followed his former Inclinations, and passing through *Germany*, He went into *Italy*, and from *Florence* He went to *Syena*, and thence to *Rome*: Which was not only strictly inhibited to all the Queen's Subjects, but was very dangerous to all the *English* Nation who did not profess themselves *Roman Catholics*, to which Profession He was very averse, in Regard of the great Animosity *Sixtus Quintus* (who was then Pope) had to the Person of Queen *Elizabeth*: Yet Cardinal *Allen*, who was the last *English* Cardinal, being (3) then in *Rome*, He received so much Protection from him, that during the Time He staid there, which was some Months, He received no Trouble, though many *English* Priests murmured very much, and said, "that my Lord Cardinal was much to be blamed for protecting such Men, who came to *Rome*, and so seeing the Ecclesiastical Persons of that Nation, discovered them afterwards when They came into *England*, and so They were put to Death."

AFTER He was returned into *England* his Mother was very glad, and persuaded him very earnestly to marry, offering him in that Case, that whereas She had the Rectory of *Dinton* in Jointure for her Life, upon which He had only an Annuity of forty Pounds *per Annum*, for his Life, the Remainder being to come to *Laurence* the second Brother and his Heirs for ever, She would immediately resign her Term to him, for his better Support, and would likewise purchase of *Laurence*, the said Rectory for the Life of *Henry*, and such a Wife as He should marry; upon which Encouragement, and depending still upon his Mother's future Bounty, about the thirtieth Year of his Age, He married *Mary*, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Edward Langford* of *Trowbridge* in the

County of *Wilts*, Esq; by whom in present, and after her Mother, He had a good Fortune, in the Account of that Age. From that Time, He lived a private Life at *Dinton* aforesaid, with great Chearfulness and Content, and with a general Reputation throughout the whole Country; being a Person of great Knowledge and Reputation, and of so great Esteem for Integrity, that most Persons near him referred all Matters of Contention and Difference which did arise amongst them, to his Determination; by which, that Part of the Country lived in more Peace and Quietness than many of their Neighbours. During the Time of Queen *Elizabeth* He served as a Burgefs for some neighbour Boroughs in many Parliaments; but from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, He never was in *London*, though He lived above thirty Years after; and his Wife, who was married to him above forty Years, never was in *London* in her Life; the Wisdom and Frugality of that Time being such, that few Gentlemen made Journies to *London*, or any other expensive Journies, but upon important Business, and their Wives never; by which Providence, They enjoyed and improved their Estates in the Country, and kept good Hospitality in their Houses, brought up their Children well, and were beloved by their Neighbours; and in this Rank, and with this Reputation this Gentleman lived till He was seventy Years of Age; his younger Brother the Chief Justice dying some Years before him, and his two elder Brothers outliving him: The great Affection between the four Brothers, and towards their Sisters, of whom all enjoyed Plenty and Contentedness, was very notorious throughout the Country, and of Credit to them all.

HENRY HYDE, the third Son of *Laurence*, by his Inter-marriage with *Mary Langford*, had four Sons and five Daughters, and being by the Kindness and Bounty of his Mother, who lived long, and till He had seven or eight Children, possessed of such an Estate as made his Condition easy to him, lived still in the Country, as was said before. *Laurence* his eldest Son died young; *Henry* his second Son lived till He was twenty six or twenty seven Years of Age; *Edward* his third Son was He who came afterwards to be Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*; *Nicholas* died young; *Henry* and *Edward* were both in the University of *Oxford* together; *Henry* being Master of Arts the Act before his younger Brother

Brother *Edward* came to the University, who was designed by his Father to the Clergy.

- (4) EDWARD HYDE, being the third Son of his Father, Time of the Author's Birth. His Education was born at *Dinton* upon the eighteenth Day of *February* in the Year 1608, being the fifth Year of King *James*; and was always bred in his Father's House under the Care of a Schoolmaster, to whom his Father had given the Vicarage of that Parish; who having been always a Schoolmaster, had bred many good Scholars, and this Person of whom we now speak, principally by the Care and Conversation of his Father, (who was an excellent Scholar, and took Pleasure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his Education than the School did) was thought fit to be sent to the University soon after He was thirteen Years of Age; and being a younger Son of a younger Brother, was to expect a small Patrimony from his Father, but to make his own Fortune by his own Industry; and in Order to that, was sent by his Father to *Oxford* at that Time, being about *Magdalen* Election Time, in Expectation that He should have been chosen Demy of *Magdalen* College, the Election being to be at that Time, for which He was recommended by a special Letter from King *James* to Dr. *Langton* then President of that College; but upon Pretence that the Letter came too late, though the Election was not then begun, He was not chosen, and so remained in *Magdalen* Hall (where He was before admitted) under the Tuition of Mr. *John Oliver*, a Fellow of that College, who had been Junior of the Act a Month before, and a Scholar of Eminency. He is sent to Oxford.

THE Year following, the President of the College having received Reprehension from the Lord *Conway* then Secretary of State, for giving no more Respect to the King's Letter, He was chosen the next Election in the first Place, but that whole Year passed without any Avoidance of a Demy's Place, which was never known before in any Man's Memory; and that Year King *James* died, and shortly after, *Henry* his elder Brother, and thereupon his Father having now no other Son, changed his former Inclination, and resolved to send his Son *Edward* to the Inns of Court: He was then entered in the *Middle Temple* by his Uncle *Nicholas Hyde*, who was then Treasurer of that Society, and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; but by Reason of the great Plague then

Mr. Hyde entered of the Middle Temple.

at *London* in the first Year of King *Charles*, and the Parliament being then adjourned to *Oxford*, whither the Plague was likewise then brought by Sir *James Hussy*, one of the Masters of the Chancery, who died in *New-College* the first Night after his Arrival at *Oxford*, and shortly after Dr. *Chaloner* Principal of *Alban-Hall*, who had supped that Night with Sir *James Hussy*, He did not go to the *Middle Temple* till the *Michaelmas* Term after the Term at *Reading*, but remained partly at his Father's House, and partly at the University, where He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then left it, rather with the Opinion of a young Man of Parts and Pregnancy of Wit, than that He had improved it much by Industry, the Discipline of that Time being not so strict as it hath been since, and as it ought to be; and the Custom of Drinking being too much introduced and practised, his elder Brother having been too much corrupted in that Kind, and so having at his first Coming given him some Liberty, at least some Example towards that License, insomuch as He was often heard to say, "that it was a very good Fortune to him, that his Father so soon removed him from the University", though He always reserved a high Esteem of it.

BEFORE the Beginning of *Michaelmas* Term (which was in the Year 1625) the City being then clear from the Plague, He went from *Marlborough* after the Quarter Sessions with his Uncle *Nicholas Hyde* to *London*, and arrived there the Eve of the Term, being then between sixteen and seventeen Years of Age: In the Evening He went to Prayers to the *Temple Church*, and was there seized upon by a Fit of an Ague very violently, which proved a Quartan, and brought him in a short Time so weak, that his Friends much feared a Consumption, so that his Uncle thought fit shortly after *Albollandide* to send him into the Country to *Pirton* in *North Wiltshire*, whither his Father had removed himself from *Dinton*; chusing rather to live upon his own Land, the which He had purchased many Years before, and to rent *Dinton*, which was but a Lease for Lives, to a Tenant. He came Home to his Father's House very weak, his Ague continuing so violently upon him (though it sometimes changed its Course from a quartan to a tertian, and then to a quotidian, and on new Year's Day he had two hot Fits and two cold Fits) until *Whitsunday* following, that all

Removed to  
Pirton.

Part I. EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

7

all Men thought him to be in a Consumption; it then left him, and He grew quickly strong again. In this Time of his Sickneſs his Uncle was made Chief Juſtice: It was *Michaelmas* following before He returned to the *Middle Temple*, having by his Want of Health loſt a full Year of Study, and when He returned, it was without great Application to the Study of the Law for ſome Years, it being then a Time when the Town was full of Soldiers, the King having then a War both with *Spain* and *France*, and the Buſineſs of the Iſſe of *Ree* ſhortly followed; and He had gotten into the Acquaintance of many of thoſe Officers, which took up too much of his Time for one Year; but as the War was quickly ended, ſo He had the good Fortune quickly to make a full Retreat from that Company, and from any Converſation with any of them, and without any Hurt or Prejudice; inſomuch as He uſed often to ſay, “that ſince it pleaſed “God to preſerve him whiſt He did keep that Company “(in which He wonderfully eſcaped from being involved “in many Inconveniencies) and to withdraw him ſo ſoon “from it, He was not ſorry that He had ſome Expe- “rience in the Converſation of ſuch Men, and of the Li- “cence of thoſe Times,” which was very exorbitant: Yet when He did indulge himſelf that Liberty, it was without any ſignal Debauchery, and not without ſome Hours every Day, at leaſt every Night, ſpent amongſt his Books; yet He would not deny that more than to be able to anſwer his Uncle, who almoſt every Night put a Caſe to him in Law, He could not bring himſelf to an induſtrious Purſuit of the Law Study; but rather loved polite Learning and Hiſtory, in which, eſpecially in the *Roman*, He had been always converſant.

Returns to the  
Middle Temple.

IN the Year 1628 his Father gave him Leave to ride the Circuit in the Summer with his Uncle the Chief Juſtice, who then rode the *Norfolk* Circuit; and indeed deſired it, both that He might ſee thoſe Counties, and eſpecially that He might be out of *London* in that Seafon, when the Small Pox raged very furiously, and many Perſons, ſome whereof were much acquainted with him, died of that Diſeaſe in the *Middle Temple* itſelf: It was about the Middle of *July* when that Circuit began, and *Cambridge* was the firſt Place the Judges begun at; Mr. Juſtice *Harvey*, (one of the Judges of the Common Pleas) was in Commiſſion with the Chief Juſtice: They both

Sets out on the  
Norfolk Circuit.

Falls sick of  
the Small Pox  
at Cam-  
bridge.

came into *Cambridge* on the *Saturday* Night, and the next Day Mr. *Edward Hyde* fell sick, which was imputed only to his Journey the Day before in very hot Weather; but He continued so ill the Day or two following, that it was apprehended that He might have the Small Pox; whereupon He was removed out of *Trinity College*, where the Judges were lodged, to the *Sun Inn* over against the College Gate, the Judges being to go out of Town the next Day; but before they went, the Small Pox appeared; (6) whereupon his Uncle put him under the Care of Mr. *Crane* an eminent Apothecary, who had been bred up under Dr. *Bulter*, and was in much greater Practice than any Physician in the University; and left with him *Laurence St. Lo* one of his Servants, who was likewise his Nephew, to assist and comfort him: It pleased God to preserve him from that devouring Disease, which was spread all over him very furiously, and had so far prevailed over him, that for some Hours both his Friends and Physician consulted of Nothing but of the Place and Manner of his Burial; but as I said, by God's Goodness He escaped that Sickness, and within few Days more than a Month after his first Indisposition, He passed in moderate Journeys to his Father's House at *Pirton*, where He arrived a Day or two before *Bartholemew Day*.

Returns again  
to Pirton af-  
ter his Reco-  
very.

He was often wont to say, that He was reading to his Father in *Camden's Annals*, and that particular Place, in which it is said, "*Jobannes Feltonus, qui Bullam Pontificiam valvis Palatii Episcopi Londinensis affixerat jam deprebensus, cum fugere nolle, factum confessus quod tamen crimen agnoscere noluit, &c.*" when a Person of the Neighbourhood knocked at the Door, and being called in, told his Father, that a Post was then passed through the Village to *Charleton*, the House of the Earl of *Berkshire*, to inform the Earl of *Berkshire* that the Duke of *Buckingham* was killed the Day before, (being the 24th of *August*, *Bartholemew Day*, in the Year 1628) by one *John Felton*, † which dismal Accident happening in the Court, made a great Change in the State, produced a sudden Disbanding of all Armies, and a due Observation of, and Obedience to the Laws; so that there being no more Mutations in View (which usually affect the Spi-

† For the Particulars of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Death, and of the Alterations it produced at Court and in publick Affairs, Vid. Hist. of the Reb. Fel. Vol. 1. Page 22, &c.

rits of young Men, at least hold them some Time at Gaze) Mr. Hyde returned again to his Studies at the *Middle Temple*, having it still in his Resolution to dedicate himself to the Profession of the Law, without declining the politer Learning, to which his Humour and his Conversation kept him always very indulgent; and to lay some Obligation upon himself to be fixed to that Course of Life, He inclined to a Proposition of Marriage, which having no other Passion in it, than an Appetite to a convenient Estate, succeeded not, yet produced new Acquaintance, and continued the same Inclinations.

*And from  
Pirton to the  
MiddleTem-  
ple.*

ABOUT this Time his Uncle Sir *Nicholas Hyde* Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, died of a malignant Fever, gotten from the Infection of some Goal in his Summer Circuit: He was a Man of excellent Learning for that Province He was to govern, of unsuspected and unblemished Integrity, of an exemplar Gravity and Austerity, which was necessary for the Manners of that Time, corrupted by the marching of Armies, and by the License after the disbanding them; and though upon his Promotion some Years before, from a private Practicer of the Law, to the supreme Judicatory in it, by the Power and Recommendation of the great Favourite, of whose Council He had been, He was exposed to much Envy and some Prejudice; yet his Behaviour was so grateful to all the Judges, who had an entire Confidence in him, his Service so useful to the King in his Government, his Justice and Sincerity so conspicuous throughout the Kingdom, that the Death of no Judge had in any Time been more lamented.

*Death and  
Character of  
his Uncle Sir  
Nicholas  
Hyde.*

(7) THE Loss of so beneficial an Encouragement and Support in that Profession, did not at all discourage his Nephew in his Purpose; rather added new Resolution to him; and to call Home all straggling and wandering Appetites, which naturally produce Irresolution and Inconstancy in the Mind, with his Father's Consent and Approbation, He married a young Lady very fair and beautiful, the Daughter of Sir *George Ayliffe*, a Gentleman of a good Name and Fortune in the County of *Wilts*, where his own Expectations lay, and by her Mother (a *St. John*) nearly allied to many noble Families in *England*. He enjoyed this Comfort and Composure of Mind a very short Time, for within less than six Months after He was married, being upon the Way from *London* towards his Father's

*Mr. Hyde's  
Marriage.*



Death of his  
Wife.

ther's House, she fell sick at *Reading*, and being removed to a Friend's House near that Town, the Small Pox discovered themselves, and (she being with Child) forced her to miscarry; and She died within two Days. He bore her Loss with so great Passion and Confusion of Spirit, that it shook all the Frame of his Resolutions, and Nothing but his entire Duty and Reverence to his Father, kept him from giving over all Thoughts of Books, and transporting himself beyond the Seas, to enjoy his own Melancholy; nor could any Persuasion or Importunity from his Friends, prevail with him in some Years to think of another Marriage. There was an ill Accident in the Court befel a Lady of a Family nearly allied to his Wife, whose Memory was very dear to him, and there always continued a firm Friendship in him to all her Alliance, which likewise ever manifested an equal Affection to him; amongst those was *William Viscount Grandison*, a young Man of extraordinary Hope, between whom and the other there was an entire Confidence: The Injury was of that Nature, that the young Lord thought of Nothing but repairing it his own Way; but those Imaginations were quickly at an End, by the King's rigorous and just Proceeding against the Persons offending, in committing them both to the Tower, and declaring that "since He was satisfied that there was a Promise of Marriage in the Case, the Gentleman should make good his Promise by marrying the Lady; or be kept in Prison, and for ever banished from all Pretence or Relation to the Court," where He had a very great Credit and Interest: This Declaration by the King, made the nearest Friends of the Lady pursue the Design of this Reparation more solicitously, in which They had all Access to the King, who continued still in his declared Judgment in the Matter: In this Pursuit Mr. *Hyde's* passionate Affection to the Family embarked him, and They were all as willing to be guided by his Conduct; the Business was to be followed by frequent Instances at Court, and Conferences with those who had most Power and Opportunity to confirm the King in the Sense He had entertained; and those Conferences were wholly managed by him, who thereby had all Admission to the Persons of Alliance to the Lady, and so concerned in the Dishonour, which was a great Body of Lords and Ladies of principal Relations in the Court, with whom in a short Time He

was

was of great Credit and Esteem; of which the Marquis of *Hamilton* was one, who having married an excellent Lady, Cousin-German to the injured Person, seemed the most concerned and most zealous for her Vindication, and who had at that Time the most Credit of any Man about the Court, and upon that Occasion entered into a Familiarity with him, and made as great Professions of Kindness to him as could pass to a Person at that Distance from him, which continued till the End and Conclusion of that Affair, when the Marquis believed that Mr. *Hyde* had discovered some Want of Sincerity in him in that Prosecution, which He pretended so much to assert.

*The Occasion of Mr. Hyde's Introduction to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

- (8) THE Mention of this particular little Story, in itself of no seeming Consequence, is not inserted here only as it made some Alterations, and accidentally introduced him into another Way of Conversation than He had formerly been accustomed to, and which in Truth by the Acquaintance, by the Friends and Enemies, He then made, had an Influence upon the whole Course of his Life afterwards; but as it made such Impressions upon the whole Court, by dividing the Lords and Ladies, both in their Wishes and Appearances, that much of that Faction grew out of it, which survived the Memory of the Original; and from this Occasion (to shew us from how small Springs great Rivers may arise) the Women, who till then had not appeared concerned in publick Affairs, began to have some Part in all Business; and having shewn themselves warm upon this Amour, as their Passions or Affections carried them, and thereby entered into new Affections, and formed new Interests; the Activity in their Spirits remained still vigorous when the Object which first inspired it was vanished and put in Oblivion. Nor were the very Ministers of State vacant upon this Occasion; They who for their own Sakes, or, as They pretended, for the King's Dignity, and Honour of the Court, desired the Ruin of the Gentleman, pressed the Magnitude of the Crime, in bringing so great a Scandal upon the King's Family, which would hinder Persons of Honour from sending their Children to the Court; and that there could be no Reparation without the Marriage, which They therefore only insisted upon, because They believed He would prefer Banishment before it; others who had Friendship for him and believed that He had an Interest in the Court, which might accommodate himself and

and them if this Breach were closed any Way, therefore if the King's Severity could not be prevailed upon, wished it concluded by the Marriage; which neither himself nor They upon whom He most depended, would ever be brought to consent to; so that all the Jealousies and Animosities in the Court or State, came to play their own Prizes in the widening or accommodating this Contention: In the Conclusion, on a sudden, contrary to the Expectation of any Man of either Party, the Gentleman was immediately sent out of the Kingdom, under the Formality of a temporary and short Banishment, and the Lady commended to her Friends, to be taken Care of till her Delivery; and from that Time never Word more spoken of the Business, nor shall their Names ever come upon the Stage by any Record of mine: It was only observed, that at this Time there was a great Change in the Friendships of the Court, and in those of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who came now into the Queen's Confidence, towards whom He had always been in great Jealousy; and another Lady more appeared in View, who had for the most Part before continued behind the Curtain; and who in few Years after came to a very unhappy and untimely End.

Now after a Widowhood of near three Years, Mr. *Hyde* inclined again to marry, which He knew would be the most grateful Thing to his Father (for whom He had always a profound Reverence) He could do; and though He needed no other Motive to it, He would often say, that though He was now called to the Bar, and entered into the Profession of the Law, He was not so confident of himself that He should not start aside, if his Father should die, who was then near seventy Years of Age, having long entertained Thoughts of Travels, but that He thought it necessary to lay some Obligation upon himself, which would suppress and restrain all those Appetites; and thereupon resolved to marry, and so being about the Age of twenty four Years, in the Year of our Lord 1632, He married the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Aylesbury* Baronet, Master of Requests to the King, by whom He had many Children of both Sexes, with whom He lived very comfortably in the most uncomfortable Times, and very joyfully in those Times when Matter of Joy was administered, for the Space of five or six and thirty Years; what befell him after her Death will be recounted

*His second  
Marriage.*

(9)

counted in its Place. From the Time of his Marriage He laid aside all other Thoughts but of his Profession, to the which He betook himself very seriously; but in the very Entrance into it, He met with a great Mortification; some Months after He was married, He went with his Wife to wait upon his Father and Mother at his House at *Pirton*, to make them Sharers in that Satisfaction which They had so long desired to see, and in which They took great Delight.

HIS Father had long suffered under an Indisposition (even before the Time his Son could remember) which gave him rather frequent Pains, than Sickness; and gave him Cause to be terrified with the Expectation of the Stone, without being exercised with the present Sense of it; but from the Time He was sixty Years of Age, it increased very much, and four or five Years before his Death, with Circumstances scarce heard of before, and the Causes whereof are not yet understood by any Physician; He was very often, both in the Day and the Night, forced to make Water, seldom in any Quantity, because He could not retain it long enough, and in the Close of that Work, without any sharp Pain in those Parts, He was still and constantly seized on by so sharp a Pain in the left Arm, for Half a Quarter of an Hour, or near so much, that the Torment made him as pale (whereas He was otherwise of a very sanguine Complexion) as if He were dead; and He used to say, "that He had passed the Pangs of Death, and He should die in one of those Fits;" as soon as it was over, which was quickly, He was the chearfullest Man living; eat well such Things as He could fancy, walked, slept, digested, conversed with such a Promptness and Vivacity upon all Arguments (for He was *omnisariam doctus*,) as hath been seldom known in a Man of his Age: But He had the Image of Death so constantly before him in those continual Torments, that for many Years before his Death, He always parted with his Son, as to see him no more; and at Parting still shewed him his Will, discouraging very particularly and very chearfully of all Things He would have performed after his Death.

He had for some Time before resolved to leave the Country, and to spend the Remainder of his Time in *Salisbury*, where He had caused a House to be provided for him, both for the Neighbourhood of the Cathedral Church,

*His Father's  
Removal to  
Salisbury.*

Church, where He could perform his Devotions every Day, and for the Conversation of many of his Family who lived there, and not far from it, and especially that He might be buried there, where many of his Family and Friends lay; and He obliged his Son to accompany him thither before his Return to *London*, and He came to *Salisbury* on the *Friday* before *Michaelmas* Day in the Year 1632, and lodged in his own House that Night; the next Day He was so wholly taken up in receiving Visits from his many Friends, being a Person wonderfully revered in those Parts, that He walked very little out of his House. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, He rose very early, and went to two or three Churches, and when He returned, which was by eight of the Clock, He told his Wife and his Son, "that He had been to look out a Place to be buried in, but found none against which He had not some Exception, the Cathedral only excepted, where He had made Choice of a Place near a Kinsman of his<sup>(10)</sup> own Name, and had shewed it to the Sexton, whom He had sent for to that Purpose; and wished them to see him buried there;" and this with as much Composedness of Mind as if it had made no Impression on him; then went to the Cathedral to Sermon, and spent the whole Day in as chearful Conversation with his Friends (saving only the frequent Interruptions his Infirmary gave him once in two or three Hours, sometimes more, sometimes less) as the Man in the most confirmed Health could do. *Monday* was *Michaelmas* Day, when in the Morning He went to visit his Brother Sir *Laurence Hyde*, who was then making a Journey in the Service of the King, and from him went to the Church to a Sermon, where He found himself a little pressed as He used to be, and therefore thought fit to make what Haste He could to his House, and was no sooner come thither into a lower Room, than having made Water, and the Pain in his Arm seizing upon him, He fell down dead, without the least Motion of any Limb: The Suddenness of it made it apprehended to be an Apoplexy, but there being Nothing like Convulsions, or the least Distortion or Alteration in the Visage, it is not like to be from that Cause, nor could the Physicians make any reasonable Guess from whence that mortal Blow proceeded. He wanted about six Weeks of attaining the Age of seventy, and was the greatest Instance of the Felicity of a Country Life that was

*And Death.*

was seen in that Age; having enjoyed a competent, and to him a plentiful Fortune, a very great Reputation of Piety and Virtue, and his Death being attended with universal Lamentation. It cannot be expressed with what Agony his Son bore this Loss, having as He was used to say, "not only lost the best Father, but the best Friend" "and the best Companion He ever had or could have;" and He was never so well pleased, as when He had fit Occasions given him to mention his Father, whom He did in Truth believe to be the wisest Man He had ever known, and He was often heard to say, in the Time when his Condition was at highest, "that though God Almighty" "had been very propitious to him, in raising him to great" "Honours and Preferments, He did not value any Honour He had so much, as the being the Son of such" "a Father and Mother, for whose Sakes principally" "He thought God had conferred those Blessings upon" "him."

THERE fell out at this Time or thereabouts, a great Alteration in the Court and State, by the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*. The King from the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham* had not only been very reserved in his Bounty, but so frugal in his own Expense, that He had retrenched much of what had formerly issued out for his Household, inasmuch as every Year somewhat had been paid of his Debts. He resolved now to govern his Treasury by Commission, and to take a constant Account of it; and thereby to discover what had been of late done amiss: The Commissioners He appointed were, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Laud*, (formerly Bishop of *London*) the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, and other principal Officers of State, who together with the Lord *Cottington* (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by his Office of the Quorum in that Commission) were to supply the Office of Treasurer in all Particulars. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who till now had only intended the good Government of the Church, without intermeddling in secular Affairs, otherwise than when the Discipline of the Church was concerned, in which He was very strict, both in the high Commission and in all other Places, where He sat as a privy Counsellor, well foreseeing, as He made manifest upon several (11) Occasions, the Growth of the *Schismaticks*, and that if They were not with Rigour suppressed, They would put the

*The Treasurer's Office given to Commissioners.*

*Of whom Archbishop Laud is one.*

the whole Kingdom into a Flame, which shortly after fell out to be too confessed a Truth; though for the present his Providence only served to increase the Number of his Enemies, who had from that his Zeal contracted all the Malice against him that can be imagined, and which He, out of the Conscience of his Duty, and the Purity of his Intentions, and his Knowledge of the King's full Approbation of his Vigilance and Ardour, too much undervalued; I say, as soon as He was made Commissioner of the Treasury, He thought himself obliged to take all the Pains He could to understand that Employment, and the Nature of the Revenue, and to find out all possible Ways for the Improvement thereof, and for the present Managery of the Expense. Many were of Opinion that He was the more solicitous in that Disquisition, and the more inquisitive into what had been done, that He might make some Discovery of past Actions, which might reflect upon the Memory of the late Treasurer, the Earl of *Portland*, and call his Wisdom and Integrity in Question, who had been so far from being his Friend, That He had always laboured to do him all the Mischief He could, and it was no small Grief of Heart to him, and much Occasion of his ill Humour, to find that the Archbishop had too much Credit with the King, to be shaken by him; and the Archbishop was not in his Affections behind hand with him, looking always upon him as a *Roman Catholick*, though He dissembled it by going to Church; and as the great Countenancer and Support of that Religion; all his Family being of that Profession, and very few resorting to it, or having any Credit with him but such: It is very true, the Archbishop had no great Regard for his Memory, or for his Friends, and was willing enough to make any Discovery of his Miscarriages, and to inform his Majesty of them, who He believed had too good an Opinion of him and his Integrity.

THE Truth is, the Archbishop had laid down one Principle to himself, which He believed would much advance the King's Service, and was without Doubt very prudent; that the King's Duties being provided for, and chearfully paid, the Merchants should receive all the Countenance and Protection from the King that They could expect; and not be liable to the Vexation particular Men gave them for their private Advantage; being forward enough to receive Propositions which tended to the King's Profit,

fit, but careful that what accrued of Burthen to the Subject, should redound entirely to the Benefit of the Crown, and not enrich Projectors at the Charge of the People; and there is Reason to believe that if this Measure had been well observed, much of that Murmur had been prevented, which contributed to that Jealousy and Discontent which soon after brake out. This Vigilance and Inclination in the Archbishop, opened a Door to the Admission of any Merchants or others to him, who gave him Information of this Kind; and who being ready to pay any Thing to the King, desired only to be protected from private Oppressions. The Archbishop used to spend as much Time as He could get, at his Country House at *Croydon*, and then his Mind being unbent from Business, He delighted in the Conversation of his Neighbours, and treated them with great Urbanity.

THERE was a Merchant of the greatest Reputation, (*Daniel Harvey*) who having a Country House within the Distance of a few Miles from *Croydon*, and understanding the whole Business of Trade more exactly than most Men, was always very welcome to the Archbishop, who used to ask him many Questions upon such Matters as He de-

(12) fired to be informed in; and received much Satisfaction from him. Upon an accidental Discourse between them, what Encouragement Merchants ought to receive, who brought a great Trade into the Kingdom, and paid thereupon great Sums of Money to the King, Mr. *Harvey* mentioned the Discouragements They had received in the late Times, by the Rigour of the Earl of *Portland*, in Matters that related nothing to the King's Service, but to the Profit of private Men; and thereupon remembered a Particular, that, after the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year of the King, and the Combination amongst many Merchants to pay no more Customs or Impositions to the King, because They had not been granted in Parliament, which produced those Suits and Decrees in the Exchequer, which are generally understood, and a general Distraction in Trade; many Merchants of the greatest Wealth and Reputation resolved to continue the Trade; and in a short Time reduced it into so good Order, and by their Advice and Example disposed others to make a punctual Entry of their Goods, and to pay their Duties to the King, that the Trade seemed to be restored to the Nation, and the Customs to rise above the Value

*Mr. Harvey's Complaint to the Archbishop of the Earl of Portland.*



They had ever yielded to the Crown; which was no sooner brought to pass, than the Earl of *Portland* (who endeavoured to persuade the King that this great Work entirely compassed by his Wisdom, Interest, and Dexterity) disoblged the Merchants in a very sensible Degree, in requiring them to unlade their Ships at the Custom-House Quay, and at no other Quay or Wharf, upon Pretence that thereby the King would have his Customs well paid, of which otherwise He would be in Danger to be cozened; and alledged an Order that had been formerly made in the Court of the Exchequer, that fine Goods which were portable (as Silks and fine Linens) and might easily be stolen, should always be landed at the Custom-House Quay: The Merchants looked upon this Constraint and Restraint, as a great Oppression, and applied themselves to him for Reparation and Redress; They undertook to make it evident to him, that it was merely a Matter which concerned the private Benefit of the particular Wharfingers, and not in the least Degree the King's Profit; that the Custom-House Quay was of great Value to the Owner of it, who had a very great Rent for it, but that it yielded the King nothing, nor would in fifty Years or thereabouts, there being a Lease yet to come for that Term; that the Mention of fine Goods, and the Order of the Exchequer, was not applicable to the Question; that They disputed not the Landing of fine Goods, but that the Pretence was to compel them to bring their grossest, and their Merchandise of the greatest Bulk to that Quay, whereas They had been always free to ship or unship such Goods at what Wharf They would chuse for their Conveniences; there being the sworn Waiters of the Custom-House attending in the one, as well as the other; that the restraining them to one Wharf, and obliging all the Ships to be brought thither, must prove much to their Prejudice, and make them depend upon the good Will of the Wharfinger for their Dispatch, who in Truth, let his Desire be never so good, could not be able to perform the Service, without obliging them to wait very long, and thereby to lose their Markets: All this Discourse how reasonable soever, made no Impression upon the Treasurer, but He dismissed them with his usual Roughness, and reproached them that They desired all Occasions to cozen the King of his Customs; which They looked upon as an ill Reward for the Service

Service They had done, and a great Discouragement to Trade. The Archbishop heard this Discourse with great Trouble and Indignation, and being then interrupted by (13) the Coming of Persons of Quality, told him, He would some other Time run over all these Particulars again, and that He should recollect himself for other Instances of that strange Nature.

THE next Time the Archbishop returned to *Croydon*, which He usually did once in the Week during the Summer, and staid a Day or two, impatient to understand more of the Matter, He sent for Mr. *Harvey*, and told him, "that his last Discourse had given him much Cause of Sorrow, in finding how the King had been used, and that He knew his Nature so well, that He could confidently say, that He never knew of that Kind of Proceeding, and that He wondered that the Merchants had not then petitioned the King, to hear the Matter himself:" He answered, "that They had left no Way unattempted for their Ease, having no Fear of displeasing the Treasurer; that They had caused a Petition to be drawn by their Council, which was signed by all the principal Merchants in the City, wherein (to obviate the Calumny concerning refusing to pay, or stealing Customs) They declared, that They were all very willing to pay all Duties to his Majesty, and would never refuse the same, (which was a Declaration, would have been much valued a Year or two before, and ought to have been so then) only desired to be left at Liberty to ship and land their Goods as They had been accustomed to; that They had given this Petition to a Secretary of State to present it to the King, who referred it to the Consideration of the Treasurer; and thereupon They pursued it no further, knowing how He stood resolved, and the Cause of it, which troubled them most, viz. that that Custom-House Quay did, though not in his own Name, in Truth belong to Sir *Abraham Dawes*, one of the Farmers of the Customs, and the only Favourite of the Lord Treasurer, all the other Farmers being offended with the Order, which They saw would offend the Merchants:" The Archbishop asked "where that Petition was, that He thought it still of that Moment, that He would be glad to see it:" He answered, "He knew not where it was; but He believed it to remain in the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, who had drawn it, and

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"was

Mr. Harvey  
mentions Mr.  
Hyde to the  
Archbishop.

“was of Council with the Merchants throughout the whole Proceedings; and was so warm in it, that He had exceedingly provoked the Lord Treasurer, who would have ruined him if He could:” He asked who that Mr. Hyde was, and where He was; the other said, “He was a young Lawyer of the *Middle Temple*, who was not afraid of being of Council with them, when all Men of Name durst not appear for them; and that He was confident that He, having been always present at all Debates, remembered many Circumstances in the Business which the other had forgotten; that He was generally known; and had lately married the Daughter of Sir Thomas Aylebury.”

Mr. Hyde  
attends the  
Archbishop.

WITHIN a few Days after, the Archbishop meeting Sir Thomas Aylebury at Court, asked him whether He had married his Daughter to one Mr. Hyde a Lawyer, and where He was; He answered, He had done so, and that He lived in his House, when He was not at his Chamber in the *Middle Temple*: The Archbishop desired him to send him to Him, for He heard well of him; and the next Morning He attended him, and found him walking alone in his Garden at *Lambeth*; He received him civilly according to his Manner, without much Ceremony; and presently asked him, whether He had not been of Council with some Merchants in such a Business, and where that Petition now was; He answered him, not knowing why He asked, “that He had been about two Years past, of Council with some Merchants about such an Affair, in which the Earl of *Portland* had been much<sup>(14)</sup> incensed against him, that He remembered He had drawn such a Petition, which was signed by all the considerable Merchants of *London*, but that there was little Progress made thereupon, by Reason of the Asperity of the Treasurer:” He asked still for the Petition that was so signed; He told him, He thought He had it himself, if He had it not, He was confident He could find who had it: He desired him, that He would find it out, and bring it to him, and any other Papers concerning that Affair, or the Business of the Customs: He said, “the King had, contrary to his Desire, made him one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; that He understood nothing of that Province, but was willing to take any Pains which might enable him to do his Master Service, which made him inquisitive into the Customs, the principal

“cipal Branch of the Revenue; that his Neighbour *Daniel Harvey* had spoken much Good of him to Him; “and informed him of that Complaint of the Merchants, “which He thought had much Reason in it, but it was “like other Acts of the Earl of *Portland*; that He would “be willing to receive any Information from him, and “that He should be welcome when He came to him.” He told him, in short (which He heard would please him best) two or three Passages that happened in that Transaction; and some haughty Expressions which fell from the Treasurer, when upon his urging that the Farmers would not hold their Farm, if He did not strictly hold the Merchants to Custom-House Quay; He told him, “that if “the Farmers were weary of their Bargain, He would “help the King to forty thousand Pounds a Year above “the Rent They paid, and that They should be paid all “the Money They had advanced within one Week;” upon which the Earl indeed had let himself out into an indecent Rage, using many Threats to him; which He found was not ingrateful to the Archbishop, upon whom He attended within a Day or two again, and delivered him the Petition, and many other useful Papers, which pleased him abundantly; and He required him to see Him often.

By this Accident Mr. *Hyde* came first to be known to the Archbishop, who ever afterwards used him very kindly, and spoke well of him upon all Occasions, and took particular Notice of him when He came of Council in any Causes depending at the Council Board, as He did frequently; and desired his Service in many Occasions, and particularly in the raising Monies for the building *St. Paul's Church*, in which He made a Journey or two into *Wiltshire* with good Success; which the Archbishop still acknowledged, in a more obliging Way than He was accustomed to; insomuch as it was so much taken Notice of, that Mr. *Hyde* (who well knew how to cultivate those Advantages) was used with more Countenance by all the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, and the eminent Practisers, than was usually given to Men of his Years; so that He grew every Day in Practice, of which He had as much as He desired, and having a competent Estate of his own, He enjoyed a very pleasant and a plentiful Life, living much above the Rank of those Lawyers, whose Business was only to be rich; and was generally beloved

*Mr. Hyde receives Encouragement in his Profession.*

*His Method  
of spending  
his Time.*

beloved and esteemed by most Persons of Condition and great Reputation. Though He pursued his Profession with great Diligence and Intentness of Mind, and upon the Matter wholly betook himself to Business, yet He made not himself a Slave to it; but kept both his Friends at Court, and about the Town, by his frequent Application and constant Conversation; in Order to which, He always gave himself at Dinner to those who used to meet together at that Hour, and in such Places as was mutually agreed between them; where They enjoyed themselves with great Delight, and publick Reputation, for the Innocence, and Sharpness, and Learning of their Conversation: For He would never suffer himself to be deprived of some Hours (which commonly He borrowed from the Night) to refresh himself with polite Learning, in which He still made some Progress: The Afternoons He entirely dedicated to the Business of his Profession, taking Instructions and the like; and very rarely supped, except He was called out by some of his Friends, who spared him the more, because He always complied with those Summons; otherwise He never supped, for many Years (before the Troubles brought in that Custom) both for the gaining that Time for himself, and that He might rise early in the Morning according to his Custom, and which He would say, He could never do when He supped. The Vacations He gave wholly to his Study and Conversation, never going out of *London* in those Seasons, except for two Months in the Summer, which He spent at his own House in the Country, with great Chearfulness amongst his Friends, who then resorted to him in good Numbers.

He never did ride any Country Circuits with the Judges, which He often repented afterwards, saying, that besides the knowing the Gentry, and People, and Manners of *England* (which is best attained that Way) there is a very good and necessary Part of the Learning in the Law, which is not so easily got any other Way, as in riding those Circuits, which as it seems to have much of Drudgery, so is accompanied with much Pleasure and Profit; and it may be, the long Lives of Men of that Profession (for the Lawyers usually live to more Years than any other Profession) may very reasonably be imputed to the Exercise They give themselves by their Circuits, as well as to their other Acts of Temperance and

and Sobriety: And as He had denied himself that Satisfaction purely to have that Time to himself for other Delight, so He did resolve, if the Confusion of the Time had not surprized him, for three or four Years, (longer He did not intend) to have improved himself by the Experience of those Journies.

He was often heard to say, that, “next the immediate Blessing and Providence of God Almighty, which had preserved him throughout the whole Course of his Life (less strict than it ought to have been) from many Dangers and Disadvantages, in which many other young Men were lost, He owed all the little He knew, and the little Good that was in him, to the Friendships and Conversation He had still been used to, of the most excellent Men in their several Kinds that lived in that Age; by whose Learning, and Information, and Instruction, He formed his Studies, and mended his Understanding; and by whose Gentleness and Sweetness of Behaviour, and Justice, and Virtue, and Example, He formed his Manners, subdued that Pride, and suppressed that Heat and Passion, He was naturally inclined to be transported with.” And He never took more Pleasure in any Thing, than in frequently mentioning and naming those Persons, who were then his Friends, or of his most familiar Conversation; and in remembring their particular Virtues and Faculties; and used often to say, “that He never was so proud, or thought himself so good a Man, as when He was the worst Man in the Company;” all his Friends and Companions being in their Quality, in their Fortunes, at least in their Faculties and Endowments of Mind, very much his Superiors; and He always charged his Children to follow his Example in that Point, in making their Friendships and Conversation; protesting, that in the whole Course of his Life, He never knew one Man, of what Condition soever, arrive to any Degree of Reputation in the World, (16) who made choice or delighted in the Company or Conversation of those, who in their Qualities were inferior, or in their Parts not much superior to himself.

WHILST He was only a Student of the Law, and stood at Gaze, and irresolute what Course of Life to take, his chief Acquaintance were *Ben. Johnson, John Selden, Charles Cotton, John Vaughan, Sir Kenelm Digby, Thomas May, and Thomas Carew*, and some others of emi-

*Some Account of his chief Acquaintance: who were only a Student of the Law,*

Character of  
Ben. Johnson.

nent Faculties in their several Ways. *Ben. Johnson's* Name can never be forgotten, having by his very good Learning, and the Severity of his Nature and Manners, very much reformed the Stage; and indeed the *English* Poetry itself: His natural Advantages were, Judgment to order and govern Fancy, rather than Excess of Fancy, his Productions being slow and upon Deliberation, yet then abounding with great Wit and Fancy, and will live accordingly; and surely as He did exceedingly exalt the *English* Language in Eloquence, Propriety, and masculine Expressions; so He was the best Judge of, and fittest to prescribe Rules to Poetry and Poets, of any Man who had lived with, or before him, or since: If Mr. *Cowley* had not made a Flight beyond all Men, with that Modesty yet, to ascribe much of this, to the Example and Learning of *Ben. Johnson*. His Conversation was very good, and with the Men of most Note; and He had for many Years an extraordinary Kindness for Mr. *Hyde*, till He found He betook himself to Business, which He believed ought never to be preferred before his Company: He lived to be very old, and till the Palsy made a deep Impression upon his Body, and his Mind.

Of Mr. Selden.

MR. SELDEN was a Person, whom no Character can flatter, or transmit in any Expressions equal to his Merit and Virtue; He was of so stupendous Learning in all Kinds, and in all Languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent Writings) that a Man would have thought He had been entirely conversant amongst Books, and had never spent an Hour but in Reading and Writing; yet his Humanity, Courtesy, and Affability was such, that He would have been thought to have been bred in the best Courts, but that his good Nature, Charity, and Delight in doing good, and in communicating all He knew, exceeded that Breeding: His Style in all his Writings seems harsh and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse Subjects of which He commonly treated, out of the Paths trod by other Men; but to a little undervaluing the Beauty of a Style, and too much Propensity to the Language of Antiquity; but in his Conversation He was the most clear Discourser, and had the best Faculty in making hard Things easy, and presenting them to the Understanding, of any Man that hath been known. Mr. *Hyde* was wont to say, that He valued himself upon nothing

nothing more than upon having had Mr. *Selden's* Acquaintance from the Time He was very young; and held it with great Delight as long as They were suffered to continue together in *London*; and He was very much troubled always when He heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in *London*, and in the Parliament, after They were in Rebellion, and in the worst Times, which his Age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the Actions were, which were every Day done, He was confident He had not given his Consent to them; but would have hindered them if He could, with his own Safety, to which He was always enough indulgent. If He had some Infirmities with other Men, They were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious Abilities and Excellencies in the other Scale.

- (17) CHARLES COTTON was a Gentleman born to a competent Fortune, and so qualified in his Person, and Education, that for many Years He continued the greatest Ornament of the Town, in the Esteem of those who had been best bred: His natural Parts were very great, his Wit flowing in all the Parts of Conversation; the Superstructure of Learning not raised to a considerable Height, but having passed some Years in *Cambridge*, and then in *France*, and conversing always with learned Men, his Expressions were ever proper, and significant, and gave great Lustre to his Discourse, upon any Argument; so that He was thought by those who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with Books than He was. He had all those Qualities which in Youth raise Men to the Reputation of being fine Gentlemen; such a Pleasantness and Gaiety of Humour, such a Sweetness and Gentleness of Nature, and such a Civility and Delightfulness in Conversation, that no Man in the Court, or out of it, appeared a more accomplished Person; all these extraordinary Qualifications being supported by as extraordinary a Clearness of Courage, and Fearlessness of Spirit, of which He gave too often Manifestation. Some unhappy Suits in Law, and Waste of his Fortune in those Suits, made some Impression upon his Mind; which being improved by domestick Afflictions, and those Indulgences to himself, which naturally attend those Afflictions, rendered his Age less revered, than his Youth had been; and gave his best Friends Cause to have wished, that He had not lived so long.

JOHN



of Mr.  
Vaughan.

JOHN VAUGHAN was then a Student of the Law in the *Inner Temple*, but at that Time indulged more to the politer Learning; and was in Truth a Man of great Parts of Nature, and very well adorned by Arts and Books; and so much cherished by Mr. *Selden*, that He grew to be of entire Trust and Friendship with him, and to that owed the best Part of his Reputation; for He was of so magisterial and supercilious a Humour, so proud and insolent a Behaviour, that all Mr. *Selden*'s Instructions, and Authority, and Example, could not file off that Roughness of his Nature, so as to make him very grateful. He looked most into those Parts of the Law, which disposed him to least Reverence to the Crown, and most, to popular Authority; yet without Inclination to any Change in Government; and therefore, before the Beginning of the Civil War, and when He clearly discerned the Approaches to it in Parliament, (of which He was a Member) He withdrew himself into the Fastnesses of his own Country, *North Wales*, where He enjoyed a secure, and as near an innocent Life, as the Iniquity of that Time would permit; and upon the Return of King *Charles* the Second, He appeared under the Character of a Man, who had preserved his Loyalty entire, and was esteemed accordingly by all that Party.

HIS Friend Mr. *Hyde*, who was then become Lord High Chancellor of *England*, renewed his old Kindness and Friendship towards him, and was desirous to gratify him all the Ways He could, and earnestly pressed him to put on his Gown again, and take upon him the Office of a Judge; but He excused himself upon his long Discontinuance (having not worn his Gown, and wholly discontinued the Profession from the Year 1640, full twenty Years) and upon his Age, and expressly refused to receive any Promotion; but continued all the Professions of Respect and Gratitude imaginable to the Chancellor, till it was in his Power to manifest the contrary, to his Prejudice, which He did with Circumstances very uncommendable.

of Sir Kenelm Digby.

SIR *Kenelm Digby* was a Person very eminent and notorious throughout the whole Course of his Life, from his Cradle to his Grave; of an ancient Family and noble Extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful Fortune, notwithstanding the Attainder of his Father. He was a Man of a very extraordinary Person and Presence, which drew the Eyes of all Men upon him, which were more fixed by a wonder-

a wonderful graceful Behaviour, a flowing Courtesy and Civility, and such a Volubility of Language, as surprized, and delighted; and though in another Man it might have appeared to have somewhat of Affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and seemed natural to his Size, and Mould of his Person, to the Gravity of his Motion, and the Tune of his Voice and Delivery. He had a fair Reputation in Arms, of which He gave an early Testimony in his Youth, in some Encounters in *Spain*, and *Italy*, and afterwards in an Action in the *Mediterranean Sea*, where He had the Command of a Squadron of Ships of War, set out at his own Charge under the King's Commission; with which, upon an Injury received, or apprehended from the *Venetians*, He encountered their whole Fleet, killed many of their Men, and sunk one of their Galeasses; which in that drowsy and unactive Time, was looked upon with a general Estimation, though the Crown disavowed it. In a Word, He had all the Advantages that Nature, and Art, and an excellent Education could give him, which, with a great Confidence and Presentness of Mind, buoyed him up against all those Prejudices, and Disadvantages, (as the Attainder, and Execution of his Father, for a Crime of the highest Nature; his own Marriage with a Lady, though of an extraordinary Beauty, of as extraordinary a Fame; his changing, and re-changing his Religion; and some personal Vices, and Licences in his Life) which would have suppressed and sunk any other Man, but never clouded or eclipsed him, from appearing in the best Places, and the best Company, and with the best Estimation and Satisfaction.

THOMAS MAY was the eldest Son of his Father, a *Of Mr. May,* Knight, and born to a Fortune, if his Father had not spent it; so that He had only an Annuity left him, not proportionable to a liberal Education; yet since his Fortune could not raise his Mind, He brought his Mind down to his Fortune, by a great Modesty and Humility in his Nature, which was not affected, but very well became an Imperfection in his Speech, which was a great Mortification to him, and kept him from entering upon any Discourse but in the Company of his very Friends. His Parts of Nature, and Art were very good, as appears by his Translation of *Lucan* (none of the easiest Work of that Kind) and more by his Supplement to *Lucan*, which being entirely his own, for the Learning, the Wit,

Wit, and the Language, may be well looked upon as one of the best Epic Poems in the *English* Language; He writ some other commendable Pieces, of the Reign of some of our Kings; He was cherished by many Persons of Honour, and very acceptable in all Places; yet (to shew that Pride and Envy have their Influences upon the narrowest Minds, and which have the greatest Semblance of Humility) though He had received much Countenance, and a very considerable Donative from the King; upon his Majesty's refusing to give him a small Pension, which He had designed and promised to another very ingenious Person, whose Qualities He thought inferior to his own, He fell from his Duty, and all his former Friends; and prostituted himself to the vile Office of celebrating the infamous Acts of those who were in Rebellion against the King; which He did so meanly, that He seemed to all Men to have lost his Wits, when He left his Honesty; and so shortly after, died miserable and neglected; and (19) deserves to be forgotten.

Of Mr. Carew,

THOMAS CAREW was a younger Brother of a good Family, and of excellent Parts, and had spent many Years of his Youth in *France*, and *Italy*; and returning from Travel, followed the Court; which the Modesty of that Time disposed Men to do some Time, before They pretended to be of it; and He was very much esteemed by the most eminent Persons in the Court, and well looked upon by the King himself, some Years, before He could obtain to be Sewer to the King; and when the King conferred that Place upon him, it was not without the Regret even of the whole *Scotch* Nation, which united themselves in recommending another Gentleman to it; of so great Value were those Relations held in that Age, when Majesty was beheld with the Reverence it ought to be. He was a Person of a pleasant and facetious Wit, and made many Poems (especially in the amorous Way) which for the Sharpness of the Fancy, and the Elegancy of the Language, in which that Fancy was spread, were at least equal, if not superior to any of that Time: But his Glory was, that after fifty Years of his Life, spent with less Severity or Exactness than it ought to have been, He died with the greatest Remorse for that Licence, and with the greatest Manifestation of Christianity, that his best Friends could desire.

AMONG

AMONG these Persons Mr. *Hyde's* usual Time of Conversation was spent, till He grew more retired to his more serious Studies, and never discontinued his Acquaintance with any of them, though He spent less Time in their Company; only upon Mr. *Selden* He looked with so much Affection and Reverence, that He always thought himself best, when He was with him; but He had then another Conjunction and Communication, that He took so much Delight in, that He embraced it in the Time of his greatest Business and Practice, and would suffer no other Pretence, or Obligation to withdraw him from that Familiarity and Friendship; and took frequent Occasions to mention their Names with great Pleasure; being often heard to say, "that if He had any Thing good in him, "in his Humour, or in his Manners, He owed it to the "Example, and the Information He had received in, and "from that Company, with most of whom He had an "entire Friendship:" And They were in Truth, in their several Qualifications, Men of more than ordinary Eminence, before They attained the great Preferments many of them lived to enjoy: The Persons were, Sir *Lucius Carey*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount *Falkland*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; Sir *Francis Wenman* of *Oxfordshire*; *Sidney Godolphin* of *Godolphin* in *Cornwall*; *Edmund Waller* of *Becclesfield*; Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*; Dr. *George Morley*; Dr. *John Earles*; Mr. *John Hales* of *Eton*; and Mr. *William Chillingworth*.

*Character of  
Mr. Hyde's  
more intimate  
Friends.*

WITH Sir *Lucius Carey* He had a most entire Friendship without Reserve, from his Age of twenty Years, to the Hour of his Death, near twenty Years after; upon which there will be Occasion to enlarge when We come to speak of that Time, and often before, and therefore We shall say no more of him in this Place, than to shew his Condition, and Qualifications, which were the first Ingredients into that Friendship, which was afterwards cultivated, and improved by a constant Conversation and Familiarity, and by many Accidents which contributed thereto. He had the Advantage of a noble Extraction, and of being born his Father's eldest Son, when there was a greater Fortune in Prospect to be inherited (besides what He might reasonably expect by his Mother) than  
(20) came afterwards to his Possession. His Education was equal to his Birth, at least in the Care, if not in the Climate; for his Father being Deputy of *Ireland*, before He was

*Of Sir Lucius Carey.*

was of Age fit to be sent abroad, his Breeding was in the Court, and in the University of *Dublin*; but under the Care, Vigilance, and Direction of such Governors and Tutors, that He learned all those Exercises and Languages, better than most Men do in more celebrated Places; infomuch as when He came into *England*, which was when He was about the Age of eighteen Years, He was not only Master of the *Latin* Tongue, and had read all the Poets, and other of the best Authors with notable Judgment for that Age, but He understood, and spake, and writ *French*, as if He had spent many Years in *France*.

He had another Advantage, which was a great Ornament to the rest, that was, a good, a plentiful Estate, of which He had the early Possession. His Mother was the sole Daughter and Heir of the Lord Chief Baron *Tanfield*, who having given a fair Portion with his Daughter in Marriage, had kept himself free to dispose of his Land, and his other Estate, in such Manner as He should think fit; and He settled it in such Manner upon his Grandson Sir *Lucius Carey*, without taking Notice of his Father, or Mother, that upon his Grandmother's Death, which fell out about the Time that He was nineteen Years of Age, all the Land, with two very good Houses very well furnished (worth above £2000 *per Annum*) in a most pleasant Country, and the two most pleasant Places in that Country, with a very plentiful personal Estate, fell into his Hands and Possession, and to his entire Disposal.

WITH these Advantages, He had one great Disadvantage (which in the first Entrance into the World is attended with too much Prejudice) in his Person and Presence, which was in no Degree attractive or promising: His Stature was low, and smaller than most Men; his Motion not graceful; and his Aspect so far from inviting, that it had somewhat in it of Simplicity; and his Voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that instead of reconciling, it offended the Ear, so that Nobody would have expected Musick from that Tongue; and sure no Man was less beholden to Nature for its Recommendation into the World; but then no Man sooner, or more disappointed this general and customary Prejudice; that little Person and small Stature was quickly found to contain a great Heart, a Courage so keen, and a Nature so fearless, that no Composition of the strongest Limbs, and most

most harmonious and proportioned Presence and Strength, ever more disposed any Man to the greatest Enterprize; it being his greatest Weakness to be too solicitous for such Adventures; and that untuned Tongue and Voice, easily discovered itself to be supplied, and governed, by a Mind and Understanding so excellent, that the Wit and Weight of all He said, carried another Kind of Lustre, and Admiration in it, and even another Kind of Acceptation from the Persons present, than any Ornament of Delivery could reasonably promise itself, or is usually attended with; and his Disposition and Nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in Courtesy, Kindness, and Generosity, that all Mankind could not but admire, and love him.

IN a short Time after He had Possession of the Estate his Grandfather had left him, and before He was of Age, He committed a Fault against his Father, in marrying a young Lady, whom He passionately loved, without any considerable Portion, which exceedingly offended him; and disappointed all his reasonable Hopes and Expectation, of redeeming and repairing his own broken Fortune, and desperate Hopes in Court, by some advantageous Marriage of his Son; about which He had then some probable Treaty. Sir *Lucius Carey* was very conscious to himself of his Offence and Transgression, and the Consequence of it, which though He could not repent, having married a Lady of a most extraordinary Wit, and Judgment, and of the most signal Virtue, and exemplary Life, that the Age produced, and who brought him many hopeful Children, in which He took great Delight; yet He confessed it, with the most sincere and dutiful Applications to his Father for his Pardon, that could be made; and for the Prejudice He had brought upon his Fortune, by bringing no Portion to him, He offered to repair it, by resigning his whole Estate to his Disposal, and to rely wholly upon his Kindness for his own Maintenance and Support; and to that Purpose, He had caused Conveyances to be drawn by Council, which He brought ready engrossed to his Father, and was willing to seal, and execute them, that They might be valid; but his Father's Passion and Indignation so far transported him (though He was a Gentleman of excellent Parts,) that He refused any Reconciliation, and rejected all the Offers that were made him of the Estate; so that his Son remained still in the Possession of his Estate against his Will,

Will; for which He found great Reason afterwards to rejoice; but He was for the present, so much afflicted with his Father's Displeasure, that He transported himself and his Wife into *Holland*, resolving to buy some military Command, and to spend the Remainder of his Life in that Profession; but being disappointed in the Treaty He expected; and finding no Opportunity to accommodate himself with such a Command, He returned again into *England*, resolving to retire to a Country Life, and to his Books; that since He was not like to improve himself in Arms, He might advance in Letters.

In this Resolution He was so severe (as He was always naturally very intent upon what He was inclined to) that He declared, He would not see *London* in many Years, which was the Place He loved of all the World; and that in his Studies, He would first apply himself to the *Greek*, and pursue it without Intermision, till He should attain to the full Understanding of that Tongue; and it is hardly to be credited, what Industry He used, and what Success attended that Industry; for though his Father's Death, by an unhappy Accident, made his Repair to *London* absolutely necessary, in fewer Years, than He had proposed for his Absence; yet He had first made himself Master of the *Greek* Tongue (in the *Latin* He was very well versed before) and had read not only the *Greek* Historians, but *Homer* likewise, and such of the Poets as were worthy to be perused.

THOUGH his Father's Death brought no other Convenience to him, but a Title to redeem an Estate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which He was compelled to sell a finer Seat of his own; yet it imposed a Burthen upon him, of the Title of a Viscount, and an Increase of Expense, in which He was not in his Nature too provident, or restrained; having naturally such a Generosity and Bounty in him, that He seemed to have his Estate in Trust, for all worthy Persons, who stood in want of Supplies and Encouragement, as *Ben. Johnson*, and many others of that Time, whose Fortunes required, and whose Spirits made them superior to, ordinary Obligations; which yet They were contented to receive from Him, because his Bounties were so generously distributed, and so much without Vanity and Ostentation, that except from those few Persons, from whom He sometimes received the Characters of fit Objects for his Benefits, or whom He

(22) He intrusted, for the more secret deriving them to them, He did all He could, that the Persons themselves who received them, should not know from what Fountain They flowed; and when that could not be concealed, He sustained any Acknowledgment from the Persons obliged, with so much Trouble, and Bashfulness, that They might well perceive, that He was even ashamed of the little He had given, and to receive so large a Recompence for it.

As soon as He had finished all those Transactions, which the Death of his Father had made necessary to be done, He retired again to his Country Life, and to his severe Course of Study, which was very delightful to him, as soon as He was engaged in it; but He was wont to say, that He never found Reluctancy in any Thing He resolved to do, but in his quitting *London*, and departing from the Conversation of those He enjoyed there; which was in some Degree preserved, and continued by frequent Letters, and often Visits, which were made by his Friends from thence, whilst He continued wedded to the Country; and which were so grateful to him, that during their Stay with him, He looked upon no Book, except their very Conversation made an Appeal to some Book; and truly his whole Conversation was one continued *Convivium Philosophicum*, or *Convivium Theologicum*, enlivened, and refreshed with all the Facetiousness of Wit, and Good-Humour, and Pleasantness of Discourse, which made the Gravity of the Argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable. His House where He usually resided (*Tew*, or *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*) being within ten or twelve Miles of the University, looked like the University itself, by the Company that was always found there. There were Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Earles*, Mr. *Chillingworth*, and indeed all Men of eminent Parts and Faculties in *Oxford*, besides those who resorted thither from *London*; who all found their Lodgings there, as ready as in the Colleges, nor did the Lord of the House know of their coming, or going, nor who were in his House, till He came to Dinner, or Supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome Ceremony, or Constraint to forbid Men to come to the House, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better Air, finding all the Books They could desire, in his Library,



and all the Persons together, whose Company They could wish, and not find, in any other Society. Here Mr. *Chillingworth* wrote, and formed, and modelled his excellent Book against the learned Jesuit Mr. *Nott*, after frequent Debates upon the most important Particulars; in many of which, He suffered himself to be over-ruled by the Judgment of his Friends, though in others He still adhered to his own Fancy, which was sceptical enough, even in the highest Points.

In this happy and delightful Conversation, and Restraint, He remained in the Country many Years; and until He had made so prodigious a Progress in Learning, that there were very few classic Authors in the *Greek*, or *Latin* Tongue, that He had not read with great Exactness; He had read all the *Greek*, and *Latin* Fathers; all the most allowed and authentick ecclesiastical Writers; and all the Councils, with wonderful Care, and Observation; for in Religion He thought too careful, and too curious an Enquiry could not be made, amongst those, whose Purity was not questioned, and whose Authority was constantly, and confidently urged, by Men who were furthest from being of one Mind amongst themselves; and for the mutual Support of their several Opinions, in which They most contradicted each other; and in all those Controversies, He had so dispassioned a Consideration, such a Candour in his Nature, and so profound a Charity in his<sup>(13)</sup> Conscience, that in those Points, in which He was in his own Judgment most clear, He never thought the worse, or in any Degree declined the Familiarity, of those who were of another Mind; which, without Question, is an excellent Temper for the Propagation, and Advancement of Christianity. With these great Advantages of Industry, He had a Memory retentive of all that He had ever read, and an Understanding and Judgment to apply it seasonably and appositely, with the most Dexterity and Address, and the least Pedantry and Affectation, that ever Man, who knew so much, was possessed with, of what Quality soever: It is not a trivial Evidence of his Learning, his Wit, and his Candour, that may be found in that Discourse of his, against the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, published since his Death, and from a Copy under his own Hand, though not prepared and digested by him for the Press, and to which He would have given some Castigations.

BUT

BUT all his Parts, Abilities, and Faculties, by Art and Industry, were not to be valued, or mentioned, in Comparison of his most accomplished Mind and Manners; his Gentleness, and Affability was so transcendent, and obliging, that it drew Reverence, and some Kind of Compliance from the roughest, and most unpolished, and stubborn Constitutions; and made them of another Temper in Debate, in his Presence, than They were in other Places: He was in his Nature so severe a Lover of Justice, and so precise a Lover of Truth, that He was superior to all possible Temptations for the Violation of either; indeed so rigid an Exacter of Perfection, in all those Things which seemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common Practice of Men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved, and admired his Virtue (as all who did know him must love, and admire it) did believe, that He was of a Temper and Composition, fitter to live in *Republicâ Platonis*, than in *Face Romuli*; but this Rigidity was only exercised towards himself; towards his Friend's Infirmities no Man was more indulgent. In his Conversation, which was the most chearful and pleasant that can be imagined, though He was young (for all I have yet spoken of him doth not exceed his Age of twenty-five or twenty-six Years) and of great Gaiety in his Humour, with a flowing Delightfulness of Language, He had so chaste a Tongue, and Ear, that there was never known a profane, or loose Word to fall from him, nor in Truth in his Company; the Integrity, and Cleanliness of the Wit of that Time, not exercising itself in that Licence, before Persons for whom They had any Esteem.

SIR *Francis Wenman* would not look upon himself under any other Character, than that of a Country Gentleman; though no Man of his Quality in *England* was more esteemed in Court. He was of a noble Extraction, and of an ancient Family in *Oxfordshire*, where He was possessed of a competent Estate; but his Reputation of Wisdom, and Integrity, gave him an Interest and Credit in that Country, much above his Fortune; and no Man had more Esteem in it, or Power over it. He was a Neighbour to the Lord *Falkland*, and in so entire Friendship and Confidence with him, that He had great Authority in the Society of all his Friends, and

Of Sir Francis Wenman.

Acquaintance. He was a Man of a great Sharpness of Understanding; and of a piercing Judgment; no Man better understood the Affections and Temper of the Kingdom; or indeed the Nature of the Nation, or discerned farther the Consequence of Counsels, and with what Success They were like to be attended. He was a very good *Latin* Scholar, but his Ratiocination was above his Learning; and the Sharpness of his Wit incomparable: He was equal to the greatest Trust and (24) Employment, if He had been ambitious of it, or solicitous for it; but his Want of Health produced a Kind of Laziness of Mind, which disinclined him to Business, and He died a little before the general Troubles of the Kingdom, which He foresaw with wonderful Concern, and when many wise Men were weary of living so long.

Of Mr. Sidney Godolphin.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN was a younger Brother of *Godolphin*, but by the Provision left by his Father, and by the Death of a younger Brother, liberally supplied for a very good Education, and for a chearful Subsistence, in any Course of Life He proposed to himself. There was never so great a Mind and Spirit contained in so little Room; so large an Understanding, and so unrestrained a Fancy, in so very small a Body; so that the Lord *Falkland* used to say merrily, that He thought it was a great Ingredient into his Friendship for Mr. *Godolphin*, that He was pleased to be found in his Company, where He was the properer Man; and it may be, the very Remarkableness of his little Person, made the Sharpness of his Wit, and the composed Quickness of his Judgment and Understanding, the more notable. He had spent some Years in *France*, and in the *Low-Countries*; and accompanied the Earl of *Leicester* in his Ambassage into *Denmark*, before He resolved to be quiet, and attend some Promotion in the Court; where his excellent Disposition and Manners, and extraordinary Qualifications, made him very acceptable. Though every Body loved his Company very well, yet He loved very much to be alone, being in his Constitution inclined somewhat to Melancholy, and to Retirement amongst his Books; and was so far from being active, that He was contented to be reproached by his Friends with Laziness; and was of so nice and tender a Composition, that a little Rain or Wind would disorder him, and divert him from any short Journey, He had most willingly proposed to himself;

self; infomuch, as when He rid abroad with those in whose Company He most delighted, if the Wind chanced to be in his Face, he would (after a little pleasant murmuring) suddenly turn his Horse, and go Home: Yet the Civil War no sooner began (the first Approaches towards which He discovered as soon as any Man, by the Proceedings in Parliament, where He was a Member, and opposed with great Indignation) than He put himself into the first Troops which were raised in the West for the King; and bore the Uneasiness and Fatigue of Winter Marches, with an exemplar Courage and Alacrity; until by too brave a Pursuit of the Enemy, into an obscure Village in *Devonshire*, He was shot with a Musket; with which (without saying any Word more, than, *Ob God, I am hurt*) He fell dead from his Horse; to the excessive Grief of his Friends, who were all that knew him; and the irreparable Damage of the Public.

EDMUND WALLER was born to a very fair Estate, Of Mr. Edmund Waller. by the Parsimony, or Frugality, of a wise Father and Mother; and He thought it so commendable an Advantage, that He resolved to improve it with his utmost Care, upon which in his Nature He was too much intent; and in Order to that, He was so much reserved and retired, that He was scarce ever heard of, till by his Address and Dexterity He had gotten a very rich Wife in the City, against all the Recommendation, and Countenance, and Authority of the Court, which was thoroughly engaged on the Behalf of Mr. *Crofts*; and which used to be successful in that Age, against any Opposition. He had the good Fortune to have an Alliance and Friendship with Dr. *Morley*, who had assisted, and instructed him in the reading many good Books, to which his natural Parts and Promptitude inclined him, especially the Poets; and at the Age when other Men used to give over writing Verses (for He was near thirty Years of Age, when He first engaged himself in that Exercise, at least, that He was known to do so) He surprized the Town with two or three Pieces of that Kind; as if a tenth Muse had been newly born, to cherish drooping Poetry. The Doctor at that Time brought him into that Company, which was most celebrated for good Conversation; where He was received, and esteemed, with great Applause, and Respect. He was a very pleasant Discourser, in Earnest, and in Jest, and therefore very grate-

grateful to all Kind of Company, where He was not the less esteemed for being very rich.

He had been even nursed in Parliaments, where He sat when He was very young; and so when They were resumed again (after a long Intermission) He appeared in those Assemblies with great Advantage; having a graceful Way of speaking, and by thinking much upon several Arguments (which his Temper and Complexion, that had much of Melancholic, inclined him to) He seemed often to speak upon the sudden, when the Occasion had only administered the Opportunity of saying, what He had thoroughly considered, which gave a great Lustre to all He said; which yet was rather of Delight, than Weight. There needs no more be said to extol the Excellence and Power of his Wit, and Pleasantness of his Conversation, than that it was of Magnitude enough, to cover a World of very great Faults; that is, so to cover them, that They were not taken Notice of to his Reproach; viz. a Narrowness in his Nature to the lowest Degree; an Abjectness, and Want of Courage to support him in any virtuous Undertaking; an Insinuation, and servile Flattery to the Height, the vainest, and most imperious Nature could be contented with; that it preserved and won his Life from those, who were most resolved to take it; and in an Occasion in which He ought to have been ambitious to have lost it; and then preserved him again, from the Reproach and Contempt that was due to him, for so preserving it, and for vindicating it at such a Price; that it had Power to reconcile him to those, whom He had most offended and provoked; and continued to his Age with that rare Felicity, that his Company was acceptable, where his Spirit was odious; and He was at least pitied, where He was most detested.

Of Dr. Sheldon.

OF Doctor *Sheldon* there needs no more be said in this Place, than that his Learning, and Gravity, and Prudence, had in that Time raised him to such a Reputation, when He was Chaplain in the House to the Lord Keeper *Conventry* (who exceedingly esteemed him, and used his Service not only in all Matters relating to the Church, but in many other Businesses of Importance, and in which that great, and good Lord was nearly concerned) and when He was afterwards Warden of *All Souls College* in *Oxford*, that He then was looked upon, as very equal to  
any

any Preferment the Church could yield, or hath since yielded unto him; and Sir *Francis Wenman* would often say, when the Doctor resorted to the Conversation at the Lord *Falkland's* House, as He frequently did, that "Dr. *Seldon* was born, and bred to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*."

DOCTOR *Morley* was a Gentleman of very eminent <sup>of Dr. Mor-</sup> Parts in all polite Learning; of great Wit, and Readiness, and Subtily in Disputation; and of remarkable Temper, and Prudence in Conversation, which rendered him most grateful in all the best Company. He was then Chaplain in the House, and to the Family, of the Lord and Lady *Carnarvon*, which needed a wife, and a wary Director. From some academick Contests He had been engaged in, during his living in *Christ Church* in *Oxford*,<sup>(26)</sup> where He was always of the first Eminency, He had by the natural Faction and Animosity of those Disputes, fallen under the Reproach of holding some Opinions, which were not then grateful to those Churchmen, who had the greatest Power in ecclesiastical Promotions; and some sharp Answers and Replies, He used to make in accidental Discourses, and which in Truth were made for Mirth and Pleasantness Sake (as He was of the highest Facetiousness) were reported, and spread abroad to his Prejudice; as being once asked by a grave Country Gentleman (who was desirous to be instructed what their Tenets and Opinions were) "what the *Arminians* held," He pleasantly answered, that *They held all the best Bishopricks and Deaneries in England*; which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. *Morley's* Definition of the *Arminian* Tenets.

SUCH, and the like harmless and jocular Sayings, upon many accidental Occasions, had wrought upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Laud*, (who lived to change his Mind, and to have a just Esteem of him) to entertain some Prejudice towards him; and the Respect which was paid him by many eminent Persons, as *John Hampden*, *Arthur Goodwin*, and others, who were not thought Friends to the Prosperity the Church was in, made others apprehend that He was not enough zealous for it: But that Disaffection, and Virulency (which few Men had then owned and discovered) no sooner appeared, in those, and other Men, but Dr. *Morley* made Haste as publickly to oppose them, both in private, and in publick; which

had the more Effect to the Benefit of the Church, by his being a Person above all possible Reproach, and known, and valued by more Persons of Honour than most of the Clergy were; and being not only without the Envy of any Preferment, but under the Advantage of a discountenanced Person: And as He was afterwards the late King's Chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him, as any of his Chaplains were permitted to attend him; so presently after his Murder, He left the Kingdom, and remained in Banishment, till King *Charles* the Second's happy Return.

Of Dr.  
Earles.

DOCTOR *Earles* was at that Time Chaplain in the House to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, and had a Lodging in the Court under that Relation: He was a Person very notable for his Elegance in the *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues; and being Fellow of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and having been Proctor of the University, and some very witty, and sharp Discourses being published in Print without his Consent, though known to be his, He grew suddenly into a very general Esteem with all Men; being a Man of great Piety and Devotion; a most eloquent and powerful Preacher; and of a Conversation so pleasant and delightful, so very innocent, and so very facetious, that no Man's Company was more desired, and more loved, No Man was more negligent in his Dress, and Habit, and Mien; no Man more wary, and cultivated, in his Behaviour, and Discourse; insomuch as He had the greater Advantage when He was known, by promising so little before He was known. He was an excellent Poet, both in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *English*, as appears by many Pieces yet abroad; though He suppressed many more himself, especially of *English*, incomparably good, out of an Austerity to those Sallies of his Youth. He was very dear to the Lord *Falkland*, with whom He spent as much Time as He could make his own; and as that Lord would impute the speedy Progress He made in the *Greek* Tongue, to the Information, and Assistance He had from Mr. *Earles*, so Mr. *Earles* would frequently profess, that He had got more useful Learning by his Conversation at *Tew* (the Lord *Falkland*'s House) than He had at *Oxford*. In the first settling of the Prince his Family, He was made one of his Chaplains; and attended on him when He was forced to leave the Kingdom.

He

He was amongst the few excellent Men who never had, nor ever could have an Enemy, but such a one, who was an Enemy to all Learning, and Virtue, and therefore would never make himself known.

MR. JOHN HALES had been *Greek* Professor in the *of Mr.* University of *Oxford*; and had borne the greatest Part of *Hales.* the Labour of that excellent Edition and Impression of *St. Chrysostom's* Works, set out by *Sir Harry Savile*; who was then Warden of *Merton* College, when the other was Fellow of that House. He was Chaplain in the House with *Sir Dudley Carleton*, Ambassador at the *Hague* in *Holland*, at the Time when the Synod of *Dort* was held, and so had Liberty to be present at the Consultations in that Assembly; and hath left the best Memorial behind him, of the Ignorance, and Passion, and Animosity, and Injustice of that Convention; of which He often made very pleasant Relations; though at that Time it received too much Countenance from *England*. Being a Person of the greatest Eminency for Learning, and other Abilities, from which He might have promised himself any Preferment in the Church, He withdrew himself from all Pursuits of that Kind, into a private Fellowship in the College of *Eton*, where his Friend *Sir Harry Savile* was Provost; where He lived amongst his Books, and the most separated from the World of any Man then living; though He was not in the least Degree inclined to Melancholy, but on the contrary, of a very open and pleasant Conversation; and therefore was very well pleased with the Resort of his Friends to him, who were such as He had chosen, and in whose Company He delighted, and for whose Sake He would sometimes, once in a Year, resort to *London*, only to enjoy their chearful Conversation.

He would never take any Cure of Souls; and was so great a Contemner of Money, that He was wont to say, that his Fellowship, and the Burfar's Place (which for the Good of the College, He held many Years) was worth him fifty Pounds a Year more than He could spend; and yet, besides his being very charitable to all poor People, even to Liberality, He had made a greater, and better Collection of Books, than were to be found in any other private Library that I have seen; as He had sure read more, and carried more about him, in his excellent Memory, than any Man I ever knew, my Lord *Falkland* only excepted, who I think sided him.

He



He had, whether from his natural Temper and Constitution, or from his long Retirement from all Crowds, or from his profound Judgment, and discerning Spirit, contracted some Opinions, which were not received, nor by him published, except in private Discourses; and then rather upon Occasion of Dispute, than of positive Opinion; and He would often say, his Opinions He was sure did Him no Harm, but He was far from being confident, that They might not do others Harm, who entertained them, and might entertain other Results from them, than He did; and therefore He was very reserved in communicating what He thought Himself in those Points, in which He differed from what was received.

NOTHING troubled him more, than the Brawls which were grown from Religion; and He therefore exceedingly detested the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*; more for their imposing uncharitably upon the Consciences of other Men, than for the Errors in their own Opinions; and would often say, that He would renounce the Religion of the Church of *England* to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians should be damned; and that no Body would conclude another Man to<sup>(28)</sup> be damned, who did not wish him so. No Man more strict and severe to himself; to other Men so charitable as to their Opinions, that He thought that other Men were more in Fault for their Carriage towards them, than the Men themselves were, who erred; and He thought that Pride, and Passion, more than Conscience, were the Cause of all Separation from each others Communion; and He frequently said, that that only kept the World from agreeing upon such a Liturgy, as might bring them into one Communion; all doctrinal Points upon which Men differed in their Opinions, being to have no Place in any Liturgy. Upon an occasional Discourse with a Friend, of the frequent, and uncharitable Reproaches of Heretick, and Schismatick, too lightly thrown at each other, amongst Men who differ in their Judgment, He writ a little Discourse of Schism, contained in less than two Sheets of Paper; which being transmitted from Friend to Friend in Writing, was at last, without any Malice, brought to the View of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Laud*, who was a very rigid Surveyor of all Things which never so little bordered upon Schism; and thought the Church could not be  
too

too vigilant against, and jealous of such Incurfions.

He sent for Mr. *Hales*, whom, when They had both lived in the University of *Oxford*, He had known well; and told him, that He had in Truth believed him to be long since dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old Acquaintance; then asked him, whether He had lately writ a short Discourse of Schism, and whether He was of that Opinion, which that Discourse implied. He told him, that He had, for the Satisfaction of a private Friend (who was not of his Mind) a Year or two before, writ such a small Tract, without any Imagination that it would be communicated; and that He believed it did not contain any Thing, that was not agreeable to the Judgment of the Primitive Fathers; upon which, the Archbishop debated with him upon some Expressions of *Irenæus*, and the most ancient Fathers; and concluded with saying, that the Time was very apt to set new Doctrines on Foot, of which the Wits of the Age were too susceptible; and that there could not be too much Care taken, to preserve the Peace and Unity of the Church; and from thence asked him of his Condition, and whether He wanted any Thing, and the other answering, that He had enough, and wanted, or desired no Addition, so dismissed him with great Courtesy; and shortly after sent for him again, when there was a Prebendary of *Windsor* fallen, and told him, the King had given him the Preferment, because it lay so convenient to his Fellowship of *Eton*; which (though indeed the most convenient Preferment that could be thought of for him) the Archbishop could not without great Difficulty, persuade him to accept, and He did accept it rather to please Him, than Himself; because He really believed He had enough before. He was one of the least Men in the Kingdom; and one of the greatest Scholars in *Europe*.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH was of a Stature little superior to Mr. *Hales* (and it was an Age, in which there were many great, and wonderful Men of that Size) and a Man of so great a Subtily of Understanding, and so rare a Temper in Debate; that as it was impossible to provoke him into any Passion, so it was very difficult to keep a Man's self from being a little discomposed by his Sharpness, and Quickness of Argument, and Instances, in which He had a rare Facility, and a great Ad-

of Mr. Chillingworth.

Advantage over all the Men I ever knew. He had spent all his younger Time in Disputation; and had arrived to so great a Mastery, as He was inferior to no Man in those Skirmishes; but He had, with his notable Perfection in this Exercise, contracted such an Irresolution, and Habit of doubting, that by Degrees He grew confident of Nothing, and a Sceptick at least, in the greatest Mysteries of Faith.

THIS made him from first wavering in Religion, and indulging to Scruples, to reconcile himself too soon, and too easily to the Church of *Rome*; and carrying still his own Inquisitiveness about him, without any Resignation to their Authority (which is the only Temper can make that Church sure of it's Profelytes) having made a Journey to *St. Omers*, purely to perfect his Conversion, by the Conversation of those, who had the greatest Name, He found as little Satisfaction there; and returned with as much Haste from them; with a Belief that an entire Exemption from Error, was neither inherent in, nor necessary to any Church: Which occasioned that War, which was carried on by the Jesuits with so great Asperity, and Reproaches against him, and in which He defended himself, by such an admirable Eloquence of Language, and clear, and incomparable Power of Reason, that He not only made them appear unequal Adversaries, but carried the War into their own Quarters; and made the Pope's Infallibility to be as much shaken, and declined by their own Doctors (and as great an Acrimony amongst themselves upon that Subject) and to be at least as much doubted, as in the Schools of the Reformed or Protestant; and forced them since, to defend and maintain those unhappy Controversies in Religion, with Arms and Weapons of another Nature, than were used, or known in the Church of *Rome*, when *Bellarmino* died; and which probably will in Time undermine the very Foundation that supports it.

SUCH a Levity, and Propensity to change, is commonly attended with great Infirmities in, and no less Reproach, and Prejudice to the Person; but the Sincerity of his Heart was so conspicuous, and without the least Temptation of any corrupt End; and the Innocence, and Candour in his Nature so evident, and without any Perverseness; that all who knew him, clearly discerned, that all those restless Motions and Fluctuations,

tions, proceeded only from the Warmth and Jealousy of his own Thoughts, in a too nice Inquisition for Truth. Neither the Books of the Adversary, nor any of their Persons, though He was acquainted with the best of both, had ever made great Impression upon him; all his Doubts grew out of himself, when He assisted his Scruples with all the Strength of his own Reason, and was then too hard for himself; but finding as little Quiet and Repose in those Victories, He quickly recovered, by a new Appeal to his own Judgment; so that He was in Truth, upon the Matter, in all his Sallies, and Retreats, his own Convert; though He was not so totally divested of all Thoughts of this World, but that when He was ready for it, He admitted some great and considerable Churchmen, to be Sharers with him in his publick Conversion.

WHILST He was in Perplexity, or rather some passionate Disinclination to the Religion He had been educated in, He had the Misfortune to have much Acquaintance with one Mr. *Lugar*, a Minister of that Church; a Man of a Competency of Learning, in those Points most controverted with the *Romanists*, but of no acute Parts of Wit, or Judgment; and wrought so far upon him, by weakening, and enervating those Arguments, by which He found He was governed (as He had all the Logick, and all the Rhetorick, that was necessary to persuade very powerfully Men of the greatest Talents) that the poor Man, not able to live long in Doubt, too hastily deserted his own Church, and betook himself to the *Roman*: Nor could all the Arguments, and Reasons of Mr. *Cbillingworth* make him pause in the Expedition He was using; or reduce him from that Church after He had given himself to it; but He had always a great Animosity against him, for having (as He said) unkindly betrayed him, and carried him into another Religion, and there left him. So unfit are some Constitutions to be troubled with Doubts, after They are once fixed.

He did really believe all War to be unlawful; and did not think that the Parliament (whose Proceedings He perfectly abhorred) did in Truth intend to involve the Nation in a Civil War, till after the Battle of *Edge-bill*; and then He thought any Expedient, or Stratagem that was like to put a speedy End to it, to be the most commendable: And so having too mathematically conceived

ceived an Engine, that should move so lightly, as to be a Breast-work on all Encounters, and Assaults in the Field; He carried it, to make the Experiment, into that Part of his Majesty's Army, which was only in that Winter Season in the Field, under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*, in *Hampshire*, upon the Borders of *Suffex*; where He was shut up in the Castle of *Arundel*; which was forced, after a short, sharp Siege, to yield for want of Victual; and poor Mr. *Chillingworth* with it, falling into the Rebels Hands; and being most barbarously treated by them, especially by that Clergy which followed them; and being broken with Sickness, contracted by the ill Accommodation, and Want of Meat, and Fire during the Siege, which was in a terrible Season of Frost and Snow, He died shortly after in Prison. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and of a chearful Disposition; void of all Kind of Vice, and endued with many notable Virtues; of a very publick Heart, and an indefatigable Desire to do Good; his only Unhappiness proceeded from his sleeping too little, and thinking too much; which sometimes threw him into violent Fevers.

THIS was Mr. HYDE's Company, and Conversation, to which He dedicated his vacant Times, and all that Time which He could make vacant, from the Business of his Profession; which He indulged with no more Passion than was necessary to keep up the Reputation of a Man, that had no Purpose to be idle; which indeed He perfectly abhorred: And He took always Occasion to celebrate the Time He had spent in that Conversation, with great Satisfaction, and Delight. Nor was He less fortunate, in the Acquaintance and Friendships which He made with the Persons in his Profession; who were all eminent Men, or of the most hopeful Parts; who being all much superior to him in Age, and Experience, and entirely devoted to their Profession, were yet well pleased with the Gaiety of his Humour, and inoffensive, and winning Behaviour; and this good Inclination of theirs was improved by the Interest They saw He had in Persons of the best Quality, to whom He was very acceptable, and his Condition of living, which was with more Expence than young Lawyers were accustomed to.

Mr. Hyde's  
Friends in his  
Profession.

THOSE Persons were, Mr. *Lane*, who was then Attorney to the Prince of *Wales*; and afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and lastly upon the Death of the Lord

Lord *Littleton*, was made Keeper of the Great Seal, who died in Banishment with King *Charles* the Second. Mr. *Geoffrey Palmer*, afterwards Attorney General. Mr. *John Maynard*; and *Bulstrode Whitlock*; all Men of eminent Parts, and great Learning out of their Professions; and in their Professions, of signal Reputation; and though the two last did afterwards bow their Knees to *Baal*, and (31) so swerved from their Allegiance, it was with less Rancour and Malice than other Men; They never led, but followed; and were rather carried away with the Torrent, than swam with the Stream; and failed through those Infirmities, which less than a general Defection, and a profperous Rebellion could never have discovered. With these, and very few other Persons of other Societies, and of more than ordinary Parts in the Profession, He conversed. In Business, and in Practice, with the rest of the Profession He had at most a formal Acquaintance, and little Familiarity; very seldom using, when his Practice was at highest, so much as to eat in the Hall, without which, no Man ever got the Reputation of a good Student; but He ever gave his Time of eating to his Friends; and was wont pleasantly to say, "that He repaired himself with very good Company at Dinner, for the ill Company He had kept in the Morning;" and made himself Amends for the Time He lost with his Friends, by declining Suppers; and with a Part of that Time which was allowed for Sleep: But He grew every Day more intent on Business, and more engaged in Practice, so that He could not assign so much Time as He had used to do, to his beloved Conversation.

THE Countenance He received from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who took all Occasion to mention him as a Person He had Kindness for; the Favour of the Lord *Coventry*, manifested as often as He came before him; the Reception He found with the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Manchester*, who had raised the Court of Requests to as much Business as the Chancery itself was possessed of, and where He was looked upon as a Favourite; the Familiarity used towards him by the Lord *Pembroke*, who was Lord Chamberlain of the King's House, and a greater Man in the Country than the Court; by the Earl of *Holland*, and many other Lords and Ladies, and other Persons of Interest in the Court, made him looked upon by the Judges in *Westminster Hall*, with much Condescension;

Condescension; and They, who before He put on his Gown, looked upon him as one who designed some other Course of Life (for though He had been always very punctual in the Performance of all those publick Exercises the Profession obliged him to, both before, and after He was called to the Bar; yet in all other Respects He seemed not to confine himself wholly to that Course of Life) now when They no sooner saw him put on his Gown, but that He was suddenly in Practice, and taken Notice of particularly in all Courts of Justice with unusual Countenance, thought He would make what Progress He desired in that Profession.

As He had those many Friends in Court, so He was not less acceptable to many great Persons in the Country, who least regarded the Court, and were least esteemed by it; and He had that rare Felicity, that even They, who did not love many of those, upon whom He most depended, were yet very well pleased with him, and with his Company. The Earl of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Essex*, whose Interests, and Friendships were then the same; and who were looked upon with Reverence by all who had not Reverence for the Court; and even by all in the Court, who were not satisfied there (which was, and always will be a great People) were very kind to him, and ready to trust him in any Thing that was most secret; and though He could not dispose the Archbishop, or the Earl of *Essex* to any Correspondence, or good Intelligence with each other; which He exceedingly laboured to do, and found an equal Aversion in both towards each other; yet He succeeded to his Wish in bringing the Archbishop, and the Earl of *Hertford* to a very good Acquaintance, and Inclination to each other; which They both often acknowledged kindly to him, and with which the Earl of *Essex* was as much unsatisfied.

Mr. Hyde  
reconciles the  
Archbishop  
and the Earl  
of Hertford.

THE Person whose Life this Discourse is to recollect (and who had so great an Affection, and Reverence for the Memory of Archbishop *Laud*, that He never spake of him without extraordinary Esteem, and believed him to be a Man of the most exemplar Virtue, and Piety of any of that Age) was wont to say, the greatest Want the Archbishop had, was of a true Friend, who would seasonably have told him of his Infirmities, and what People spake of him; and He said, He knew well, that such a Friend would have been very acceptable to him; and upon

upon that Occasion He used to mention a Story of Himself; that when He was a young Practiser of the Law, being in some Favour with him (as is mentioned before) He went to visit him, in the Beginning of a *Michaelmas* Term, shortly after his Return from the Country, where He had spent a Month or two of the Summer.

He found the Archbishop early walking in the Garden; who received him according to his Custom, very graciously, and continuing his Walk, asked him, "what good News in the Country?" to which He answered, "there was none good; the People were universally discontented; and (which troubled him most) that many People spoke extreme ill of his Grace, as the Cause of all that was amiss." He replied, "that He was sorry for it; He knew He did not deserve it; and that He must not give over serving the King, and the Church, to please the People, who otherwise would not speak well of him." Mr. *Hyde* told him, "He thought He need not lessen his Zeal for either; and that it grieved him to find Persons of the best Condition, and who loved both King, and Church, exceedingly indevoted to Him; complaining of his Manner of treating them, when They had Occasion to resort to him, it may be, for his Directions." And then named him two Persons of the most Interest and Credit in *Wiltshire*, who had that Summer attended the Council Board, in some Affairs which concerned the King, and the County; that all the Lords present used them with great Courtesy, knowing well their Quality and Reputation; but that He alone spake very sharply to them, and without any Thing of Grace, at which They were much troubled; and one of them, supposing that Somebody had done him ill Offices, went the next Morning to *Lambeth*, to present his Service to him, and to discover, if He could, what Misrepresentation had been made of him: That after He had attended very long, He was admitted to speak with his Grace, who scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that "He had no Leisure for Compliments;" and so hurried away; which put the other Gentleman much out of Countenance: And that this Kind of Behaviour of his was the Discourse of all Companies of Persons of Quality; every Man continuing any such Story with another like it, very much to his Disadvantage; and to the Trouble of those who were very just to him,



The Arch-  
bishop's Re-  
ply.

HE heard the Relation very patiently, and attentively; and discoursed over every Particular with all imaginable Condescension; and said, with evident Shew of Trouble, that "He was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that He meant very well; that He remembered the Time, when those two Persons were with the Council; that upon any Deliberations, when any Thing was resolved, or to be said to any Body, the Council enjoined him to deliver their Resolutions; which He did always according to the best of his Understanding; but by the Imperfection He had by Nature, which He said often troubled him, He might deliver it in such a Tune, (33) and with a Sharpness of Voice, that made Men believe He was angry, when there was no such Thing; that when those Gentlemen were there, and He had delivered what He was to say, They made some Stay, and spake with some of the Lords, which not being according to Order, He thought He gave them some Reprehension; They having at that Time very much other Business to do: That He did well remember, that one of them, (who was a Person of Honour) came afterwards to him, at a Time He was shut up about an Affair of Importance, which required his full Thoughts; but that as soon as He heard of the other's being without, He sent for him, himself going into the next Room, and received him very kindly, as He thought; and supposing that He came about Business, asked him what his Business was; and the other answering, that He had no Business, but continuing his Address with some Ceremony, He had indeed said, that *He had not Time for Compliments*; but He did not think that He went out of the Room in that Manner: And concluded, that it was not possible for him in the many Occupations He had, to spend any Time in unnecessary Compliments; and that if his Integrity and Uprightness, which never should be liable to Reproach, could not be strong enough to preserve him, He must submit to God's Pleasure."

HE was well contented to hear Mr. *Hyde* reply very freely upon the Subject, who said, "He observed by what his Grace himself had related, that the Gentlemen had too much Reason for the Report They made; and He did not wonder that They had been much troubled at his Carriage towards them; that He did  
"exceedingly

“exceedingly wish, that He would more reserve his Passion towards all Persons, how faulty soever; and that He would treat Persons of Honour, and Quality, and Interest in their Country, with more Courtesy and Condescension; especially when They came to visit him, and make Offer of their Service.” He said, smiling, that “He could only undertake for his Heart; that He had very good Meaning; for his Tongue, He could not undertake, that he would not sometimes speak more hastily, and sharply, than He should do, (which oftentimes He was sorry and reprehended himself for) and in a Tone which might be liable to Misinterpretation, with them, who were not very well acquainted with him, and so knew, that it was an Infirmary, which his Nature, and Education had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to contend with it.” For the State and Distance He kept with Men, He said, “He thought it was not more than was suitable to the Place and Degree He held in the Church, and State; or so much as others had assumed to themselves, who had sat in his Place; and thereupon He told him some Behaviour and Carriage of his Predecessor *Abbot* (who He said was not better born than himself) towards the greatest Nobility of the Kingdom, which He thought was very insolent, and inexcusable;” and was indeed very ridiculous.

AFTER this free Discourse, Mr. *Hyde* ever found himself more graciously received by him, and treated with more Familiarity; upon which He always concluded, that if the Archbishop had had any true Friend, who would, in proper Seasons, have dealt frankly with him, in the most important Matters, and wherein the Errors were like to be most penal, He would not only have received it very well, but have profited himself by it. But it is the Misfortune of most Persons of that Education (how worthy soever) that They have rarely Friendships with Men above their own Condition; and that their Ascent being commonly sudden, from low to high, They have afterwards rather Dependants than Friends; and are still deceived, by keeping somewhat in Reserve to themselves, even from those with whom They seem most openly to communicate; and which is worse, receive for the most Part, their Informations and Advertisements from Clergymen, who understand the least, and take the worst Measure

of human Affairs, of all Mankind, that can write and read.

UNDER this universal Acquaintance, and general Acceptation, Mr. *Hyde* led, for many Years, as chearful, and pleasant a Life, as any Man did enjoy, as long as the Kingdom took any Pleasure in itself. His Practice grew every Day as much as He wished; and would have been much more, if He had wished it; by which, He not only supported his Expence, greater much than Men of his Rank, and Pretences, used to make, but encreased his Estate by some convenient Purchases of Land, adjoining to his other; and He grew so much in Love with Business and Practice, that He gave up his whole Heart to it; resolving, by a Course of severe Study, to recover the Time He had lost upon less profitable Learning, and to intend nothing else, but to reap all those Benefits, to which that Profession could carry him, and to the pursuing whereof, He had so many, and so unusual Encouragements; and towards which it was not the least, that God had blessed him with an excellent Wife, who perfectly resigned herself to him; and who then had brought him, before any Troubles in the Kingdom, three Sons, and a Daughter, which He then, and ever, looked upon as his greatest Blessing, and Consolation.

*Mr. Hyde's  
Reflections on  
the younger  
Part of his  
Life.*

BECAUSE we shall have little Cause hereafter to mention any other Particulars, in the calm Part of his Life, whilst He followed the Study and Practice of the Law, it will not in this Place appear a very impertinent Digression to say, that He was, in that very Time, when Fortune seemed to smile, and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards, throughout the whole Course of his Life, wont to say, that “when He reflected upon himself, and “his past Actions, even from the Time of his first “coming to the *Middle Temple*, He had much more Cause “to be terrified upon the Reflection, than the Man had, “who viewed *Rockester Bridge* in the Morning that it was “broken, and which He had galloped over in the Night; “that He had passed over more Precipices than the other “had done, for many Nights, and Days, and some Years “together; from which nothing but the immediate “Hand of God could have preserved him.” For though it is very true, the Persons before mentioned were the only Men, in whose Company, in those Seasons of his Life, He took Delight; yet He frequently found himself in the

Con-

Conversat<sup>ion</sup> of worse, and indeed of all Manner of Men; and it being in the Time when the War was entered into against the two Crowns; and the Expeditions made to, and unprosperous returns from *Cadiz*, and the Isle of *Ree*, the Town was full of Soldiers, and of young Gentlemen who intended to be Soldiers, or as like them as They could; great Licence used of all Kinds, in Cloaths, in Diet, in Gaming; and all Kind of Expenses equally carried on, by Men who had Fortunes of their own to support it, and by others, who having nothing of their own, cared not what They spent, whilst They could find Credit; so that there was never an Age, in which in so short a Time, so many young Gentlemen, who had not Experience in the World, or some tutelar Angel to protect them, were insensibly, and suddenly overwhelmed in that Sea of Wine, and Women, and Quarrels, and Gaming, which almost overspread the whole Kingdom, and the Nobility and Gentry thereof. And when He had, by God's immediate Blessing, disentangled himself from these

(35) Labyrinths (his Nature and Inclination disposing him rather to pass through those dissolute Quarters, than to make any Stay in them) and was enough composed against any extravagant Excursions; He was still conversant with a Rank of Men (how worthy soever) above his Quality; and engaged in an Expense above his Fortune, if the extraordinary Accidents of his Life had not supplied him for those Excesses; so that it brought no Prejudice upon him, except in the Censure of severe Men, who thought him a Person of more Licence than in Truth He was; and who in a short Time, were very fully reconciled to him.

He had without Doubt great Infirmities; which by a providential Mercy were seasonably restrained from growing into Vices, at least into any that were habitual. He had Ambition enough to keep him from being satisfied with his own Condition, and to raise his Spirit to great Designs of raising himself; but not to transport him to endeavour it by any crooked, and indirect Means. He was never suspected to flatter the greatest Man; or in the least Degree to dissemble his own Opinions or Thoughts, how ingrateful soever it often proved; and even an affected Defect in, and Contempt of those two useful Qualities cost him dear afterwards. He indulged his Palate very much, and took even some Delight in eating and

*And his own Character.*

drinking well; but without any Approach to Luxury; and, in Truth, rather discourf'd like an Epicure, than was one; having fpend much Time in the eating Hours; with the Earl of *Dorset*, the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lunley*, Men who excelled in gratifying their Appetites. He had a Fancy fharp, and luxuriant; but fo carefully cultivated, and ftrictly guarded, that He never was heard to fpeak a loofe or a profane Word; which He imputed to the Chafteity of the Perfons, where his Converfation ufually was; where that rank Sort of Wit was religiously detefted; and a little Difcountenance would quickly root thofe unfavoury Weeds out of all Difcourfes where Perfons of Honour are prefent.

He was in his Nature inclined to Pride and Paffion; and to a Humour, between Wrangling and Difputing, very troublefome; which good Company in a fhort Time fo much reformed, and maffered, that no Man was more affable and courteous to all Kind of Perfons; and They who knew the great Infirmary of his whole Family, which abounded in Paffion, ufed to fay, He had much extinguifhed the Unrulinefs of that Fire. That which fupported, and rendered him generally acceptable, was his Generofity (for He had too much a Contempt of Money) and the Opinion Men had of the Goodnefs, and Juftice of his Nature which was transcendent in him, in a wonderful Tendernefs, and Delight in obliging. His Integrity was ever without Blemifh; and believed to be above Temptation. He was firm and unfhaken in his Friendfhips: and though He had great Candour towards others in the Differences of Religion, He was zealoufly, and deliberately fixed in the Principles both of the Doctrine, and Difcipline of the Church: Yet He ufed to fay to his neareft Friends, in that Time, when He expected another Kind of Calm for the Remainder of his Life, "though He had fome glimmering Light of, and Inclination to Virtue in his Nature, "that the whole Progreff of his Life had been full of deperate Hazards; and that only the merciful Hand of "God Almighty had prevented his being both an unfortunate, and a vicious Man:" And He ftill faid, that "God had vouchsafed that fignal Goodnefs to him, for "the Piety, and exemplar Virtue of his Father and Mother;" whole Memory He had always in Veneration; and He was pleafed with what his neareft Ally, and Bofom Friend Serjeant *Hyde* (who was afterwards Chief Juftice of<sup>(36)</sup> the

the King's Bench) used at that Time to say of him, that his Cousin had passed his Time very luckily; and with notable Success; and was like to be very happy in the World; but He would never advise any of his Friends to walk in the same Paths, or to tread in his Steps.

It was about the Year 1639, when He was little more than thirty Years of Age; and when *England* enjoyed the greatest Measure of Felicity, that it had ever known; the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* worrying each other, by their mutual Incurfions and Invasions; whilst They had both a Civil War in their own Bowels; the former, by frequent Rebellions from their own Factions, and Animofities; the latter, by the Defection of *Portugal*; and both laboured more to ransack, and burn each other's Dominions, than to extinguish their own Fire. All *Germany* weltering in it's own Blood; and contributing to each other's Destruction; that the poor Crown of *Sweden* might grow great out of their Ruins, and at their Charge: *Denmark*, and *Poland* being Adventurers in the same destructive Enterprizes. *Holland*, and the *United Provinces* wearied, and tired with their long and chargeable War, how prosperous soever They were in it; and beginning to be more afraid of *France*, their Ally, than of *Spain*, their Enemy. *Italy*, every Year infested by the Arms of *Spain* and *France*; which divided the Princes thereof into the several Factions.

*General State  
of Europe.  
A. D. 1639.*

Of all the Princes of *Europe*, the King of *England* alone seemed to be seated upon that pleasant Promontory, that might safely view the tragick Sufferings of all his Neighbours about him, without any other Concernment, than what arose from his own princely Heart, and Christian Compassion, to see such Desolation wrought by the Pride, and Passion, and Ambition of private Persons, supported by Princes, who knew not what themselves would have. His three Kingdoms flourishing in entire Peace, and universal Plenty; in Danger of nothing but their own Surfeits; and his Dominions every Day enlarged, by sending out Colonies upon large and fruitful Plantations; his strong Fleets commanding all Seas; and the numerous Shipping of the Nation bringing the Trade of the World into his Ports; nor could it with unquestionable Security be carried any whither else; and all these Blessings enjoyed, under a Prince of the greatest Clemency and Justice, and of the greatest Piety and Devotion, and the most in-

dulgent to his Subjects, and most solicitous for their Happiness and Prosperity.

*O fortunati nimium, bona si sua norint !*

IN this blessed Conjunction, when no other Prince thought He wanted any Thing, to compass what He most desired to be possessed of, but the Affection and Friendship of the King of *England*; a small, scarce discernable Cloud arose in the North; which was shortly after attended with such a Storm, that never gave over raging, till it had shaken, and even rooted up the greatest and tallest Cedars of the three Nations; blasted all its Beauty and Fruitfulness; brought its Strength to Decay, and its Glory to Reproach, and almost to Desolation; by such a Career, and Deluge of Wickedness, and Rebellion, as by not being enough foreseen, or, in Truth, suspected, could not be prevented.

Mr. Hyde  
chosen Mem-  
ber for Wot-  
ton-Basset.

UPON the Rebellion in *Scotland*, in the Year 1640, the King called a Parliament; which met according to Summons, upon the 3d of *April*. Mr. *Hyde* was chosen to serve for two Places; for the Borough of *Wotton-Basset* in the County of *Wilts*; and for the Borough of *Shaftesbury*, in the County of *Dorset*; but made choice to serve for his Neighbours of the former Place: and so a new Writ issued<sup>(37)</sup> for the Choice of another Burgess for *Shaftesbury*.

His first  
Speech in the  
House of  
Commons.

THE next Day after Mr. *Pym* had recapitulated the whole Series of the Grievances, and Miscarriages, which had been in the State; Mr. *Hyde* told the House, that “that worthy Gentleman had omitted one Grievance, more heavy than (as He thought) many of the others; which was, the Earl Marshal’s Court: a Court newly erected, without Colour, or Shadow of Law, which took upon it to fine, and imprison the King’s Subjects; and to give great Damages for Matters which the Law gave no Damages for.” He repeated a pleasant Story of a Citizen, who being rudely treated, for more than his Fare came to, by a Waterman, who pressing him, still shewed his Crest or Badge upon his Coat, the Citizen bad him begone *with his Goose*; whereas it was in Truth, a Swan, the Crest of an Earl, whose Servant the Waterman was; whereupon the Citizen was called into the Marshal’s Court, and after a long and chargeable Attendance, was, *for the opprobrious dishonouring the Earl’s Crest, by calling the Swan a Goose*, fined, and imprisoned, till He had paid confi-

considerable Damages to the Lord, or at least to the W<sup>a</sup>terman; which really undid the Citizen.

He told them another Story as ridiculous, of a Gentleman, who owing his Taylor a long Time, a good Sum of Money for Cloaths, and his Taylor coming one Day to his Chamber, with more than ordinary Importunity for his Debt, and not receiving any good Answer, threatened to arrest him; upon which the Gentleman enraged, gave him very ill Words, called him base Fellow, and laid his Hands upon him, to thrust him out of his Chamber; in this Struggle, and under this Provocation, Oppression, and Reproach, the poor Taylor chanced to say, that He was as good a Man as the other; for which Words He was called into the Marshal's Court; and for his Peace, was content to be satisfied his Debt, out of his own ill Manners; being compelled to release all his other Demands in Lieu of Damages. The Case was known by many, and detested by all.

He told them, that "there was an Appendant to that Court, which He called the Pageantry of it, the Heralds, who were as grievous to the Gentry, as the Court was to the People. He said, that sure the Knights of that House, when They received that Honour from the King, though They might think themselves obliged to live at a higher Rate, yet They believed, that They might die as good cheap as other Men; He told them They could not, it would cost them ten Pounds more; and yet a Gentleman could not die for nothing." The Heralds had procured such an Order from the Earl Marshal, to force all Persons to pay at their Funerals, such several Sums, according to their several Degrees. He concluded with a Desire, that when the Wisdom of that House provided Remedies against the other Grievances, it would likewise secure the Subject against this Exorbitance. This Representation was very acceptable to the House, both in Respect of the Matter, which was odious enough; and in Regard of the Person that usurped that monstrous Jurisdiction, who was in no Degree grateful to them; upon whom He that made the Motion, had not made the least Reflection. The Modesty of that Time not permitting the Mention of great Men, with any Reproach, until their Offences were first examined, and proved; and this being the first Part He had acted upon that Stage, brought him  
much



much Applause; and He was ever afterwards heard with great Benignity.

*He endeavours to prevent the Dissolution of the Parliament.*

UPON the warm Debate in the House of Commons, concerning the giving the King Money, Mr. Hyde observed by the several Discourses of many of the Court, who were of near Admission to the King and Queen, and like to make probable Guesses, that They believed, the King would be so much displeased at the Proceedings of the House, that He would dissolve them; which He believed would prove the most fatal Resolution could be taken. As soon as the House was up, He went over to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishop; whom He found walking in his Garden, having received a full Account of all that had passed, from Persons who had made more Haste from the House. He appeared sad, and full of Thoughts; and calling the other to him, seemed willing to hear what He would say. He told him, "that He would not trouble him with the Relation of any Thing that had passed, of which He presumed He had received a good Account; that his Business was only to inform him of his own Fears and Apprehensions; and the Observation He had made upon the Discourses of some considerable Men of the Court; as if the King might be wrought upon, because there had not been that Expedition used as He expected, speedily to dissolve the Parliament. That He came only to beseech him to use all his Credit, to prevent such a desperate Counsel; which would produce great Mischief to the King, and to the Church: that He was confident the House was as well constituted and disposed, as ever House of Commons was, or would be: that the Number of the disaffected to Church, or State, was very small; and though They might obstruct for some Time the quick resolving upon what was fit, They would never be able to pervert their good Inclinations, and Desires to serve the King."

THE Archbishop heard him very patiently, and said, He believed the King would be very angry at the Way of their Proceedings; for that in this Conjuncture, the delaying, and denying to do what He desired, was the same Thing; and therefore He believed it probable that He would dissolve them; without which He could not enter upon other Counsels. That for his own Part, He was resolved to deliver no Opinion; but as He would not persuade the Dissolution, which might be attended by Consequences

sequences He could not foresee, so He had not so good an Opinion of their Affections to the King, or the Church, as to persuade their longer Sitting, if the King were inclined to dissolve them. As He actually did on the 4th or 5th of *May*, not three Weeks after their first Meeting.

*He is again returned to serve in Parliament.*

THE Temper and Constitution of both Houses of Parliament, which the King was forced to call shortly after, and met on the 3d of *November* 1640, was very different from the last: and They discovered not more Prejudice against any Man, than against Mr. *Hyde*; who was again returned to serve there, and whom They were sorry to find amongst them; as a Man They knew well to have great Affection for the Archbishop; and of unalterable Devotion to the Government of the Church; and therefore They first laboured to find some Defect in his Election; and then to irreconcile those towards him, who They found had any Esteem or Kindness for him: but not finding the Success in either, answerable to their Expectation, They lived fairly towards him; and endeavoured by several Applications, to gain Credit with him; who returned them their own Civilities; having had very particular Acquaintance with many of them, whom He as much endeavoured to preserve from being prevailed upon.

WITHIN few Days after their Meeting, He renewed the Motion He had made in the last Parliament, against (39) the Marshal's Court, (though He knew the Earl Marshal had gotten himself much into their Favour, by his Application, and some Promises He had made to them at the Meeting at *York*; and principally by his declared Aversion and Prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*) and told them what extravagant Proceedings there had been in that Court, since the Dissolution of the last Parliament; and that more Damages had been given there, by the sole Judgment of the Lord Marshal, for contumelious and reproachful Words, of which the Law took no Notice, in two Days, than had been given by all the Juries, in all the Courts in *Westminster Hall*, in the whole Term, and the Days for Trial after it was ended. Upon which He got a Committee to be named, of which himself sat in the Chair; and found that the first Precedent They had in all their Records, for that Form of Proceeding, which They had used, and for giving of Damages for Words, was but in the Year 1633; and the very Entrance upon this Inquisition, put an End to that upstart Court, which never

*He procures the Suppression of the Earl Marshal's Court.*

pre-

presumed to sit afterwards; and so that Grievance was thoroughly abolished. And to manifest how great an Impression the Alarums of this Kind made upon the highest, and the proudest Natures, the very next *Sunday* after this Motion was made in the House of Commons, the Earl Marshal, seeing Mr. *Hyde* in the Closet at *Whitehall*, during the Time of the Sermon, He came with great Courtesy to him, thanked him for having treated his Person so civilly, when upon so just Reason He had found fault with some of his Actions: said, He believed He had been in the Wrong; but that He had been misled by the Advice of Sir *Harry Martin*, and other Civilians, who were held Men of great Learning, and who assured him, that those Proceedings were just and lawful. He said, They had gained well by it, but should mislead him no more: and concluded with great Professions of Kindness, and Esteem; and offered him all Offices in his Power; when in his Heart, He did him the Honour to detest, and hate him perfectly; as He professed to all whom He trusted.

HIS Credit grew every Day in the House, in Spite of all the Endeavours, which were used to lessen it. And it being evident, that He had no Dependance upon the Court; and insisted wholly upon maintaining what the Law had established, very many wise Men, and of Estate, and Reputation in the Kingdom (who observed well the crooked, and ambitious Designs of those, who desired to be thought to care only for the good of their Country) adhered to him; and were willing to take Advice from him, how to prevent those Miseries, which were like to be brought upon the Kingdom: so that They who had cut out all the Work from the Beginning, and seldom met with any notable Contradiction, found themselves now frequently disappointed; and different Resolutions taken, to what They had proposed; which They imputed to his Activity.

HE was very much in the Business of the House: the greatest Chairman in the Committees of the greatest Moment; and very diligent in attending the Service both in the House, and at Committees: for He had from the Beginning of the Parliament, laid aside his Gown, and Practice, and wholly given himself up to the publick Business; which He saw so much concerned the Peace, and very Being of the Kingdom. He was in the Chair of that Committee which considered of the Illegality of the Court

*He lays aside  
his Gown,  
and gives  
himself wholly  
to publick  
Business.*

of

of *York*: and the other, that examined the Miscarriage of the Judges, in the Case of Ship-Money, and in other Cases of Judicatory, in their several Courts; and prepared Charges thereupon against them. He was in the Chair against the Marshal's Court. In that Committee which was (40) against the Court of *York*; which was prosecuted with great Passion, and took up many Weeks Debate: In that which concerned the Jurisdiction of the Lord President, and Council, of the Marches of *Wales*; which likewise held a long Time, and was prosecuted with great Bitterness and Animosity: In which the Inhabitants of the four neighbour Counties of *Salop, Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester*, and consequently the Knights, and Burgessees which served for the same, were passionately concerned to absolve themselves from the Burthen of that Jurisdiction; and all the Officers of that Court, and Council, whereof some were very great Men, and held Offices of great Value, laboured with equal Passion and Concernment, to support, and maintain what was in Practice, and Possession; and their Friends appeared accordingly.

HE was in the Chair in many Committees made upon private Complaints: inasmuch as He was seldom in the Afternoon free from that Service in the Committees; as He was never absent in Mornings from the House: and He was often heard to mention one private Committee, in which He was put accidentally into the Chair, upon an Inclosure which had been made of some great Wastes, belonging to some of the Queen's Manors, without the Consent of the Tenants, the Benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a Servant of near Trust; who forthwith sold the Lands inclosed to the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Privy Seal; who together with his Son *Mandevil*, were now most concerned to maintain the Inclosure; against which, as well the Inhabitants of other Manors, who claimed Common in those Wastes, as the Queen's Tenants of the same, made loud Complaints, as a great Oppression, carried upon them with a very high Hand; and supported by Power.

THE Committee sat in the Queen's Court; and *Oliver Cromwell* being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the Petitioners, who were numerous, together with their Witnesses; the Lord *Mandevil* being likewise present as a Party, and by the Direction of the Committee, sitting covered: *Cromwell* (who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons) ordered the

*The first Cause of Oliver Cromwell's Enmity to him.*

the Witnesses, and Petitioners in the Method of the Proceeding; and seconded, and enlarged upon what They said with great Passion; and the Witnesses, and Persons concerned, who were a very rude Kind of People, interrupted the Council, and Witnesses on the other Side, with great Clamour, when They said any Thing that did not please them; so that Mr. *Hyde* (whose Office it was to oblige Men of all Sorts to keep Order) was compelled to use some sharp Reproofs, and some Threats, to reduce them to such a Temper, that the Business might be quietly heard. *Cromwell* in great Fury reproached the Chairman for being partial, and that He discountenanced the Witnesses by threatening them; the Other appealed to the Committee, which justified him, and declared, that He behaved himself as He ought to do; which more enflamed him, who was already too much angry. When upon any mention of Matter of Fact, or the Proceeding before, and at the Inclosure, the Lord *Mandevil* desired to be heard, and with great Modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. *Cromwell* did answer, and reply upon him, with so much Indecency and Rudeness, and in Language so contrary and offensive, that every Man would have thought, that as their Natures, and their Manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their Interest could never have been the same. In the End, his whole Carriage was so tempestuous, and his Behaviour so insolent, that the Chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, if He proceeded in the same<sup>(47)</sup> Manner, He would presently adjourn the Committee; and the next Morning complain to the House of him; which He never forgave; and took all Occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost Malice and Revenge, to his Death.

WHEN Mr. *Hyde* sat in the Chair, in the grand Committee of the House, for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, all that Party made great Court to him; and the House keeping those disorderly Hours, and seldom rising till after four of the Clock in the Afternoon, They frequently importuned him to dine with them, at Mr. *Pym's* Lodging, which was at Sir *Richard Manby's* House, in a little Court behind *Westminster Hall*; where He, and Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and two or three more, upon a Stock kept a Table, where They transacted much Bu-  
 Busi-

Business; and invited thither those, of whose Conversion They had any Hope.

ONE Day after Dinner, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who that Day likewise dined there, asked Mr. *Hyde*, whether He would ride into the Fields, and take a little Air, it being a fine Evening; which the other consenting to, They sent for their Horses, and riding together in the Fields, between *Westminster* and *Chelsea*, Mr. *Fiennes* asked him, what it was that inclined him to adhere so passionately to the Church, which could not possibly be supported. He answered, that He could have no other Obligation than that of his own Conscience, and his Reason, that could move with him; for He had no Relation or Dependence upon any Churchmen, that could dispose him to it; that He could not conceive, how Religion could be preserved without Bishops; nor how the Government of the State could well subsist, if the Government of the Church were altered; and asked him what Government They meant to introduce in its Place: To which He answered, that there would be Time enough to think of that; but assured him, and wished him to remember what He said, that if the King resolved to defend the Bishops, it would cost the Kingdom much Blood; and would be the Occasion of as sharp a War, as had ever been in *England*: for that there was a great Number of good Men, who resolved to lose their Lives, before They would ever submit to that Government. Which was the first positive Declaration He had ever heard from any particular Man of that Party; very few of them having at that Time that Resolution, much less avowing it; and if They had, the Kingdom was in no Degree at that Time infected with that Poison, how much soever it was spread afterwards.

*His Conversion  
with Nat.  
Fiennes.*

WITHIN two Days after this Discourse from Mr. *Fiennes*, Mr. *Hyde*, walking between the Parliament House and *Westminster*, in the Church-Yard met with *Harry Martin*, with whom He lived very familiarly; and speaking together about the Proceedings of the Houses, *Martin* told him, that He would undo himself by his adhering to the Court; to which He replied, that He had no Relation to the Court, and was only concerned to maintain the Government, and preserve the Law: and then told him He could not conceive what He proposed to himself, for He did not think him to be of the Opinion, or Nature with those Men, who governed

*And with  
Harry Mar-  
tin.*

*Who owns  
himself a Re-  
publican.*

verned the House; and asked him what He thought of such, and such Men; and He very frankly answered, that He thought them Knaves; and that when They had done as much as They intended to do, They should be used as They had used others. The other pressed him then to say what He desired; to which, after a little Pause, He very roundly answered, *I do not think one Man wise enough to govern us all*: which was the first Word He had ever heard any Man speak to that Purpose; and would without Doubt, if it had been then communicated or attempted, been the most abhorred by the whole Nation, of any Design that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even so early entered into the Hearts of some desperate Persons: that Gentleman being at that Time possessed of a very great Fortune, and having great Credit in his Country.

*Mr. Hyde is  
sent for by the  
King.*

WHILST Things were thus depending, one Morning, when there was a Conference with the Lords, and so the House adjourned, Mr. Hyde being walking in the House, Mr. Peircy, Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, being a Member of the House, came to him, and told him, that the King would speak with him, and would have him that Afternoon to come to him. He answered, He believed it was some Mistake, for that He had not the Honour to be known to the King; and that there was another of the same Name, of the House. Mr. Peircy assured him, He was the Man; and so it was agreed, that at such an Hour in the Evening, He would call on him at his Chamber; which He did, and was by him conducted into the Gallery, and so into the square Room; where He staid till the other went to the King; who in a very short Time came thither, attended only by Mr. Peircy, who as soon as Mr. Hyde had kissed his Majesty's Hand, withdrew.

*The King's  
Discourse  
with him.*

THE King told him, "that He heard from all Hands, "how much He was beholden to him; and that when all "his Servants in the House of Commons either neglected "his Service, or could not appear usefully in it, He took "all Occasions to do him Service; for which He thought "fit to give him his own Thanks, and to assure him, that "He would remember it to his Advantage." He took Notice of his Affection to the Church, for which, He said, "He thanked him more than for all the rest;" which the other acknowledged with the Duty that became him, and

and said, "He was very happy, that his Majesty was  
 "pleased with what He did; but if He had commanded  
 "him to have withdrawn his Affection and Reverence  
 "for the Church, He would not have obeyed him;"  
 which his Majesty said, made him love him the better.  
 Then He discoursed of the Passion of the House; and of  
 the Bill then brought in against Episcopacy; and asked  
 him, "whether He thought They would be able to carry  
 "it;" to which He answered, "He believed They could  
 "not, at least, that it would be very long first." "Nay  
 "(replied the King) if you'll look to it, that They do  
 "not carry it before I go for *Scotland*, which will be at  
 "such a Time, when the Armies shall be disbanded, I  
 "will undertake for the Church after that Time; why  
 "then (said the other) by the Grace of God, it will not  
 "be in much Danger:" with which the King was well  
 "pleased; and dismissed him with very gracious Expres-  
 sions. And this was the first Introduction of him to the  
 King's taking Notice of him.

AFTERWARDS in that Summer, during the Time of his  
 Majesty's Stay in *Scotland*, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* (who  
 then kept the Signet, though He was not sworn Secre-  
 tary till the King's Return) being very sick, sent to him,  
 to desire to speak with him; whereupon He went to him  
 to his House in *King's-Street*; and found him in his Bed:  
 and the Business was wholly to shew him a Letter from  
 the King to him, in which He writ to him, that He un-  
 derstood by several Hands, that He was very much be-  
 holden to Mr. *Hyde*, for the great Zeal He shewed to his  
 Service; and therefore commanded him to speak with  
 him, and to let him know the Sense He had of it; and  
 that when He returned, He would let him know it  
 himself.

- (43) HAVING now taken a View of him from his Birth;  
 and through his whole Youth, and first Entrance into the  
 Business of the World, in which He had great Success  
 and Prosperity, (and if the Calm, in which He was born,  
 and lasted so long, had continued, no Man could with  
 more Probability have promised himself better Fortune,  
 in the Profession to which He had dedicated himself) and  
 having now brought him to be known to the King; and  
 the Tempest that from the present foul Weather shortly  
 after broke out, driving him from farther applying him-  
 self to, or prosecuting that Profession; and the Parlia-



ment making some short Recess, during the King's being in *Scotland*; we will here conclude the first Part of his Life, and enter upon the second; which will contain a more important Part; and in which We will mention no Particulars of that active Time, but such in which He had a signal Part; leaving the rest to the History of those great and monstrous Actions.

*Montpelier.*  
27th of *March*, 1669.



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The LIFE of  
**EDWARD EARL of CLARENDON**

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL  
 FAMILY in the Year 1660.

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PART the SECOND.

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(44) **W**HEN the Remonstrance of the State of the Nation, and its particular Grievances, was (by Order of the House of Commons) printed; Mr. Hyde, only to give Vent to his own Indignation, and without the least Purpose of communicating it, or that any Use should be made of it, had drawn such a full Answer to it, as the Subject would have enabled any Man to have done, who had thought of it: and the Lord Digby, who had much Conversation and Friendship with him, coming accidentally and suddenly into the Room, where He was alone amongst his Books and Papers; conferring together of the extravagant Proceedings of the Parliament, He, upon the Familiarity that was between them, and upon the Argument that was then between them, read the Answer to him which He had prepared to the Remonstrance; with which He seemed much pleased, and desired him that He would permit it to be made Use of by the King, and that He might shew it to his Majesty; who found it absolutely necessary to publish some Answer in his own Name to that Remonstrance, which had so much poisoned the Hearts of the People; and that his Majesty was endeavouring to procure such an Answer to be drawn. The other expressly and positively refused to give it him, or that any Use should be made of it; and reproached him for proposing a Thing to him,

*Mr. Hyde draws up an Answer to the Parliament's Remonstrance.*

which might prove ruinous to him, if the House should have the least Imagination, that He exercised himself in such Offices; with which Answer He seemed satisfied, and departed: no other Person having seen it but the Lord *Falkland*, from whom Nothing was ever concealed.

WITHIN few Days after, the Lord *Digby*, with whom the King advised in the Business of the Parliament without Reserve, came again to him; and after some Apologies, told him freely, that very many had been with the King, desiring him that He would take Care that some Answer might be published to that Remonstrance; which had already done much Harm, and would do much more if it were not answered; and that the King had spoken to him; upon which He had confessed that He had seen an Answer, that pleased him very well; but could not pre-(45)vail with the Author of it to suffer it to be made Use of; and told him who it was: whereupon the King seemed to wonder very much, that a Person who had appeared so publickly in Defence of his Service, should be so wary of assisting him in private: and after many Expressions of Grace towards that Gentleman, his Majesty had commanded him to come in his Name to him; and to conjure him to send that Paper to him; and to give him his Royal Word, that no Person living should know that He had the least Hand in it; so that no Danger should accrue to him thereby.

MR. HYDE, though He was very unsatisfied with what the Lord *Digby* had done (whose Affection to him He did not in any Degree make Question of, but did not like his over Activity, to which his restless Fancy always disposed him; and as He doubted not, that himself had given the Occasion to the King to send those Commands, so He had likewise enlarged those Commands, as He believed, in such a Manner as He thought might most oblige him) yet upon the real Consideration that it might do the King much Service, He did without Delay deliver the Papers: insisting upon the Promise of Secrecy, and likewise, that his Majesty would not publish, without first communicating it to his Council, and as done with their Advice. And to that Purpose He affixed that Title to it, before He delivered the Papers out of his Hands; believing that as it would be more for the King's Service to carry such an Authority in the Front of it, as *The King's Answer with the Advice of his Council*; so it could

could not be refused by them, and yet might engage them in some Displeasure with the House of Commons, which probably might be offended at it. The King was very punctual in doing what was desired; and caused it to be read at a full Council; where many of the Lords commended it very much, and none spake against it; and so it was published and printed: and it was very apparent to all Men, that the King's Service was very much advanced by it: and it was not more evident to any, than to the House of Commons; who knew not how to make any Expostulation upon it, it being in the King's own Name, and published with the Advice of his Privy Council; so that all They could do, was to endeavour to discover who was the Penner of it; to which Discovery They were most intent by all their secret Friends in Court; who found Means to discover most other Secrets to them, but in this could do them no Service.

*Which by the King's Command is printed.*

As soon as the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* were called to the Privy Council, the King sent for Mr. *Hyde* to him, who had not seen his Majesty from the Time He had been presented by Mr. *Peirce*. He commanded the Lord *Digby* to bring him when it was Night to the Queen's back Stairs; and as soon as He was there, both King and Queen came into the Room; and when He had kissed their Hands, and the Lord *Digby* was withdrawn, the King told him "He was much beholden to him for many good Services; and that now He had preferred two of his Friends, it was Time to give Him some Testimony of his Favour; and therefore He had sent to him to tell him, that He intended to make him his Solicitor-General, in the Place of him who had served him so ill." Mr. *Hyde* suddenly answered, "God forbid!" With which the King seeming surpris'd, said "why God forbid?" The other replied, "it was in no Degree fit at this Time that He should remove the other; and if He were removed, himself was in no Degree fit for it." The Queen said, "He ought not to suffer for his Modesty: She had heard Men who could judge well, say, that He was as fit for it as the other."

*Mr. Hyde declines the Office of Solicitor General.*

(45) Mr. *Hyde* said "that was an Argument that Gentleman thought the other not fit for it, not that He believed him fit; which in Truth He said He was not. That it might be, that when the Place was actually void, the King might have filled it better with another Man, than

“with Mr. *St. John*; whose Parts were not above many others; and his Affections were below most Mens: But now that He was invested in that Office, it was not a good Conjuncture to remove him; and when it should be, He did humbly advise his Majesty to make Choice of the ablest Man of the Profession, whose Affections were clear; by whom He might indeed have great Benefit; whereas himself was young, and without any of that Learning or Experience, which might make him capable of that great Trust.” The Queen saying again this was his Modesty, He replied, “Madam when you know me better, you will not find me so modest a Man, but that I hope by your Majesty’s Favour in due Time to be made a better Man, than I am at present; but if you believe that I know any Thing of the Disposition of the present Time, or of what may conduce to the King’s Service, I pray believe, that though the Solicitor will never do much Service, He will be able to do much more Mischief if He be removed.” The King at the same Time resolved to remove another Officer, who did disserve him notoriously, and to prefer Mr. *Hyde* to that Place; with which their gracious Intention both their Majesties acquainted him; but He positively refused it; and assured both their Majesties, that He should be able to do much more Service in the Condition He was in.

*He is entrusted with the Conduct of the King’s Affairs in Parliament.*

BEFORE the King left *Whitehall* He renewed his Commands to the three Persons mentioned before, the Lord Viscount *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepper*, and Mr. *Hyde*, to meet constantly together, and consult upon his Affairs; and conduct them the best Way They could in the Parliament; and to give him constant Advice what He was to do; without which He declared again very solemnly He would make no Step in the Parliament. Two of them were obliged by their Offices and Relations, and the other by his Duty and Inclination, to give him all Satisfaction; notwithstanding the Discouragement They had so lately received, in the King’s going to the House to demand the five Members, without ever communicating his Intention to them; and which had made a deep Impression upon them. And so They met every Night late together; and communicated their Observation and Intelligence of the Day; and so agreed what was to be done, or attempted the next; there being very

very many Persons of Condition and Interest in the House, who would follow their Advice, and assist in any Thing They desired. And because Mr. *Hyde* had larger Accommodation, in the House where He lived in *Westminster*, than either of the other had, the Meetings at Night were for the most Part with him; and after their Deliberation together, what was to be put in Writing was always committed to Mr. *Hyde*; and when the King had left the Town, He writ as freely to the King as either of the other did; and sometimes when They would be excused, He went to him in great Secret.

He had been from the Beginning very unbeloved by all the governing Party; and though They took some Pains at first to win him, yet their Hope of that was quickly desperate; and from the Night of the Protestation, He was as much in their Detestation as any Man; and the more, that They could take no Advantage against him: And though They had a better Opinion of his Discretion, than to believe He had any Share in the Advice of the late Proceedings, yet They were very willing that others should believe it; and made all the Insinuations They

(47) could to that Purpose amongst those, who took their Opinions from them; towards which his known Friendship with the Lord *Digby* was an Argument very prevalent; and then his opposing the Votes upon their Privilege, had inflamed them beyond their Temper; inso-much as Mr. *Hambden* told him one Day, that the Trouble that had lately befallen them, had been attended with that Benefit, that They knew who were their Friends: and the other offering to speak upon the Point of Privilege, and how monstrous a Thing it was to make a Vote so contrary to the known Law; He replied very snappishly, "that He well knew He had a Mind They should be "all in Prison," and so departed without staying for an Answer. Then They imputed to him the disposing the Lord *Falkland* to serve the Court; and the Court to receive his Service; and from the Time that He and *Colepepper* were called to the Council, They equally were enraged against both: and now, when They had discovered the Place of the nightly Meetings, that a Secretary of State, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, every Day went to the Lodging of a private Person, who ought to attend them, They believed it a Condescension that had some other Foundation than mere Civility; yet They

could not discover any Thing against them, which They thought fit to offer in Publick.

It is not amiss in this Place to say somewhat of those three Persons, who had from that Time so great a Part in the Business that was upon the Stage; and did in a short Time raise the Reputation of the King, and of his Cause, to a very great Degree; and who, though They were well united in the Opposition of all the ill Designs against the Crown, and concurred in the publick Service with necessary and mutual Civilities towards each other; yet their Principles, and Constitutions were very different; and the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr. *Hyde* (between whom, as is said before, the Friendship was most entire) had never had the least Acquaintance with Sir *John Colepepper*, before the Parliament; and finding themselves often of one Opinion, grew into some Conversation; and being after united in the King's Trust, They rarely conferred but in the Agitation of Business; their Natures being in nothing like.

*Some Account  
of the Temper  
and Principles  
of Lord Falk-  
land.*

THE Lord *Falkland*, though He was a Man of a chearful Conversation, was of a severe Nature, and a Lover of Virtue; yet He had great Esteem for all Men of great Parts, though They applied them to ill Purposes. He was so great an Enemy to all Dissimulation, that He chose sometimes the other Extreme, when it was not requisite. He had not the Court in great Reverence; and had a presaging Spirit that the King would fall into great Misfortune: And often said to his Friend, that He chose to serve the King, because Honesty obliged him to it; but that He foresaw his own Ruin by doing it. He had a better Opinion of the Church of *England*, and the Religion of it, than of any other Church, and Religion; and had extraordinary Kindness for very many Churchmen; and if He could have helped, or prevented it, there should have been no Attempts against it. But He had in his own Judgment such a Latitude in Opinion, that He did not believe any Part of the Order, or Government of it, to be so essentially necessary to Religion, but that it might be parted with, and altered, for a notable publick Benefit or Convenience: And that the Crown itself ought to gratify the People, in yielding to many Things; and to part with some Power, rather than to run the Hazards, which would attend the Refusal. But He was swayed in this by a Belief, that the King would in  
the

the End be prevailed with to yield to what was pressed ; and this Opinion wrought too much upon too many.

- (48) ALBERT He had the greatest Compliance with the Weakness, and even the Humour of other Men, when there could be no Suspicion of Flattery ; and the greatest Address to inform, and reform them ; yet towards the King, who many Times obstinately adhered to many Conclusions which did not naturally result from good Premises, and did love to argue many Things to which He would not so positively adhere, He did not practise that Condescension ; but contradicted him with more Bluntness, and by sharp Sentences ; and in some Particulars (as of the Church) to which the King was in Conscience most devoted : And of this his Majesty often complained ; and cared less to confer with him in private, and was less persuaded by him, than his Affairs, and the other's great Parts and Wisdom would have required : Though He had not a better Opinion of any Man's Sincerity, or Fidelity towards him.

SIR *John Colepepper* had spent some Years of his Youth of Sir John Colepepper. in foreign Parts, and especially in Armies ; where He had seen good Service, and very well observed it ; and might have made a very good Officer, if He had intended it. He was of a rough Nature ; a hot Head ; and of great Courage ; which had engaged him in many Quarrels, and Duels ; wherein He still behaved himself very signally. He had in a very good Season, and after a small Waste of his Fortune, retired from that Course of Life, and married, and betook himself to a Country Life ; and studied the Business of the Country, and the Concernments of it, in which He was very well versed ; and being a Man of Sharpness of Parts, and Volubility of Language, He was frequently made Choice of to appear at the Council-Board, in those Matters which related to the Country : In the managing whereof, his Abilities were well taken Notice of. His Estate was very moderate, and his usual Expence exceeded it not ; not being delighted with Delicacies of any Nature, or indeed ever acquainted with them. He had Infirmities, which sometimes made a Noise ; but his Parts, and Abilities made him very acceptable to his Neighbours, and to those who were most considerable in their Estates, and most popular ; so that with very little Opposition, He had been chosen to be Knight of that great County *Kent* for the Parlia-



Parliament ; where He quickly made himself to be taken Notice of. He was proud, and ambitious, and very much disposed to improve his Fortune : which He knew well how to do, by Industry, and Thrift, without stooping to any corrupt Ways, to which He was not inclined.

He did not love the Persons of many of those who were the violent Managers ; and less their Designs : And therefore He no sooner knew that He was well spoken of at Court, but He exposed himself to the Invitation, and heartily embraced that Interest : And when He came thither, He might very well be thought a Man of no very good Breeding ; having never sacrificed to the Muses, or conversed in any polite Company. He was warm, and positive in Debates ; and of present Fancy to object, and find Fault with what was proposed ; and indeed would take any Argument in Pieces, and expose it excellently to a full View ; and leave Nothing to Chance, or Accident, without making it foreseen ; but after that, knew not so well what to judge, and determine ; and was so irresolute, and had a Fancy so perpetually working, that after a Conclusion made, He would the next Day, in the Execution of it, and sometimes after, raise new Doubts, and make new Objections ; which always occasioned Trouble ; and sometimes produced Inconvenience.

In Matters of Religion, He was in his Judgment very indifferent ; but more inclined to what was established, to avoid the Accidents which commonly attend a Change, <sup>(49)</sup> without any Motives from his Conscience ; which yet He kept to himself ; and was well content to have it believed that the Activity proceeded from thence. He had, with all this Uncourtlinefs (for sure no Man less appeared a Courtier) and Ungracefulness in his Mein and Motion, a wonderful Insinuation and Address into the Acceptation, and Confidence of the King and Queen ; and Flattery being a Weed not so natural to the Air and Soil of the Country, where He had wholly lived, He was believed to speak with all Plainness and Sincerity ; when no Man more complied with those Infirmities they both had ; and by that Compliance prevailed often over them.

He had a very tragical Way in expressing himself, to raise the Fears and Apprehensions of those, who were naturally

naturally apprehensive of Dangers : and by this Means He prevailed marvellously with the Queen, in those Matters to which She was most averse ; by representing Things as dismally to her as He could well do : And on the other Hand, to the King (who was naturally very Sanguine) He was full of Compliance ; cherished all his Hopes and Imaginations ; and raised and improved those Hopes very frequently by Expedients very unagreeable to the End proposed. He was then (as was said before) very positive in his Conclusions : as if He did not propose a Thing that might come to pass, but what infallibly must be so ; which was a Temper the King could not contend with ; and did so much suspect himself (which was his greatest Infirmary, and the chief Ground of all his Sufferings) that He did believe a Man, of whom He thought very well, did know every Thing that He confidently insisted upon. But his greatest Advantage was (besides his Diligence in Speaking as often as He could with the King and Queen, and always with the Queen, upon any important Counsel) that He had an entire Confidence and Friendship with Mr. *John Ashburnham*, whom the King loved, and trusted very much ; and who always imprinted that Advice in the King's Mind, which the other had infused ; and being a Member of the House, was always ready to report the Service He did his Majesty there, as advantageously as the Business would bear.

Mr. *Hyde* was in his Nature and Disposition, different *Of Mr. Hyde,* from both the other ; which never begot the least Disagreement between the Lord *Falkland* and him. He was of a very chearful and open Nature, without any Dissimulation ; and delivered his Opinion of Things or Persons, where it was convenient, without Reserve, or Disguise ; and was at least tenacious enough of his Opinion, and never departed from it out of Compliance with any Man. He had a very particular Devotion and Passion for the Person of the King ; and did believe him the most, and the best Christian in the World. He had a most zealous Esteem and Reverence for the Constitution of the Government ; and believed it so equally poised, that if the least Branch of the Prerogative was torn off, or parted with, the Subject suffered by it, and that his Right was impaired : And He was as much troubled when the Crown exceeded its just Limits, and thought its Prerogative hurt by it : And therefore not only never consented

sent to any Diminution of the King's Authority, but always wished that the King would not consent to it, with what Importunity or Impetuosity soever it was desired and pressed.

He had taken more Pains than such Men use to do, in the Examination of Religion; having always conversed with those of different Opinions with all Freedom, and Affection; and had very much Kindness and Esteem for many, who were in no Degree of his own Judgment; and upon all this, He did really believe the Church of<sup>(50)</sup> *England* the most exactly formed and framed for the Encouragement and Advancement of Learning and Piety, and for the Preservation of Peace, of any Church in the World; That the taking away any of its Revenue, and applying it to secular Uses, was Robbery, and notorious Sacrilege; and that the diminishing the Lustre it had, and had always had in the Government, by removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was a Violation of Justice; the removing a Land-mark; and the shaking the very Foundation of Government: and therefore He always opposed, upon the Impulsion of Conscience, all Mutations in the Church; and did always believe, let the Season, or the Circumstance be what it would, that any Compliance was pernicious; and that a peremptory and obstinate Refusal, that might put Men in Despair of what They laboured for, and take away all Hope of obtaining what They desired, would reconcile more Persons to the Government, than the gratifying them in Part; which only whetted their Appetite to desire more, and their Confidence in demanding it.

THOUGH He was of a Complexion and Humour very far from Despair; yet He did believe the King would be oppressed by that Party which then governed; and that They who followed and served him would be destroyed; so that it was not Ambition of Power, or Wealth, that engaged him to embark in so very hazardous an Employment; but abstractly the Consideration of his Duty; and He often used to apply those Words of *Cicero*, to himself, *Mea Aetas incidit in id Bellum, cujus altera Pars Sceleris nimum habuit, altera Felicitatis parum*. It is very probable, that if his Access at that Time had been as frequent to the King, as Sir *John Colepepper's* was, or the Lord *Falkland's* might have been, some Things might have been left undone, the doing whereof brought much

Pre-

Prejudice to the King; for all His Principles were much more agreeable to his Majesty's own Judgment, than those of either of the other; and what He said was of equal Authority with him; and when any Advice was given by either of the other, the King usually asked, "whether *Ned Hyde* were of that Opinion;" and They always very ingenuously confessed, that He was not: But his having no Relation of Service, and so no Pretence to be seen often at Court; and the great Jealousy that was entertained towards him, made it necessary to him to repair only in the Dark to the King upon emergent Occasions, and leave the Rest to be imparted by the other two; and the Differences in their Natures and Opinions never produced any Disunion between them in those Councils, which concerned the Conduct of the King's Service; but They proceeded with great Unanimity, and very manifestly much advanced the King's Business from the very low State it was in, when They were first trusted; the other two having always much Deference to the Lord *Falkland*, who allayed their Passions; to which They were both enough inclined.

WHEN the two Bills were sent to the King, *for the granting the Militia, and the removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers*, most Men did believe that the King would never give his Assent to either of these two; though very many had concurred in them for no other Reason, than because They were assured He would not refuse; and others upon Confidence that He would; and therefore would not render themselves obnoxious by opposing them: Upon all which the Queen continued her Resolution; and hastened her Journey that She might be out of the Way, and thereby the King might the more resolutely reject those Bills, which He intended to do; and the Houses the more importunately pressed the (51) Dispatch of the Bills, as soon as the Day was appointed for the Queen's beginning her Journey from *Windsor* towards *Dover*.

In this Perplexity, when Nothing was so necessary as the most obstinate Resolution, Sir *John Colepepper*, who was naturally inclined to Expedients, and, in difficult Cases, that is, Cases made difficult by the Perverseness of supercilious Contenders, to Composition, much desired, that the King would pass that against the Bishops, and absolutely reject the other; which He did in Truth believe

Sir John  
Colepepper  
advises the  
King to pass  
the Bill a-  
gainst the  
Bishops.

believe would satisfy so many, that those that remained unsatisfied, would not have Credit enough, to give any further Disturbance; and in his own Judgment, as hath been said before, He thought the Matter of little Importance; but He knew that Argument would make no other Impression upon the King, than to the Disadvantage of the Arguer; and if He had thought himself obliged to have enacted one, He would have chosen to have passed that for the Militia, rather than the other; He urged therefore to the King, no other Person present, the Necessity of giving the Parliament Satisfaction in one of those Bills; and that there were more who would be satisfied with that concerning the Bishops, than with the other concerning the Militia; and therefore it would be best to gratify the major Part. Then He exposed the dreadful Consequences which would attend the yielding in the Point of the Militia, as if it would be the next Day in their Power to depose him; and all the tragical Effects of granting that Authority. He seemed in no Degree to undervalue the Mischief of consenting to the Bill against the Bishops; yet that it would be attended with that present Benefit, that the Church would be free from farther Apprehension; and that this Degradation would secure the Function, and the Revenue; and that when these Jealousies and Misunderstandings should be once composed, that Bill would be easily repealed, by the Experience how much the Government was hurt by it; and whilst the Sword remained in the King's own Hands, there would be no Attempt to make farther Alterations. The King asked him, whether *Ned Hyde* was of that Mind; to which He answered, He was not, nor did wish that either of the Bills should be passed, which He thought, as the Time was, could not be a reasonable Judgment; the King said, *it was his; and that He would run the Hazard.*

WHEN He found He could not prevail there, He went to the Queen; and repeated all the Arguments He had used to the King, with his usual Vehemence; and added, that He exceedingly apprehended that by some Means or other, upon this Refusal of the King's, her Majesty's Journey would be stopped; and that She would not be suffered to transport herself out of the Kingdom; and therefore He heartily wished that She would so use her Credit with the King, that He might pass

pass that Act concerning the Bishops, which He said would lay such an Obligation upon both Houses, as would redound to her Majesty's Advantage. The Queen was so terrified with the Apprehension of her being hindered from pursuing her Purpose, that She gave not over her Importunity with the King, till She had prevailed with him; and so that Bill for removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers was passed by Commission; when both their Majesties were upon their Way, and in their Journey to *Dover*.

*Who is prevailed on by the Queen to do so.*

Nothing that is here said must reflect upon the Memory of Sir *John Colepepper*, as if He were corrupted in his Affections to the Church; or gave this Advice to gratify and please other Men, or for any particular Advantage to himself, of all which He was very innocent. It is said before, that in his Judgment He looked upon (52) the Thing as what might be conscientiously consented to; and then his real Apprehension of Danger, and Mischief to the King (to whom He bore all possible Fidelity) by refusing it, so far wrought upon his warm Constitution, that He did really believe it to be his Duty so be solicitous to the vehement Degree He was. But He quickly found He had been deceived, at least in the Imagination, that the consenting to that one Bill would at all allay their Passion. They were on the contrary so far from being pleased with it, that They immediately betook themselves to enquire, "who the evil Counsellors were, who dissuaded his Majesty from consenting to "the other concerning the Militia;" which was so necessary to all their Purposes: And forthwith sent some of their Messengers to the King, whilst He staid at *Dover*, to complain of such evil Counsel; and to use all Importunity, that He would pass it, as a Matter of absolute Necessity for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom; and for the carrying on the Service for suppressing the Rebellion in *Ireland*; with many new Expressions "of "the Presumption of those malignant Persons, who gave "his Majesty such Advice," and with Boldness enough, that the King should prefer such Advice, before the Wisdom of the Parliament.

THEY who hated the Bishops most, and were glad that They were rid of the Opposition They gave them in all their Demands, seemed not at all contented; but enlarged exceedingly upon the Mischief, in not granting the

*The Effect of this Condescension on the several Parties.*

the Militia. And no Doubt there were many the less pleased with the passing the other, in doubt, that They should thereby lose the Assistance of very many towards the utter Extirpation of Episcopacy, and the Disposal of all Church Lands, upon which their Hearts were set; and who would with the more Choler have concurred with them, if that Bill, as well as the other, had been rejected; and therefore They rather wished They had the other, which They knew would bring all their Ends to pass. They who loved the Church, and were afraid of so great an Alteration in the Frame and Constitution of Parliament, as the utter taking away of one of the *Three Estates*, of which the Parliament is compounded, were infinitely provoked; and lamented the passing that Act, as an Introduction to the entire Destruction of the Government of the Church, and to the Alteration of the Religion of the Kingdom: And very many who more considered the Policy, than the Justice and Piety of the State, did ever after believe, that being removed out of the Parliament, the preserving them in the Kingdom, was not worth any notable Contention. Then They looked upon the King's Condescension in this Particular, in a Subject that all Men knew had a wonderful Influence upon his Conscience, as He often took Occasion to profess, as a Manifestation, that He would not be constant in retaining, and denying any Thing that should be impetuously, and fiercely demanded; which as it exceedingly confirmed those, who were engaged in that Party; so it abated the Courage of too many, who had always opposed them, and heartily detested their Proceedings; and made them more remiss in their Attendance at the House, and less solicitous for any Thing that was done there: Who by Degrees first became a neutral Party, believing They should be safe, in angering no Body; and when They afterwards found no Security in that Indifferency, They adhered to those, who They saw had the best Success; and so went Sharers with them in their Future Attempts, according to their several Tempers and Inclinations.

THE Benefit that would redound to the King from not passing the other Bill of the Militia, more than avoiding the Infamy of consenting to it, was not evident<sup>(53)</sup> to discerning Men; for They foresaw that They would quickly wrest it out of his Hands without his Consent; and

and that the Reputation of the Parliament was so great, that whatsoever the two Houses (which the People looked upon as the Parliament) should concur in, and enjoin to be done, the People would look upon as Law, and observe it accordingly; so that when by the Removal of so many Voices out of the House of Peers, as the Bishops made, who were always firm to the Crown and Government, the House of Commons found a Concurrence from the Lords, in all They proposed, their joint Determination would find Obedience, for the most Part, from the People: whom there were all Endeavours used to corrupt, and possess, by presently printing, and causing to be read in Churches, all their Messages, and Petitions to the King; that They might see all their Concernments were for the Good of the Kingdom, and Preservation of the People.

WHEN the King accompanied the Queen to *Dover*, where They expected a Wind many Days, He sent the Prince, under his new Governour, the Marquis of *Hertford*, to *Richmond*; that there might be no Room for the Jealousy, that the Prince should be transported beyond the Seas; which had been infused into the Minds of many; and would have made a great Noise, if He had waited upon his Mother to *Dover*: but as soon as the Wind appeared hopeful for her Majesty's Embarkation, the King sent an Express to *Richmond*, that the Prince should attend his Majesty at *Greenwich*, the Saturday following: the Marquis being at that Time very much indisposed by a Defluction upon his Eyes, and a Catarrh. The Parliament being presently informed, as They had Spies in all Places, of this Direction, and there being yet no Certainty of the Queen's being embarked, was much troubled; and resolved to send to his Majesty, by Members of both Houses, to desire that the Prince might not remove from *Richmond*, at least till the Marquis recovered Health enough to be able to attend him; and at the same Time sent an express Order to the Marquis, that He should not suffer the Prince to go from thence, till He himself should be able to go with him.

*The King  
sends for the  
Prince to  
Greenwich.*

THEY appointed one Lord and two Commoners to carry the Message to the King, whom They believed to be still at *Dover*; and Mr. *Hyde* coming accidentally into the House, when the Matter was in Debate, They appointed him to be one of the Messengers; which no Ex-

*Mr. Hyde is  
sent to the  
King on that  
Occasion.*



cuses could free him from, for They did not intend it as a Favour to him; so that They were obliged presently to begin their Journey; and that Night They went to *Graveſend*. The next Day They were fully informed of the Queen's being gone to Sea; and that the King would be that Night at *Canterbury*; whither the Meſſengers made what Haſte They could; and found his Maſteſty there, with a very little Court, moſt of his Servants having Leave to go before to *London*, the better to provide themſelves for a farther Journey. When They read their Meſſage to the King, in the hearing whereof He ſhewed no Satisfaction, He appointed them to attend him after He had ſupped, and They ſhould receive their Answer: And accordingly about nine of the Clock He cauſed it to be read, and delivered it to them; taking no Notice of Mr. *Hyde* as if He had been known to him. That Meſſenger who was a Member of the Houſe of Peers, received it from his Maſteſty, as of Right He ought to do, that it might be firſt reported to that Houſe.

MR. *Hyde* was very much troubled when He heard the Answer read; for it had much Sharpneſs in it, which at that Time could only provoke them: So without taking<sup>(54)</sup> any Notice of it to his Companions, He pretended to them only to be very weary, and deſirous to go to Bed, and bade them good Night; having the Conveniency offered him by the Lord *Grandiſon*, (his familiar Friend) to lodge with him in a Houſe, next the Court: And ſo the other two Meſſengers making Haſte to find ſome Lodging in an Inn; He ſent the Lord *Grandiſon* to the Duke of *Richmond*, to deſire the King that He might ſpeak with him before He went into his Bed. The King was half undreſſed, yet ſaid He would ſtay for him, and bade that He ſhould make Haſte to the back Stairs; and as ſoon as He came thither, the Duke went in to the King, who immediately came out in his Night Dreſs; and the Duke having before ſent all other Servants from thence, retired likewiſe himſelf.

He told the King that “He was ſorry that his Maſteſty  
“had expreſſed ſo much Diſpleaſure in his Answer, which  
“could produce no Good, and might do Hurt; and there-  
“fore He deſired He would call for it, and alter ſome  
“Expreſſions;” which his Maſteſty was not inclined to do; enlarging himſelf with much Sharpneſs upon the Inſolence of the Meſſage, and of the Order They had ſent  
to

to the Marquis of *Hertford*: And seemed to apprehend that the Prince would not be suffered to attend him at *Greenwich*; the Thought whereof had caused that Warmth in him. It was now *Friday* Night, and his Majesty resolved the next Night to be at *Greenwich*; and to stay there all *Sunday*; and then to pursue his former Resolutions: Upon which Mr. *Hyde* told him, "that He hoped "the Prince would be at *Greenwich* as soon as He, and "then that Point would be cleared; that They could not "report His Message to the Parliament till *Monday* Morning; and that They might well attend upon his Majesty again on *Sunday*, and receive his Pleasure; and at "that Time the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, "would be likewise present, when his Majesty might "take what Resolution He pleased in that Matter; and "therefore He besought his Majesty that He would presently send a Servant to the other two Messengers, at "such an Inn, for the Answer He had delivered to them, "of which He would farther consider when He came to "*Greenwich*; where He commanded them to attend him "on *Sunday*, and that He would dispatch them soon "enough for them to be at *London* that Night." All which his Majesty was pleased to consent to, and immediately sent a Gentleman to them for the Paper, with that Injunction; and then sent it by the Lord *Grandison* the same Night to Mr. *Hyde*, whom He had commanded to attend him on *Sunday* Morning, saying He had very much to say to him.

*On whom He prevails to alter his Answer to the Parliament.*

WHEN his Majesty came to *Greenwich*, He found the Prince there with his Governour, who though indisposed in his Health, without returning any Answer to the Parliament, brought the Prince very early from *Richmond* to *Greenwich*; with which the King was very much pleased, and in very good Humour. And the next Morning when Mr. *Hyde* came to Court (to whom his Companions had told, that the King had sent for his Answer to them again, and appointed them to attend him for it at *Greenwich* that Afternoon; which They had agreed together to do) the King being come into the Privy Chamber, and seeing him there, asked him aloud, where the others who came in the Message with him were; and said, He would expect them in the Afternoon; and so discoursing somewhat of the Weather, that all Men heard, He came near him, and as it were passing by (which no Body took

Notice of, the Room not being full) He bade him dine with *Porter*, at the back Stairs, that He might be in the<sup>(ss)</sup> Privy Chamber when He rose from Dinner; and after He had dined He found him there; and at that Hour most People looking after their own Dinner, his Majesty did, without any Body's taking Notice of it, bid him follow him into the Privy Gallery; where He was no sooner entered, than the King locked the Door with his own Key, saying, "We will not now be disturbed, for there is no Man in the House now, who hath a Key to this Door." Then He said, "I will say Nothing of the Answer, for I am sure *Falkland* and *Colepepper* will be here anon; and then prepare one, and I will not differ with you; for now I have gotten *Charles*, I care not what Answer I send to them."

*The King's  
Discourse to  
him at  
Greenwich.*

THEN He spake of many Particulars of the Parliament with Warmth enough; and lamented his having consented to the Bill concerning the Bishops, which He said, He was prevailed upon to do, for his Wife's Security; but He should now be without any Fear to displease them. He said, He would lay the next Night at *Theobalds*; where He would stay a Day or two, that his Servants might provide themselves to attend him Northward: That He should not see him any more before He took that Journey; and therefore He required him upon all Occasions to write to him, and advertise him of such Matters as were fit for him to know; and to prepare and send him Answers to such Declarations or Messages as the Parliament should send to him: He said, He knew well the Danger He underwent if it were discovered: but his Majesty assured him, and bade him be confident of it, that no Person alive, but himself and his two Friends, should know that He corresponded with his Majesty; and that He would himself transcribe every Paper in his own Hand, before He would shew it to any Man, and before his Secretary should write it out. Mr. *Hyde* told him, that He writ a very ill Hand, which would give his Majesty too much Trouble to transcribe himself, and that He had so much Friendship with Secretary *Nicholas*, that He was well contented He should be trusted: to which the King said, *Nicholas* was a very honest Man; and He would trust him in any Thing that concerned himself; but in this Particular, which would be so penal to the other, if it should be known, it was not necessary; for  
He

He would quickly learn to read the Hand, if it were writ at first with a little the more Care; and no Body should see it but himself. And his Majesty continued so firm to this Resolution, that though the Declarations from the Houses shortly after grew so voluminous, that the Answers frequently contained five or six Sheets of Paper, very closely writ; his Majesty always transcribed them with his own Hand; which sometimes took him up two or three Days, and a good Part of the Night, before He produced them to the Council; where they were first read, and then He burned the Originals. And He gave himself no Ease in this particular, till Mr. *Hyde* left the Parliament, and by his Majesty's Command attended upon him at *York*: which will be mentioned in its Time.

WHILST the King held this Discourse with him in the Privy Gallery, many of the Lords were come from *London*; and not finding him, the Earls of *Essex*, and *Holland*, who by their Offices had Keys to the Gallery, opened that Door, and went in; and seeing no Body there, walked to the farther End; where in a turning Walk the King and Mr. *Hyde* were: And though They presently drew back, the King himself as well as Mr. *Hyde* was a little discomposed; and said, "I am very sorry for this Accident, I meant to have said somewhat to you of those Gentlemen; but we must not stay longer together; forget not what I have said; and send (s) "me presently the Answer for your Message, and then attend with your Companions in the Privy Chamber, and I will come out and deliver it to them:" And so He withdrew: The two Earls smiling, and saluting Mr. *Hyde* civilly. He quickly found the Lord *Falkland*, and *Cole-pepper*, and They as quickly agreed upon the Answer which the Lord *Falkland* carried to the King: And his Majesty approving, and signing it, He came out, and delivered it, after He had caused it to be read, to the Messengers who attended to receive it; and who went that Night to *London*; and the next Morning at the first sitting of the Houses, reported, and delivered it.

*Where He draws up the King's Answer.*

IT was expected, and believed, that as soon as the Queen was gone for *Holland*, the King would return to *Whitehall*, and reside there. And many wise Men were of Opinion, that if He had done so, He would have been treated with more Duty and Respect; and that He would be able to bring his Business to a fair End, by very moderate

moderate Condescensions ; for the universal Prejudice and Aversion was to the Queen, how unjustly and unreasonably soever ; and to the King only as it was generally believed, that He governed himself entirely by her Dictates ; and many of those, whose Countenance had most supported the violent Party, by their Concurrence with them, were grown weary of those Excesses ; and as they had been seduced, and craftily drawn farther than they meant to have gone, so they plainly discerned that there would be farther Attempts made, than were agreeable to their Wishes, or their Interests ; and therefore resolved to second them no farther.

THE Earl of *Essex* himself was in his Nature an honest Man, and a Man of Honour ; and though He did not think the King had any gracious Purposes towards him, or great Confidence in him, yet He was willing to retire from that angry Company ; and did neither desire the Dignity of the King should be affronted, or the Government receive an Alteration, or Diminution ; and did hope nothing more, than to make himself the Instrument, to reconcile the Parliament to the King, by some moderate and plausible Expedient. But it was no sooner known in the Houses, that his Majesty was gone to *Theobalds*, and had taken the Prince with him, with a Purpose of making a Progress farther Northward ; but They fell into all their usual Heat, and Debate, of their just Causes of Jealousy and Distrust, and the Wickedness of those Persons who misled him ; and the next Morning, being well informed that the King staid all Day at *Theobalds*, They resolved to send a Committee of four Lords, and eight Commoners to him, to put him in Mind of his violating their Privileges, for which They had yet no Reparation or Satisfaction ; his Refusal to settle the Militia, whereby He left his Kingdom and People exposed to the Violence of a Foreign Enemy, or a domestick Insurrection ; the great Jealousies, and Fears which possessed the Minds of all his Subjects ; which would be now exceedingly increased by his Removal in this Conjunction from his Parliament ; and thereupon concluded, that He would return to *London*, or reside at such a Distance, that They might easily repair to him.

WHEN the Persons designed for the Message withdrew to prepare themselves for their Journey, the Message being read and agreed upon, Mr. *Hyde* went likewise out  
of

of the House; and that the King might not be surprized with the Sight of the Message before He heard of it, He sent instantly to the Lord *Grandison* (in whom He had entire Confidence) to speak with him; and desired him to cause his Horse to be made ready, that He might with all possible Expedition carry a Letter to the King, which He would prepare by the Time He could be ready for (57) the Journey. He writ to the King, that such Persons *His Advice to the King upon a Message from the two Houses.* would be presently with him; and the Substance of the Message They would bring to him; which in Respect of the Length of it, and of many Particulars in it, would require some Time to answer, which He should receive soon enough; and for the present, He might upon the Delivery, make some short Resentment of the Houses proceeding with him; and conclude, that He would send an Answer to their Message in due Time. The Lord *Grandison* came to *Theobalds* when the King had newly dined, so that He was alone in his Bedchamber; and as soon as He had delivered the Letter, He returned to *London*, and met the Messengers within a Mile or two of *Theobalds*.

As soon as They had delivered their Message, which one of them read, the King with a displeased Countenance, and in a warmer, and more sprightly Tone than was natural to him, told them, "that He was amazed  
 "at their Message, and could not conceive what They  
 "would have, nor what They meant to do: that They  
 "made a great Noise with their Privileges, but forgot  
 "that He had Privileges too, which They made no Con-  
 "science to violate: that They talked of their Fears, and  
 "Jealousies, for which They had not the least Ground;  
 "but if They would well consider, They would find that  
 "They gave Him Cause enough for Jealousy:" and concluded, "that He would think of their Message, and  
 "send an Answer to the Houses in convenient Time:"  
 Without saying any Thing of his Journey, when or whether He meant to go; nor held any farther Discourse with them. The Manner and the Matter of the King's short Discourse to them wonderfully surprized the Messengers, who were all Persons of the best Quality in both Houses, the Earl of *Pembroke* being the Chief, and some of them were of known Affections to his Majesty's Service; who were wonderfully delighted with the King's quick, and sharp Treatment, with which the rest were as much trou-  
 F 4 bled:

bled: and so They all returned the same Night to *London*.

THE King resolved to pursue the Course agreed upon with the Queen at her Departure; and would no more resume the Consideration of staying nearer the Parliament: very reasonably apprehending, that He should render himself liable every Day to new Affronts. And the Practice both Houses had gotten, to send for Persons by a Serjeant at Arms, upon any Suggestions of light Discourse, or upon general and ungrounded Suspicions, by which They were compelled to give long Attendance, if They were not committed to Prison, had so terrified all Conditions of Men, that very few resorted to the Court. And They who did most diligently seem to attend their Duty there, did in Truth perform that Service, that They might with the more Ease betray their Master, and gratify those, who They thought would at last bring themselves into those Places and Offices, upon which They were to depend. So that He thought it most absolutely necessary to be at such a Distance from *Westminster*, that People might be less apprehensive of their Power: resolving likewise, that no Person who attended him, or resorted to the Place where He was, should yield any Obedience to their Summons, upon those general Suggestions; or any Applications They should make to his Majesty. And though it might have met with better Success if He had taken the contrary Resolution, and staid in, or near *Whitehall*; yet the Hazards, or Inconveniences which might very probably have attended that Counsel, were too much in View, for wise Men to engage positively in the Advice. Besides, the Concert that had been made with the Queen, shut out all opposite Consultations: and the King with a small Court, after two Days stay at *Theobalds*, began his Progress toward *New-* (58)  
*market*; and sometimes resting a Day in a Place, He advanced by easy Journies Northward.

The King begins his Progress Northward.

He took the Prince with him, the Marquis likewise attending him; but left the Duke of *York* still at *Richmond*, till He came to *York*: And then likewise He sent for his Highness, who came thither to him: And the Morning He left *Theobalds*, He sent his Answer to the two Houses, to their Message They had sent to him thither,

THEY

THEY had long detested and suspected Mr. *Hyde*, from the Time of their first Remonstrance, for framing the King's Messages, and Answers, which They now every Day received, to their intolerable Vexation ; yet knew not how to accuse him. But now that the Earls of *Essex*, and *Holland* had discovered his being shut up with the King at *Greenwich* ; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* had, once before, found him very early in Private with the King at *Windso*r, at a Time when the King thought all Passages had been stopped ; together with his being of late more Absent from the House, than He had used to be ; and the Resort of the other Two every Night to his Lodging, as is mentioned before, satisfied them that He was the Person ; and They resolved to disenable him to manage that Office long. Sir *John Colepepper* had as many Eyes upon them, as They had upon the other, and an equal Animosity against them ; and had Familiarity and Friendship with some Persons, who from the second or third Hand came to know many of the greatest Designs, before they were brought upon the Stage. For though They managed those Councils with the greatest Secrecy, and by few Persons, which amounted to no more than pure Designs in Speculation ; yet when any Thing was to be transacted in Publick by the House, They were obliged, not only to prepare those, of whom They were themselves confident, but to allow those Confidants to communicate it to others, in whom They confided : and so Men who did not concur with them, came to know sometimes their Intentions, Time enough to prevent the Success They proposed to themselves.

AND by this Means Sir *John Colepepper* meeting at Night with the Lord *Falkland* and Mr. *Hyde*, assured them, that it had been resolved that Day to have seized upon all Three, and sent them to the *Tower* : of which He having received Notice as He was going to the House, returned to his Lodging, not being able to give the same Information to the other Two ; but that his own being absent prevented the Mischief. For He knew it was resolved the Night before, that when the Three were together in the House, Somebody should move the House, " that They would apply themselves to make some strict " Enquiry after the Persons, who were most like to give " the King the evil Counsel He had lately followed ; and " who prepared those Answers and Messages They re-

*A Design of  
sending Mr.  
Hyde to the  
Tower ;*

ceived



“ceived from his Majesty;” upon which, by one and another, those Three Persons should be named, and particular Reasons given for their Suspicion; and that They did not doubt, but if their Friends were well prepared before hand, They should be able to cause them to be all sent to the *Tower*; and then They doubted not They should be able to keep them there. But it was then likewise agreed that They would not make the Attempt, but at a Time when They were all Three in the House; upon hearing whereof, and finding that They Two were there, He went back to his Lodging; knowing that thereupon there would be Nothing done.

*Defeated.*

UPON this Communication, though They were all of Opinion that the Design was so extravagant, and exceeding all the Rules of common Justice, that They would not be able to procure the Consent of the major Part of (59) the House in it, if there were any considerable Number present; yet because very many usually absented themselves, and They were not governed by any Rules which had been formerly observed; They thought fit to resolve that One of them would be always present in the House, that They might know all that was done; but that They would never be there altogether; and seldom Two of them; and when They were, They would only hear, and speak no more than was of absolute Necessity. For it was now grown a very difficult Thing for a Man who was in their Disfavour, to speak against what They proposed, but that They would find some Exception to some Word or Expression; upon which, after He had been called upon to explain, He was obliged to withdraw, and then They had commonly a major Part to send him to the *Tower*, or to expel him the House; or at least to oblige him to receive a Reprehension at the Bar upon his Knees. And so They had used Sir *Ralph Hopton* at that Time; who excepting to some Expression that was used in a Declaration prepared by a Committee, and presented to the House, which He said was dishonourable to the King, They said, it was a Tax upon the Committee; caused him to withdraw; and committed him to the *Tower*; which terrified many from speaking at all, and caused more to absent themselves from the House; where too small Numbers appeared any Day. These Three Gentlemen kept the Resolution agreed upon, till They all found

found it necessary to forbear any farther Attendance upon the House.

ABOUT the End of *April*, which was in the Year 1642, Mr. *Hyde* received a Letter from the King, wherein He required him, that as soon as He could be spared from his Business there, He should repair to his Majesty at *York*, where He had Occasion for his Service: which when He had communicated to his two Friends, They were all of Opinion, that it was necessary He should defer that Journey for some Time; there being every Day great Occasion of consulting together, and of sending Dispatches to the King. And it was a wonderful Expedition that was then used between *York* and *London*, when Gentlemen undertook the Service, as enough were willing to do: Inasmuch, as when They dispatched a Letter on *Saturday* Night, at that Time of the Year, about twelve at Night, They received always the King's Answer, *Monday* by ten of the Clock in the Morning. His Majesty was content that He should stay as long as the Necessity required; but that as soon as He might be dispensed with, He would expect him. And it was happy that He did stay, for there was an Occasion then fell out, in which his Presence was very useful, † *towards disposing the Lord Keeper Littleton to send the Great Seal to the King at York; and to resolve upon going thither himself as soon as possible to attend his Majesty; which Resolution being taken,* it was agreed between him and his two Friends, that it was now Time that He should be gone (the King having sent for him some Time before) after a Day or two; in which Time the Declaration of the 19th of *May* would be passed, which being very long, He might carry with him; and prepare the Answer upon the Way, or after He came to *York*.

*Mr. Hyde is sent for by the King to York.*

It was upon a *Wednesday* that He resolved to begin his Journey; having told the Speaker, that it was very necessary, by the Advice of his Physician, that He should take the Air of the Country for his Health; and his Physician certified the same; which Caution was necessary: For He had a Week or two before made a Journey into the Country to his own House; and his Absence being (60) taken Notice of, a Messenger was immediately sent to him, to require him immediately to attend the House; upon which He found it necessary to return without De-

*Toward which He begins his Journey.*

† History of the Rebellion, Folio, Vol. I. p. 444, &c.

lay; and was willing to prevent the like sudden Enquiry; and so prepared the Speaker to answer for him. He resolved with the Lord *Falkland*, to stay at a Friend's House near *Oxford*, and little out of the Road He meant to take for *York*, till He should hear of the Keeper's Motion, of which He promised to give him timely Notice; not giving in the mean Time any Credit to his Purpose of moving; but He was quickly convinced.

MUCH Notice had been taken of Mr. *Hyde's* frequent Refort to him; and of his being often shut up with him; and when He took his Leave of him, the Night before He left the Town, the Keeper was walking in his Garden with Mr. *Hollis*, and Mr. *Glyn*; who had (as They said) then observed, that as soon as the Keeper's Eyes were upon him, at his Entrance into the Garden, He had shewn some Impatience to be free from them; and when They were gone, others took Notice (for there were many in the Garden) as They pretended, that after They had walked some Time together, They took their Leave of each other in another Manner than was usual; and which was not True. But He had not so good a Name, as that any Thing of that Kind would not easily gain Belief: So that Dr. *Morley* (who is since Bishop of *Winchester*) being in *Westminster Hall* on the Monday Morning when the News came of the Lord Keeper's Flight; a Person of great Authority in the Parliament met him, and with great Passion inveighing against the Keeper, told him that They knew well enough that his Friend Mr. *Hyde* had contrived that Mischief, and brought it to pass; for which He would be that Morning, or the next, accused of High Treason; which the Doctor (who was ever very much his Friend) hearing, went presently to the Lord *Falkland*, and told him of it, and desired to know where He was, that He might give him timely Notice of it; knowing a Gentleman, a very near Friend of his, who would immediately ride to Him. The Lord *Falkland* was then writing to him to inform him of the Keeper's having made good his Word, of which He had but then Notice, and to advise him to prosecute his Northern Journey with all Expedition; and desired the Doctor that He would send for the Gentleman, whom He would presently direct where He should find Mr. *Hyde*; who did make so good Haste, that He delivered the Lord *Falkland's* Letter to him early the same Night.

He was then at *Ditchley* with the Lady *Lee* (since Countess of *Rocheſter*) and the Perſon who brought the Adverſement to him was *John Ayliffe*, whom He dearly loved. He no ſooner received the Adverſement, but He thought it Time for him to be gone; and as He was utterly unacquainted with the Way, having never been in the Northern Parts, and apprehended that there would be Care taken to intercept him if He went in any common Road, there was with him at that Time Mr. *Cbillingworth*, whoſe Company He had deſired from *Oxford*, purpoſely for that Occaſion; and who was well acquainted with thoſe Ways, which led almoſt as far as *Yorkſhire*. They ſent their Horſes that Night to a Village near *Coventry*, where Mr. *Cbillingworth*'s Brother had a Farm; and then in the Morning They put themſelves into the Lady's Coach, which with ſix Horſes carried them to that Village, thirty Miles from *Ditchley*; where after They had a little reſreſhed themſelves, They took their Horſes; and that Night, out of all Roads, reached *Lutterworth*, a Village in *Leiceſtershire*, where Mr. *Cbillingworth* had likewiſe a Friend, who was Parſon of the Pariſh, who received them very kindly. And ſo by unuſual Ways (61) They got through *Derbyſhire*, until They came to *Yorkſhire*; and then reſted at *Noſtall*, the Houſe of Sir *John Worſtenholme*; who, though He and his Family were at *London*, had given Order for his very good Reception; it having been before reſolved with his Maſteſty's Conſent, that He ſhould ſtay in ſome private Place near *York*, till his Maſteſty was informed of it, and till his Affairs abſolutely required his Preſence there: there being many Reaſons that He ſhould be concealed in thoſe Parts, as long as might be convenient. *Noſtall* was within twenty Miles of *York*; and from thence He gave his Maſteſty Notice of his being there; and ſent him the Answer that was prepared to the Declaration of the nineteenth of *May*. And the King the next Day ſent Mr. *Albburnham* to him, with the Declaration of the twenty-fixth of *May*, and which was the higheſt They had yet publiſhed; and to which He wiſhed an Answer ſhould be prepared as ſoon as poſſible it might be, that the Poiſon thereof might not work too long upon the Minds of the People.

As ſoon as it was taken Notice of in the Parliament that Mr. *Hyde* was abſent, Enquiry was made, what was become of him, and a Motion made in the Houſe, that He

And after a  
ſhort Stay at  
*Ditchley*

arrives at  
*Noſtall*.

He might be sent for. The Speaker said, that He had acquainted him with his going into the Country to recover his Indisposition which troubled him, by fresh Air; and that Dr. *Winston* his Physician was with him, and informed him, that He was troubled with the Stone; and that his having sat so much in the House, in that very hot Weather, had done him much Harm; and therefore that He had advised him to refresh himself in the Country Air; with which Testimony They were for the present satisfied; though Mr. *Peard* said confidently, "that He was troubled with no other Stone, than the Stone in his Heart; and therefore He would have him sent for wherever He was, for He was most confident that He was doing them Mischief, wherever He was." But He prevailed not, till their Committee from *York* sent them Word, that He was come thither, and almost always with the King. It is said before, that He staid at *Nossall* at the House of Sir *John Worstenholme*, from whence He sent every Day to the King, and received his Majesty's Commands; and He intended to have staid longer there, where He could better intend, and dispatch any Business He was to do; and He was willing for some Time not to be seen at *York*, which He knew would quickly be taken Notice of at *Westminster*.

WHEN He came first thither, He found that the King was not satisfied with the Lord Keeper, which gave him much Trouble; his Majesty having sent him Word that He did not like his Humours, nor know what to make of him. Mr. *Elliot* who had brought the Seal to the King, to magnify his own Service, and not imagining that the Keeper intended to follow him, had told many Stories; as if the Keeper had refused to deliver the Seal, and that He got it by Force, by having locked the Door upon him, and threatened to kill him, if He would not give it to him, which upon such his Manhood He did for pure Fear consent unto. And his Tale got so much Credit with the King that He hardly disbelieved it, when He came himself, though it was in the Nature of it very improbable, that a single Man, by another Man as strong as himself (who was attended by many Servants in the next Room) should be suffered to shut the Door upon him, and to extort That from him, which He had no Mind to part with; and afterwards to go out of his House, when there were Persons enough in every Room to

to have laid Hands upon him, and to have taken That again by Force, which He had ravished away. Besides (62) that his Majesty knew He expected to be sent for at that Time; and that if He had repented the Promise He had made, and resolved not to perform it, He could have found several Ways to have evaded it; and refused to have admitted Mr. *Elliot* to speak with him: But the Prejudice his Majesty had before contracted against him, and the great Confidence *Elliot* had in the Relation, which was natural in him, had shut out all those Reflections. Yet when his Majesty saw him, He received him graciously; and caused him to be lodged in the Court, in a Room very near his Majesty; which many believed to be rather out of Jealousy and Care that He should not again return, than out of Respect to him; his Majesty keeping still the Seal himself, and not restoring it to his Custody; which could not but make some Impression on Him, and more on others, who from thence concluded that He would have no more to do with the Seal; and carried themselves towards him accordingly.

THE Lords who were come from the House of Peers, and had been offended at his Behaviour there, gave him little Respect now; but rather gave Credit to Mr. *Elliot's* Relation: and were forward to make Relation of his Carriage in the House to his Disadvantage, to the King himself; so that it was no Wonder that the poor Gentleman grew very Melancholick. And when He was sent for to attend the King (who was himself present when the Great Seal was to be used; nor did ever suffer it to be used but in the Presence of the Keeper, who signed all Things as He ought to do by his Office) when any Proclamation of Treason, as that against the Earl of *Essex*, or against the Proceedings of the Houses, as in the Business of the Militia, or the like, was brought to be sealed, He used all Delays; and made many Exceptions; and found Faults in Matters of Form, and otherwise, and sometimes very reasonably; yet in such a Manner, as made it evident He retained many Fears about him, as if He was not without Apprehension that He might fall again into their Hands; which was the Cause that the King had said, that He knew not what to make of him.

MR. *Hyde*, as soon as He heard this, wrote a Letter to the King; and put him in Mind of all that had formerly passed in that Affair: how absolutely the Keeper had de-

*Mr. Hyde  
wrote from  
Notfall to  
the King.*

stroyed

stroyed himself in the Account of the Parliament, by paying that Obedience which He ought to do to his Majesty's Commands; and that if He should be deprived of his Majesty's Favour, He must be of all Men the most miserable; and that himself should be most unfortunate, in having contributed so much to his Ruin; which would call his Majesty's Good Nature, and even his Justice into Question: and therefore besought him to be Gracious to him, and to keep up his Spirits with his Countenance. However He made it his own humble Suit to his Majesty, that He would not take any severe Resolution against him, before He gave Him leave to kiss his Hand, and to offer him some farther Considerations. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King sent him Word, that He would gratify him in the last part of his Letter, and conclude Nothing before He spake with him: In the mean Time He wished him to send the Keeper some good Counsel; and that as soon as He should have dispatched some Business He had then upon his Hands, that He would come to *York*, where He would find much to do; and that He thought now, there would be less Reason every Day for his being concealed. And within four or five Days after, his Majesty sent Mr. *Asburnham* to him to let him know, that He had every Day so much to do with the Keeper, and found him so refractory and obstinate, that He should not be able to keep the Promise he had made to him, if<sup>(63)</sup> He did not make Haste to *York*; and therefore bade him to be with Him with all Convenience: Whereupon, within two Days after, for He had somewhat to dispatch that required Haste, and sooner than He intended, He waited upon his Majesty at *York*.

*And goes  
from thence  
to York.*

WHEN He came to the Court, being about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, the King was at Council, upon the publishing his Answer to the Declaration of the twenty sixth of *May*; which though it contained eight or nine Sheets of Paper, He brought to the Board in his own Hand writing; having kept the Promise He had made at *Greenwich*, to that Hour, in writing out all the Papers himself which had been sent to him; which had been a wonderful Task He had imposed on himself: so that He always spent more than half the Day, shut up by himself in his Chamber, Writing; which was most of the News the Houses heard of him at *London*; and which perplexed them very much.

Mr. Hyde

MR. *Hyde* was in the Gallery when the King came from Council; and as soon as He saw him, He bade him Welcome to *York* very graciously; and asked some Questions aloud of him, as if He thought He had then come from *London*; and then called him into the Garden, where He walked with Him above an Hour. He said at the beginning, "that They needed not now be afraid of being seen together;" then used all the Expressions of Kindness to him that can be imagined; of the Service He had done him, and of the great Benefit He had received from it, even to the turning the Hearts of the whole Nation towards him again; and of his gracious Resolutions of rewarding him with the first Opportunity; and many Expressions of that Kind; which the other received with the Modesty and Reverence that became him. Then his Majesty spake of his Business, and the Temper of that Country; and quickly entered upon finding Fault with the Keeper, and protested, if it were not for his Sake, He would turn him out of his Place that very Hour; and enlarged upon many Particulars of his Obstinacy, and of his Want of Courage, to such a Degree, as if He did really apprehend, that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod would come and take him out of his Chamber.

*His Reception there;*

*and Conversation with the King.*

MR. *Hyde* told him, that He would discourage many good Men, who desired to serve him very faithfully, if He were too severe for such Faults as the Infirmities of their Nature, and Defects in their Education, exposed them to: That if the Keeper, from those Impressions, had committed some Faults which might provoke his Majesty's Displeasure, He had redeemed those Errors by a signal Service, which might well wipe out the Memory of the other. The King said with some Warmth, "that He was so far from another Opinion, that He would hate himself if He did not believe that He had made a full Expiation; and though He did think that He had been wrought upon by *him* to perform that Part; yet He thought the Merit of it far above any of his Transgressions; and that He was disposed from the first Minute of his coming to *York*, to have renewed his old Kindness to him, and Confidence in him; and would willingly have given the Seal again into his Hands, if He had found He had desired it: But that He found no Serenity in his Countenance; nor any Inclination to do what Necessity required: And whereas the Parliament took Advantage,



“ that none of his Majesty’s Acts which He had caused to  
 “ be published, were Authentick, nor ought to be look-  
 “ ed upon as His, because the Great Seal had not been af-  
 “ fixed to them, which could not be done whilst the Great  
 “ Seal was at *Westminster*; now He had the Seal by him, (64)  
 “ and sent Proclamations to be sealed, the Keeper was still  
 “ as unwilling that they should pass, as if He was still  
 “ under their Power: Which made him angry, and No-  
 “ thing that He had done before.”

MR. *Hyde* replied, that “ the poor Gentleman could  
 “ not but think himself disobliged to the highest Extre-  
 “ mity, in the Presumption of Mr. *Elliot*; and that his  
 “ extravagant and insolent Discourses should find Credit,  
 “ without his Majesty’s Reprehension, and Vindication,  
 “ who knew the Falshood of them.” And so put his Ma-  
 “ jesty in Mind of all that had passed; and of the other Cir-  
 “ cumstances, which made all the other’s Brags impossible  
 “ to be True. For his Fears and Apprehensions, He be-  
 “ sought his Majesty to remember, that “ He had newly  
 “ escaped out of that Region, where the Thunder and  
 “ Lightning is made; and that He could hardly yet re-  
 “ cover the Fright He had been often in, and seen so ma-  
 “ ny others in; and that his Majesty need not distrust  
 “ him, He had passed the *Rubicon*, and had no Hope but  
 “ in his Majesty.” His Majesty concluded, that He  
 “ should be sure to receive all necessary Countenance and  
 “ Protection from him, of which He bade him to assure  
 “ him, and presently to visit him, which going to do, He  
 “ met him in the Garden, and They there walked together.

*Whom He re-  
 conciles to the  
 Lord Keeper.*

HE found him full of Apprehension that He should  
 be put out of his Place; and of the Ruin, and Contempt  
 that He should be then exposed to, which He had brought  
 upon himself; but when the other answered him, that  
 there was no Danger of that; and told him all that had  
 passed between the King and Him; and that if He would,  
 He might have the Seal in his own Custody again within  
 an Hour; He was exceedingly revived, and desired him  
 to intreat the King to keep the Great Seal still himself;  
 that He would by no Means be answerable for the Safety  
 of it; nor would trust any Servant of his own to look to  
 it; which as it was wisely considered, and resolved by him,  
 so it increased the King’s Confidence in him; who would  
 have been troubled if the other had accepted the Grace  
 that was offered. And from that Time, when any Thing  
 was

was to be done, that administered any Argument for Doubt, Mr. *Hyde* always prepared him by Discourse; so that there was never after any Unkindness from the King towards him; but the Vigour of his Mind grew every Day less under a great Melancholy that oppressed him, from the Consideration of the Time, and of his own ill Condition in his Fortune; which was much worse than any Body imagined it could be.

BEFORE He went out of the Garden, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Hugh Cholmely*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* (who were the Committee from the Parliament) had Intelligence that He was walking in the Garden with the King; whereupon They came presently thither, and after They had saluted him with much Civility, They shewed him an Instruction They had from the Parliament; by which They were required, if any Member of either House came to *York*, They should let them know, that it was the Pleasure of the House that They should immediately attend the House; and signify to them what Answer They made; and so They desired He would excuse them for doing their Duty. He told them, He was but just then come thither in Obedience to his Majesty's Commands, and knew not yet what Service He was to do; but that as soon as his Majesty would give him Leave, He would return to the Parliament.

*He is summoned to attend the Parliament: His Answer.*

THERE happened an Accident, at Mr. *Hyde's* first coming to *York*, which He used often to speak of, and to be very merry at. One of the King's Servants had provided a Lodging for him, so that when He alighted at (65) the Court, He sent his Servants thither, and staid himself at the Court till after Supper, and till the King went into his Chamber; and then He had a Guide, who went with him, and conducted him to his Chamber; which He liked very well, and began to undress himself. One of his Servants wished that He had any other Lodging, and desired him not to lie there; He asked why, it seemed to him a good Chamber: His Servant answered, that the Chamber was good, but the People of the House the worst He ever saw, and such; as He was confident would do him some Mischief: at which wondering, his Servant told him, that the Persons of the House seemed to be of some Condition by their Habit, that was very good; and that the Servants when They came thither, found the Master and Mistress in the lower Room, who received

them civilly, and shewed them the Chamber where their Master was to lodge; and wished them to call for any Thing They wanted, and so left them; That shortly after, one of them went down, and the Mistress of the House being again in the lower Room, where it seems She usually sat, She asked him, what his Master's Name was, which He told her; what said She, that *Hyde* that is of the House of Commons? and He answering yes, She gave a great Shriek, and cried out, that He should not lodge in her House; cursing him with many bitter Execrations. Upon the Noise her Husband came in, and when She told him who it was that was to lodge in the Chamber above, He swore a great Oath that He should not; and that He would rather set his House on Fire, than entertain him in it. The Servant stood amazed, knowing that his Master had never been in, or near that City; and desired to know what Offence He had committed against them; He told them He was confident that his Master did not know them, nor could be known to them. The Man answered after two or three Curses, that He knew him well enough, and that He had undone Him, and his Wife, and his Children; and so after repeating some new bitter Curses, He concluded, that He would set his House on Fire as soon as the Other should set his Foot in it; and so He and his Wife went away in a great Rage into an inner Room, and clapped the Door to them.

WHEN his Servant had made this Relation to him, He was no less surprized; knew not what to make of it; asked whether the People were drunk; was assured that They were very sober, and appeared before this Passion to be well bred. He sent to desire the Master of the House to come to him, that They might confer together, and that He would immediately depart his House if He desired it. He received no Answer, but that He and his Wife were gone to Bed; upon which He said no more, but that, if They were gone to Bed, He would go to Bed too, and did accordingly. Though He was not disturbed in the Night, the Morning was not at all calmer; the Master and the Mistress stormed as much as ever; and would not be persuaded to speak with him: But He then understood the Reason: The Man of the House had been an Attorney in the Court of the President and Council of the North, in great Reputation and Practice there; and thereby got a very good Livelihood, with which He had lived

lived in Splendor; and Mr. *Hyde* had sat in the Chair of that Committee, and had carried up the Votes of the Commons against that Court to the House of Peers, upon which it was dissolved: Which He confessed was a better Reason for being angry with him, than many others had, who were as angry, and persecuted him more. However, He thought himself obliged to remove the Eye-sore from them, and to quit the Lodging that had been assigned to him; and He was much better accommodated by (66) the Kindness of a good Prebendary of the Church, Dr. *Hodgson*, who sent to invite him to lodge in his House, as soon as He heard He was come to Town; where He resided as long as the Court staid there.

*He resides at  
York with  
Dr. Hodg-  
son.*

THERE was now a great Conflux of the Members of both Houses of Parliament to *York*; insomuch as there remained not in the House of Commons above a fifth Part of the whole Number; and of the House of Peers so few, that there continued not at *Westminster* twenty Lords. Yet They proceeded with the same Spirit and Presumption, as when their Numbers were full; published new Declarations against the King; raised Soldiers for their Army apace; and executed their Ordinance for the Militia in all the Counties of *England*, the Northern Parts only excepted; forbade all Persons to resort to the King; and intercepted many in their Journey towards *York*, and committed them to Prison: Notwithstanding which, many Persons of Quality every Day flocked thither; and it was no longer safe for those Members to stay in the Houses of Parliament, who resolved not to concur with them in their unwarrantable Designs; and therefore the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* shortly after repaired likewise to *York*.

WHEN the King declared that He would go to *Beverley*, a Place within four Miles of *Hull*, the Noise of the King's Journey thither made a great Impression upon the Parliament. Where, how great a Concurrence soever there was, in those unwarrantable Actions which begot the War; yet a small Number of those who voted, both the raising the Army, and making the General, did in Truth intend, or believe that there would be a War: And therefore when They looked upon it as begun in this March of the King's to *Hull* (for They considered their own Actions as done only to prevent a War, by making the King unable to make it, who as They thought only desired it)

They moved presently for some Overtures of an Accommodation, which that angry Party that resolved against it, never durst absolutely reject; but consenting cheerfully to it, got thereby Authority to insert such Things in the Address, as must inevitably render it ineffectual. So, at this Time They sent the Earl of *Holland*, a Person whom They knew to be most unacceptable to the King, with two Members of the House of Commons, who came to *Beverley* the Day the King arrived there. The Subject of their Message was, after several specious Expressions, and Professions of their Duty, to dissuade his Majesty from making War against his Parliament, by proceeding in his Enterprize against *Hull*, which the Parliament was obliged to defend. And all the Expedient They proposed for the avoiding this War was, that He would consent to the nineteen Propositions, which They had formerly made to him at *York*, and to which He had long since returned his Answer; and both the one and the other were printed.

THESE nineteen Propositions, which contained the Disinherison of the Crown of all its choice Regalities, and left only the Shadow and empty Name of the King, had been framed by the Houses after Mr. *Hyde* left *London*. And because He had so much Work then upon his Hands, as They believed He would not be able to dispatch soon enough, the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* undertook to prepare an Answer to them themselves; and so divided the Propositions between them; and in a short Time so finished their Answer that They sent it to the King, and desired that Mr. *Hyde* might peruse it, and then cause it to be published and printed. The Answer was full to all Particulars; and writ with very much Wit and Sharpness; but there were some Expressions in it, which He liked not, as prejudicial to the King, and in (67) Truth a Mistake in Point of Right, in that Part which had been prepared by Sir *John Colepepper*; who had taken it up upon Credit, and without weighing the Consequence, did really believe that it had been True; which was, that in the Discourse of the Constitution of the Kingdom, He had declared, that the King, and the House of Peers, and the House of Commons made the Three Estates: And for this Reason Mr. *Hyde* did not advance the Printing it; and told the King, that all the Particulars in those Propositions had been enough answered in former Answers

to other Declarations (which was True) and therefore that this needed not be published: With which his Majesty was satisfied, without knowing the particular true Reason; which He thought not fit to communicate, for both the Persons Sakes, of whose Affection for the Church (which was principally concerned in that Mistake, since in Truth the Bishops make the *Third Estate*, the King being the Head and Sovereign of the Whole) his Majesty was always jealous.

BUT They no sooner came to *York*, than They appeared much unsatisfied, that that Answer was not printed: And the Lord *Falkland* finding it remained still in Mr. *Hyde's* Hands, He expostulated warmly with him of the Reasons; and in some Passion said, "He therefore disliked it because He had not writ it himself." Upon which, without saying more than that "He never expected so unkind a Reproach from Him," He delivered the written Copy to him, and He immediately procured the King's Consent, and sent it to the Press that Night, with Order to lose no Time in the Impression. Of which the King was afterwards very sensible; and that excellent Lord, who intended not the least Unkindness (nor did it produce the least Interruption in their Friendship) was likewise much troubled when He knew the Reason; and imputed it to his own Inadvertency, and to the Infusion of some Lawyers who had misled Sir *John Colepepper*; and to the Declarations which many of the Prelatical Clergy frequently and ignorantly made, that the Bishops did not sit in Parliament, as the Representatives of the Clergy, and so could not be the *Third Estate*.

It happened that the Day the Earl of *Holland* came to *Beverley*, Mr. *Hyde* had been riding Abroad; and returning to *Beverley*, happened to be in the same Road, when the Earl of *Holland* and his Company prosecuted their Journey to the King: When meeting together, there passed the usual Salutations which are between Persons well known to each other. "He hoped (the Earl said) that He should be Welcome to all honest Men at the Court, because He came to invite the King to return to his Parliament; and to abolish all Jealousies between them." The other answered, "He would be very Welcome indeed, if He brought proper Expedients to produce either of those Effects: But then his Errand must be of another Composition, than what the King

*Mr. Hyde advises the King not to publish the Answer to the Parliament's nineteen Propositions.*

*Lord Falkland's Expostulation with him thereon.*

*Mr. Hyde's Conversation with the Earl of Holland.*

"understood it to be." Upon which They entered upon a warmer Discourse than it may be either of them intended; and as the Earl spake in another Stile than He had used to do, of the Power and Authority of the Parliament, and how much They were superior to any Opposition or Contradiction; so the Other in the Debate was less reserved, and kept a less Guard upon himself than He used to do; so that They seemed nothing pleased with each other: Nor did Mr. *Hyde* visit him after his coming to *Beverley*, because He was informed that the Earl had, to many Persons who resorted to him, repeated with some Liberty and Sharpness, what had passed between them; and not without some Menaces what the Parliament would do. And as soon as He did return, (68) there was a new Vote passed by Name against Him, and Two or Three more, by which He was exempted from Pardon in any Accommodation that should be made between the King and Parliament.

*He is exempted from Pardon by a Vote of the House.*

Mr. *Hyde* had been absent four or five Days from the Court; and came into the Presence when the King was washing his Hands before Dinner; and as soon as the King saw him, He asked him aloud, "*Ned Hyde*, when did you play with my Bandstrings last?" upon which He was exceedingly out of Countenance, not imagining the Cause of the Question, and the Room being full of Gentlemen, who appeared to be merry with what the King had asked. But his Majesty observing him to be in Disorder, and to blush very much, said pleasantly, "be not troubled at it, for I have worn no Bandstrings these twenty Years;" and then asked him whether He had not seen the Diurnal; of which He had not heard till then, but, shortly after, some of the Standers-by shewed him a Diurnal, in which there was a Letter of Intelligence printed, where it was said, that *Ned Hyde* was grown so familiar with the King, that *He used to play with his Bandstrings*. Which was a Method of calumniating They began then, and shortly after prosecuted and exercised upon much greater Persons.

In the Afternoon the Earl of *Holland* came to deliver his Message with great Formality; whom the King received with much Coldness, and Manifestation of Neglect; and when the Earl approached, and kneeled to kiss his Hand, He turned or withdrew his Hand in such a Manner, that the Earl kissed his own. When the  
Message

Message was read, the King said little more, than that They should not stay long for an Answer; and so went to his Chamber. The Earl was not without many Friends there, and some of them moved the King, that He would give him Leave to say somewhat to him in Private, which They believed would be very much for his Service; but his Majesty would by no Means yield to it. By this Time his Majesty had Notice of the Governor's Irresolution at *Hull*; and so was glad of this Opportunity to have a fair Excuse for making no Attempt upon that Place. And sent the next Day for the Earl of *Holland* to receive his Answer; which being read aloud in the King's Presence, and a full Room, by the Clerk of the Council, was very grateful to the Auditors, who feared some Condescension in the King; though very mortifying to the Earl. For besides that it was thought very sharp towards the Houses, it declared his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* a Traitor, for possessing himself of the King's Fleet against his Consent; and concluded, that He would forbear any Attempt upon *Hull* for fourteen Days; in which Time, if the Parliament would enter into a Treaty for a happy Peace, They should find him very well inclined to it; after the Expiration of that Time He should pursue those Ways which He thought fit. In the mean Time, He made a short Progress into the adjacent Counties of *Nottingham* and *Leicester*, to see what Countenance They wore; and to encourage those, who appeared to have good Affections to his Service: And then returning to *Beverley* within the limited Time, and bearing no more from the Parliament, or any Thing from *Hull* that He expected, He returned again to *York*.

MR. *Hyde* was wont often to relate a Passage in that melancholick Time, when the Standard was set up at *Nottingham*, with which He was much affected. Sir *Edmund Varney*, Knight-Marshal, who was mentioned before as Standard Bearer, with whom He had great Familiarity, who was a Man of great Courage, and generally beloved, came one Day to him and told him, "He was  
 (69) "very glad to see Him, in so universal a Damp, under  
 "which the Spirits of most Men were oppressed, retain  
 "still his natural Vivacity and Cheerfulness; that He  
 "knew that the Condition of the King, and the Power  
 "of the Parliament, was not better known to any Man  
 "than to Him; and therefore He hoped that He was  
 able

*His Conversation with Sir Edmund Varney.*



“able to administer some Comfort to his Friends, that  
 “might raise Their Spirits, as well as it supported his  
 “own.” He answered, “that He was in Truth beholden  
 “to his Constitution, which did not incline him to De-  
 “spair; otherwise, that He had no pleasant Prospect be-  
 “fore him, but thought as ill of Affairs as most Men  
 “did; that the Other was as far from being melanco-  
 “lick as He, and was known to be a Man of great  
 “Courage (as indeed He was of a very cheerful and a  
 “generous Nature, and confessedly Valiant) and that  
 “They could not do the King better Service, than by  
 “making it their Business to raise the dejected Minds of  
 “Men; and root out those Apprehensions which disturb-  
 “ed them, of Fear and Despair, which could do no  
 “Good, and did really much Mischief.”

He replied smiling, “I will willingly join with you  
 “the best I can, but I shall act it very scurvily. My  
 “Condition, *said He*, is much worse than yours, and dif-  
 “ferent I believe from any other Man’s, and will very  
 “well justify the Melancholick that, I confess to you,  
 “possesses me. You have Satisfaction in your Conscience  
 “that you are in the Right; that the King ought not to  
 “grant what is required of him; and so you do your  
 “Duty, and your Business together: But for my Part,  
 “I do not like the Quarrel, and do heartily wish that  
 “the King would yield and consent to what They desire;  
 “so that my Conscience is only concerned in Honour  
 “and in Gratitude to follow my Master. I have eaten  
 “his Bread, and served him near thirty Years, and will  
 “not do so base a Thing, as to forsake him; and chuse  
 “rather to lose my Life (which I am sure I shall do) to  
 “preserve and defend those Things, which are against  
 “my Conscience to preserve and defend. For I will deal  
 “freely with you, I have no Reverence for the Bishops,  
 “for whom this Quarrel subsists.” It was not a Time to  
 dispute; and his Affection to the Church had never  
 been suspected. He was as good as his Word; and  
 was killed in the Battle of *Edgehill*, within two Months  
 after this Discourse. And if those who had the same  
 and greater Obligations, had observed the same Rules  
 of Gratitude and Generosity, whatever their other Af-  
 fections had been, that Battle had never been fought,  
 nor any of that Mischief been brought to pass, that suc-  
 ceeded it.

AFTER the King came to *Oxford* with his Army, his Majesty one Day speaking with the Lord *Falkland* very graciously concerning Mr. *Hyde*, said He had such a peculiar Style, that He could know any Thing written by him, if it were brought to him by a Stranger, amongst a Multitude of Writings by other Men. The Lord *Falkland* answered, He doubted his Majesty could hardly do that; because He himself, who had so long Conversation and Friendship with him, was often deceived; and often met with Things written by him, of which He could never have suspected him, upon the variety of Arguments. To which the King replied, He would lay Him *'an Angel*, that let the Argument be what it would, He should never bring him a Sheet of Paper (for He would not undertake to judge of less) of his Writing, but He would discover it to be his. The Lord *Falkland* told him it should be a Wager; but neither the one or (70) the other ever mentioned it to Mr. *Hyde*. Some Days after, the Lord *Falkland* brought several Packets, which He had then received from *London*, to the King, before He had opened them, as He used to do: and after He had read his several Letters of Intelligence, He took out the Prints of Diurnals and Speeches, and the like, which were every Day printed at *London*, and as constantly sent to *Oxford*: And amongst the rest there were two Speeches, the one made by the Lord *Pembroke* for an Accommodation; and the other by the Lord *Brooke* against it, and for the carrying on the War with more Vigour, and utterly to root out the Cavaliers, which were the King's Party.

*The King's  
Wager with  
Lord Falk-  
land concern-  
ing Mr.  
Hyde's Style.*

THE King was very much pleased with reading the Speeches, and said, He did not think that *Pembroke* could speak so long together; though every Word He said was so much his own, that no Body else could make it. And so after He had pleased Himself with reading the Speeches over again, and then passed to other Papers, the Lord *Falkland* whispered in his Ear (for there were other Persons by) desiring him He would pay him *the Angel*; which his Majesty in the Instant apprehending, blushed, and put his Hand in his Pocket, and gave him *an Angel*, saying, He had never paid a Wager more willingly: And was very merry upon it, and would often call upon Mr. *Hyde* for a Speech, or a Letter, which He very often prepared upon several Occasions; and the King always com-

*Mr. Hyde  
laments  
the Loss of  
many of his  
occasional  
Writings.*

commanded them to be printed. And He was often wont to say many Years after, that He would be very glad He could make a Collection of all those Papers, which He had written occasionally at that Time; which He could never do, though He got many of them.

*A Dispute  
caused by one  
of them.*

THERE was at that Time a pleasant Story upon those Speeches. The Lord *Brooke* had met with them in print; and heard that He was much reproached for so Unchristian a Speech against Peace; though the Language was such as He used in all Opportunities: Whereupon one Morning in the House of Peers, and before the House sat, He came to the Earl of *Portland* (who yet remained there with the King's Approbation, and knew well enough from whence the Speeches came, having himself caused them to be printed) and shewing them to him, desired He would move the House, that that Speech might, by their Order, be burned by the Hand of the Hangman; by which Means the Kingdom would be informed, that it had never been spoken by him. The Earl said He would willingly do him the Service; but He observed that the Speeches were printed in that Manner, that where the Earl of *Pembroke's* Speech ended on the one Side of the Leaf, His (the Lord *Brooke's*) Speech began on the other Side, so that one could not be burned, without burning the other too; which He knew not how the Earl of *Pembroke* would like; and therefore He durst not move it without his Consent. Whereupon They both went to the Earl, who was then likewise in the House, and *Portland* told him what the Lord *Brooke* desired, and asked him whether He wished it should be done. He, who heard He was very well spoken of, for having spoke so honestly for Peace, said, He did not desire it. Upon which *Brooke* in great Anger, asked if He had ever made that Speech; He was very sure He had never made the other: And the Other with equal Choler replied, that He was always for Peace; and though He could not say He had spoken all those Things together, He was sure He had spoken them all at several Times; and that He knew as well, that He had always been against Peace, and had often used all those Expressions which were in the Speech, though it may be not all together. Upon which They entered into a high Combat of reproachful Words against each other, to the no small Delight of the Earl, who had brought them together, and of the rest of the Standers by.

THE

THE King was no sooner settled in his Winter Quarters, after his Retreat from *Brensford* to *Oxford*, but the Parliament sent to him for a Safe-Conduct, for Commissioners to be sent from them to treat of Peace; which was sent to them. And at this Time there was a Change in Mr. *Hyde's* Fortune, by a Preferment the King conferred upon him. Every Body knew that He was trusted by the King in his most secret Transactions; but He was under no Character in his Service. When the Commissioners who were sent for the Safe-Conduct came to *Oxford*, some who came in their Company, amongst other Matters of Intelligence brought the King a Letter of his own to the Queen, printed, that had been intercepted and printed by the Licence, if not Order, of the Parliament. In this Letter, of the safe Conveyance whereof his Majesty had no Apprehension, the King had lamented the Uneasiness of his own Condition, in respect of the daily Importunity which was made to him by the Lords and others, for Honours, Offices, and Preferments; and named several Lords, who were solicitous by themselves, or their Friends, for this, and that Place; in all which He desired to receive the Queen's Advice, being resolved to do Nothing with-Reference to those Pretences, till He should receive it. But He said there were some Places, which He must dispose of without staying for her Answer, the Necessity of his Service requiring it; which were the Mastership of the Wards; Application being still made to the Lord *Say* in those Affairs, and so that Revenue was diverted from him: And therefore as He had revoked his Patent, so He was resolved to make Secretary *Nicholas* Master of the Wards, and then (these were his Majesty's own Words) *I must make Ned Hyde Secretary of State, for the Truth is, I can trust no Body else.* Which was a very envious Expression, and extended by the ill Interpretation of some Men, to a more general Comprehension than could be intended. This was quickly made Publick, for there were several Prints of it in many Hands; and some Men had Reason to be troubled to find their Names mentioned in that Manner, and others were glad that theirs were there, as having the Pretence to pursue their Importunities the more vehemently, being, as the Phrase was, brought upon the Stage, and should suffer much in their Honour if They should

should be now rejected ; which Kind of Argumentation was very unagreeable and grievous to the King.

*Mr. Hyde declines the Office of Secretary of State.*

ONE Morning, when the King was walking in the Garden, as He used to do, Mr. *Hyde* being then in his View, his Majesty called him, and discoursed of the Trouble He was in at the intercepting that Letter ; and finding by his Countenance that He understood not the Meaning, He asked him, “ whether He had not heard a Letter of his, which He writ to the Queen, had been intercepted and printed.” And He answering, that “ He had not heard of it,” as in Truth He had not ; the King gave him the printed Letter to read, and then said, that “ He wished it were as much in his Power to make every Body else Amends, as He could Him ; for, *He said*, He was resolved that Afternoon to swear him Secretary of State, in the Place of *Nicholas* ; whom He would likewise then make Master of the Wards.” Mr. *Hyde* told him, “ He was indeed much surprized with the Sight of the Letter ; which He wished had not been communicated in that Manner : But that He was much more surprized to find his own Name in it, and his Majesty’s Resolution upon it, which He besought him to change ; for as He never had the Ambition to hope, or wish for that Place, so He knew He was very unfit for it, and unable to discharge it.” To which the King with a little Anger replied, that “ He did the greatest Part of the Business now :” and He answered, that “ what He did now, would be no Part of the Business, if the Rebellion were ended ; and that his Unskilfulness in Languages, and his not understanding foreign Affairs, rendered him very incapable of that Trust.” The King said, “ He would learn as much as was necessary of that Kind very quickly.” He continued his Desire, that his Majesty would lay aside that Thought ; and said, “ that He had great Friendship for Secretary *Nicholas*, who would be undone by the Change ; for He would find that his Majesty would receive very little, and He Nothing, by that Office, till the Troubles were composed.” The King said, “ *Nicholas* was an honest Man, and that his Change was by his Desire ;” and bade him speak with him of it ; which He went presently to do, leaving his Majesty unsatisfied with the Scruples He had made.

WHEN

WHEN He came to the Secretary's Lodging, He found him with a cheerful Countenance, and embracing him, called him his Son. Mr. *Hyde* answered him, that "it was not the Part of a good Son to undo his Father, or to become his Son that He might undo him:" And so They entered upon the Discourse; the one telling him what the King had resolved, and how grateful the Resolution was to him; and the Other informing him of the Conference He had then had with the King, and that for his Sake as well as his own, He would not submit to the King's Pleasure in it. And so He debated the whole Matter with him; and made it evident to him, that He would be disappointed in any Expectation He should entertain of Profit from the Wards, as the State of Affairs then stood: So that He should relinquish an honourable Employment, which He was well acquainted with, for an empty Title with which He would have Nothing to do: And so advised him to consider well of it, and of all the Consequences of it, before He exposed himself to such an Inconvenience.

WHILST this was in Suspense, Sir *Charles Caesar*, who with great Prejudice to the King, and more Reproach to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Laud*, had been made Master of the Rolls, died: And Sir *John Colepepper* had long had a Promise from the King of that Place, when it should become void, and now pressed the Performance of it: Which was violently opposed by Many, partly out of ill Will to him (for He had not the Faculty of getting himself much loved) and as much out of good Husbandry, and to supply the King's Necessities with a good Sum of Money, which Dr. *Duck* was ready to lay down for the Office. And the King was so far wrought upon, that He paid down three thousand Pounds in Part of what He was to give; but his Majesty caused the Money to be repaid, and resolved to make good his Promise to Sir *John Colepepper*, who would by no means release him. This was no sooner declared, than the Lord *Falkland* (who was much more solicitous to have Mr. *Hyde* of the Council, than He was himself for the Honour) took an Opportunity to tell the King, that He had now a good Opportunity to prefer Mr. *Hyde*, by making him Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Place of Sir *John Colepepper*; which the King said, He had resolved to do, and bid him take no Notice of it, until He had told him so him-

*But accepts  
that of Chan-  
cellor of the  
Exchequer.*

himself. And shortly after sent for him, and said, "that  
" He had now found an Office for him, which He hoped  
" He would not refuse: 'That the Chancellorship of the (71)  
" Exchequer was void by the Promotion of *Colepepper*;  
" and that He resolved to confer it upon him;" with  
many gracious Expressions of the Satisfaction He had in  
his Service. The other answered, "that though it was  
" an Office much above his Merit, yet He did not despair  
" of enabling himself by Industry to execute it, which He  
" would do with all Fidelity."

As soon as this was known, no Man was so much  
troubled at it as Sir *John Colepepper*, who had in Truth an  
Intention to have kept both Places, until He should get  
into the quiet Possession of the Rolls. And though He  
professed much Friendship to the other, He had no Mind  
He should be upon the same Level with him; and be-  
lieved He would have too much Credit in the Council.  
And so delayed, after his Patent for the Rolls was passed,  
to surrender that of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer,  
until the Lord *Falkland*, and the Lord *Digby* expostulated  
very warmly with him upon it, and until the King took  
Notice of it; and then, seeming very much troubled that  
any Body should doubt the Integrity of his Friendship to  
Mr. *Hyde*, to whom He made all the Professions imagin-  
able, He surrendered his Office of Chancellor of the Ex-  
chequer: And the next Day Mr. *Hyde* was sworn of the  
Privy-Council, and Knighted, and had his Patents sealed  
for that Office. And the King, after He rose from the  
Council, and after many Expressions of the Content He  
took himself in the Obligation He had laid upon him,  
with much Grace, that was not natural in him upon such  
Occasions, told him, that "He was very fortunate, be-  
" cause He verily believed no Body was angry at his Pre-  
" ferment; for besides that the Earl of *Dorset* and others,  
" who He knew loved him, had expressed much Satis-  
" faction in the King's Purpose; He said, the Lord *Mal-*  
" *trevers*, and the Lord *Dunsmore*, who He did not think  
" had any Acquaintance with him, seemed very much  
" pleased with him; and therefore He thought no Body  
" would envy him; which was a rare Felicity." But his  
Majesty was therein mistaken; for He had great Envi-  
ers, of many who thought He had run too fast; especially of  
those of his own Profession, who looked upon themselves  
as his Superiors in all Respects, and did not think that  
his

*He is sworn  
of the Privy  
Council, and  
Knighted.*

his Age (which was not then above thirty three) or his other Parts, did entitle him to such a Preference before them. And the News of it at *Westminster*, exceedingly offended Those who governed in the Parliament; to see the Man whom They most hated, and whom They had voted to be incapable of Pardon, to be now preferred to an Office the Chief of them looked for. Besides, there was another unusual Circumstance accompanied his Preferment, that it was without the Interposition or Privy of the Queen, which was not like to make it the more easy, and advantageous; and it was not the more unwelcome to him from that Circumstance.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Discourse of, and Inclination to a Treaty, the Armies were not quiet on either Side. The King's Quarters were enlarged by the taking of *Marlborough* in *Wiltshire*, and of *Cirencester* in *Glostershire*; which though untenable by their Situation and weak Fortifications, were garrisoned by the Parliament with great Numbers of Men, who were all killed, or taken Prisoners. And the Parliament Forces were not without Success too; and after the Loss of *Marlborough*, surprized the Regiment of Horse, that was commanded by the Lord *Grandison*, a gallant Gentleman, who if not betrayed, was unhappily invited to *Winchester*, with Promise of Forces ready to defend the Place; which being (74) in no Degree performed, He was the next Day after He came, enclosed in the Castle of *Winchester*, and compelled to become, all, Officers and Soldiers, Prisoners of War: Though He and some other of the principal Officers, by the Negligence or Corruption of their Guard, made their Escape in the Night, and returned to *Oxford*.

THIS was the State of the Kingdom, of the King, and of the Parliament, in the Beginning of the Year 1643, at the Time when Mr. *Hyde* was made of the Privy Council, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: Which was between the Return of the Commissioners, who had been sent to the King to propose a Treaty, and the coming of those Commissioners to *Oxford*, who were afterwards sent from the Parliament to treat with the King; which being about the End of the Year 1642, this Part shall be closed here.

*Pezenas*, the 24th  
of July, 1669.





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The LIFE of  
*EDWARD* EARL of *CLARENDON*

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL  
FAMILY in the Year 1660.

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PART the THIRD.

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(75) **I**T was about the Beginning of *March* (which by that Account was about the End of the Year 1642, and about the Beginning of the Year 1643) that the Commissioners of the Parliament came to *Oxford*, to treat with his Majesty; and were received graciously by him; and by his Order lodged conveniently, and well accommodated in all Respects.

THE Parliament had bound up their Commissioners to the strictest Letter of their Propositions; nor did their Instructions at this Time (which They presented to the King) admit the least Latitude to them to interpret a Word or Expression, that admitted a doubtful Interpretation. Inasmuch as the King told them, "that He was sorry that They had no more Trust reposed in them; and that the Parliament might as well have sent their Demands to him by the common Carrier, as by Commissioners so restrained." They had only twenty Days allowed them to finish the whole Treaty; whereof They might employ six Days in adjusting a Cessation, if They found it probable to effect it in that Time: Otherwise They were to decline the Cessation, and enter upon the Conditions of the Peace; which if not concluded before the End of the twenty Days, They were to give it over, and to return to the Parliament.

THESE Propositions and Restrictions much abated the Hopes of a good Issue of the Treaty. Yet every Body believed, and the Commissioners themselves did not doubt, that if such a Progress should be made in the Treaty, that a Peace was like to ensue, there would be no Difficulty in the Enlargement of the Time: And therefore the Articles for a Cessation were the sooner declined, that They might proceed in the main Business. For though what was proposed by them in Order to it, was agreeable enough to the Nature of such an Affair; yet the Time allowed for it was so short, that it was impossible to make it practicable; nor could Notice be timely given to all the Quarters on either Side to observe it.

BESIDES that, there were many Particulars in it, which the Officers on the King's Side (who had no Mind to a Cessation) formalized much upon: And (I know not from <sup>(76)</sup> what unhappy Root, but) there was sprung up a wonderful Aversion in the Town against a Cessation. Inſomuch as many Persons of Quality of ſeveral Counties, whereof the Town was full, applied themſelves in a Body to the King, not to conſent to a Cessation, till a Peace might be concluded; alledging, that They had ſeveral Agitations in their Countries, for his Maſteſty's and their own Conveniencies, which would be interrupted by the Cessation; and if a Peace ſhould not afterwards enſue, would be very miſchievous. Which Suggestion, if it had been well weighed, would not have been found to be of Importance. But the Truth is, the King himſelf had no Mind to the Cessation, for a Reason which ſhall be mentioned anon, though it was never owned: And ſo They waved all farther Mention of the Cessation, and betook themſelves to the Treaty; it being reaſonable enough to believe, that if both Sides were heartily diſpoſed to it, a Peace might as ſoon have been agreed upon, as a Cessation could be. All the Tranſactions of that Treaty having been long ſince publiſhed, and being fit only to be diſgeſted into the Hiſtory of that Time, are to be omitted here. Only what paſſed in Secret, and was never communicated, nor can otherwiſe be known, ſince at this Time, no Man elſe is living who was privy to that Negotiation, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will have a proper Place in this Diſcourſe.

*The Secret  
Transactions  
in the Treaty  
of Oxford.*

THE Propositions brought by the Commissioners in the Treaty were so unreasonable, that They well knew that the King would never consent to them: But some Persons amongst them, who were known to wish well to the King, endeavoured underhand to bring it to pass. And They did therefore, whilst They publicly pursued their Instructions, and delivered and received Papers upon their Propositions, privately use all the Means They could, especially in Conferences with the Lord *Falkland* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the King might be prevailed with, in some Degree to comply with their unreasonable Demands.

In all Matters which related to the Church, They did not only despair of the King's Concurrence, but did not in their own Judgments wish it; and believed, that the Strength of the Party which desired the Continuance of the War, was made up of those, who were very indifferent in that Point; and that, if They might return with Satisfaction in other Particulars, They should have Power enough in the two Houses, to oblige the more violent People to accept, or submit to the Conditions. They wished therefore that the King would make some Condescensions in the Point of the Militia; which They looked upon as the only substantial Security They could have, not to be called in Question for what They had done amiss. And when They saw Nothing could be digested of that Kind, which would not reflect both upon the King's Authority, and his Honour, They gave over insisting upon the General: And then Mr. *Pierrepoint* Mr. Pierrepoint's Proposition. (who was of the best Parts, and most intimate with the Earl of *Northumberland*) rather desired than proposed, that the King would offer to grant his Commission to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to be Lord High Admiral of *England*. By which Condescension He would be restored to his Office, which He had lost for their Sakes; and so their Honour would be likewise repaired, without any signal Prejudice to the King; since He should hold it only by his Majesty's Commission, and not by any Ordinance of Parliament; and He said, if the King would be induced to gratify them in this Particular, He could not be confident, that They should be able to prevail with both Houses to be satisfied therewith, so that a Peace might suddenly be concluded; but as He did not despair even of (77) that, He did believe, that so many would be satisfied

with it, that They would from thence take the Occasion to separate themselves from them, as Men who would rather destroy their Country, than restore it to Peace.

AND the Earl of *Northumberland* himself took so much Notice of this Discourse to Secretary *Nicholas* (with whom He had as much Freedom, as his reserved Nature was capable of) as to protest to him, that He desired only to receive that Honour, and Trust from the King, that He might be able to do him Service; and thereby to recover the Credit He had unhappily lost with him. In which He used very decent Expressions towards his Majesty; not without such Reflections upon his own Behaviour, as implied that He was not proud of it; and concluded, that if his Majesty would do him that Honour, as to make that Offer to the Houses, upon the Proposition of the Militia, He would do all He could that it might be effectual towards a Peace; and if it had not Success, He would pass his Word and Honour to the King, that as soon, or whensoever, his Majesty would please to require it, He would deliver up his Commission again into his Hands: He having no other Ambition, or Desire, than by this Means to re-deliver up the Royal Navy to his Majesty's absolute Disposal, as it was, when his Majesty first put it into his Hands; and which He doubted would hardly be done by any other Expedient, at least not so soon.

WHEN this Proposition (which from the Interest, and Persons who proposed it, seemed to carry with it some Probability of Success, if it should be accepted) was communicated with those who were like with most Secrecy to consult it; Secretary *Nicholas* having already made some Approach towards the King upon the Subject, and found his Majesty without Inclination to hear more of it; it was agreed and resolved by them, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should presume to make the Proposition plainly to the King, and to persuade his Majesty to hear it debated in his Presence; at least, if that might not be, to enlarge upon it himself, as much as the Argument required: And He was not unwilling to embark himself in the Affair.

*Which the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer  
advise the  
King to com-  
ply with.*

WHEN He found a fit Opportunity for the Representation, and his Majesty at good Leisure, in his Morning's Walk, when He was always most willing to be entertained, the Chancellor related ingenuously to him the whole Discourse, which had been made by Mr. *Pierrepoint*,  
and

and to whom; and what the Earl himself had said to Secretary *Nicholas*; and what Conference They, to whom his Majesty gave Leave to consult together upon his Affairs, had between themselves upon the Argument, and what occurred to them upon it: In which He mentioned the Earl's Demerit towards his Majesty, with Severity enough, and what Reason He had, not to be willing to restore a Man to his Favour, who had forfeited it so unworthily. Yet He desired him to consider his own ill Condition; and how unlike it was, that it should be improved by the Continuance of the War; and whether He could ever imagine a Possibility of getting out of it upon more easy Conditions, than what was now proposed; the Offer of which to the Parliament could do him no signal Prejudice, and could not but bring him very notable Advantages: For if the Peace did not ensue upon it, such a Rupture infallibly would, as might in a little Time facilitate the other. And then He said as much to lessen the Malignity of the Earl as He could, by remembering, how dutifully He had resigned his Commission of Admiral, upon his Majesty's Demand; and his Refusal to accept the Commission the Parliament would have given him: And observed some Vices in his Nature, which (78) would stand in the Place of Virtues, towards the Support of his Fidelity to his Majesty, and his Animosity against the Parliament; if He were once re-ingratiated to his Majesty's Trust.

THE King heard him very quietly without the least Interruption, which He used not to do upon Subjects which were not grateful to him, for He knew well, that He was not swayed by any Affection to the Man; to whom He was more a Stranger, than He was to most of that Condition: And He upon Occasions, had often made sharp Reflections upon his Ingratitude to the King. His Majesty seemed at the first to insist upon the Improbability, that any such Concession by him, would be attended with any Success; that not only the Earl had not Interest in the Houses to lead them into a Resolution, that was only for his particular Benefit; but that the Parliament itself was not able to make a Peace, without such Conditions, as the Army would require: And then He should suffer exceedingly in his Honour, for having shewn an Inclination to a Person, who had requited his former Graces so unworthily: And this led him into more Warmth, than

The King's  
Answer.

He used to be affected with. He said, "indeed He had  
"been very unfortunate in conferring his Favours upon  
"many very ungrateful Persons; but no Man was so in-  
"excusable as the Earl of *Northumberland*." He said,  
"He knew that the Earl of *Holland* was generally looked  
"upon as the Man of the greatest Ingratitude; but (He  
"said) He could better excuse Him than the other: That  
"it was true, He owed all He had to his Father's, and  
"His Bounties; and that himself had conferred great Fa-  
"vours upon him; but that it was as true, He had fre-  
"quently given him many Mortifications, which though  
"He had deserved, He knew had troubled him very  
"much; that He had oftener denied him, than any  
"other Man of his Condition; and that He had but  
"lately refused to gratify him in a Suit He had made to  
"him, of which He had been very confident; and so  
"might have some Excuse (how ill soever) for being out  
"of Humour, which led him from one Ill to another:  
"But that He had lived always without Intermision,  
"with the Earl of *Northumberland* as his Friend, and  
"courted him as his Mistress; that He had never denied  
"any Thing He had ever asked, and therefore his Car-  
"riage to him was never to be forgotten."

AND this Discourse He continued with more Commotion, and in a more pathetical Style, than ever He used upon any other Argument. And though at that Time it was not fit to press the Matter farther, it was afterwards resumed by the same Person more than once; but without any other Effect, than that his Majesty was contented, that the Earl should not despair of being restored to that Office, when the Peace should be made; or upon any eminent Service performed by him, when the Peace should be despaired of. The King was very willing and desirous that the Treaty should be drawn out in Length; to which Purpose a Proposition was made to the Commissioners for an Addition of Ten Days, which They sent to the Parliament, without the least Apprehension that it would be denied. But They were deceived; and for Answer received an Order upon the last Day but one of the Time before limited, by which They were expressly required to leave *Oxford* the next Day. From that Time, all Intercourse and Commerce between *Oxford* and *London*, which had been permitted before, was absolutely

absolutely interdicted under the highest Penalties by the Parliament.

IF this secret underhand Proposition had succeeded, and received that Encouragement from the King, that (79) was desired; and more Application of the same Remedies had been then made to other Persons (for alone it could never have proved effectual) it is probable that those violent and abominable Counsels, which were but then in Projection between very few Men of any Interest, and which were afterwards miserably put in Practice, had been prevented. And it was exceedingly wondered at, by those who were then privy to this Overture, and by all who afterwards came to hear of it, that the King should in that Conjunction decline so advantageous a Proposition; since He did already discern many ill Humours and Factions, growing and nourished, both in his Court and Army, which would every Day be uneasy to him; and did with all his Soul desire an End of the War. And there was Nothing more suitable and agreeable to his magnanimous Nature, than to forgive those who had in the highest Degree offended him: Which Temper was notorious throughout his whole Life. It will not be therefore amiss in this Discourse, to enlarge upon this fatal Rejection, and the true Cause and Ground thereof.

THE King's Affection to the Queen was of a very extraordinary Alloy; a Composition of Conscience, and Love, and Generosity, and Gratitude, and all those noble Affections, which raise the Passion to the greatest Height; insomuch as He saw with her Eyes, and determined by her Judgment. And did not only pay her this Adoration, but desired that all Men should know that He was swayed by her; which was not good for either of them. The Queen was a Lady of great Beauty, excellent Wit and Humour, and made him a just Return of noblest Affections; so that They were the true Idea of conjugal Affection, in the Age in which They lived. When She was admitted to the Knowledge and Participation of the most secret Affairs (from which She had been carefully restrained by the Duke of *Buckingham*, whilst He lived) She took Delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making Judgment of them; in which, her Passions were always strong.

SHE had felt so much Pain in knowing Nothing, and meddling with Nothing, during the Time of that great Favourite,

*The true Cause of the King's rejecting it.*



Favourite, that now She took Pleasure in Nothing but knowing all Things, and disposing all Things: And thought it but just, that She should dispose of all Favours and Preferments, as He had done; at least, that Nothing of that Kind might be done, without her Privy: Not considering, that the universal Prejudice that great Man had undergone, was not with Reference to his Person, but his Power; and that the same Power would be equally obnoxious to Murmur and Complaint, if it resided in any other Person, than the King himself. And She so far concurred with the King's Inclination, that She did not more desire to be possessed of this unlimited Power, than that all the World should take Notice, that She was the entire Mistress of it: Which in Truth (what other unhappy Circumstances soever concurred in the Mischief) was the Foundation upon which, the first, and the utmost Prejudices to the King and his Government, were raised, and prosecuted. And it was her Majesty's, and the Kingdom's Misfortune, that She had not any Person about her who had either Ability, or Affection, to inform and advise her, of the Temper of the Kingdom, or Humour of the People; or who thought either worth the caring for.

WHEN the Disturbances grew so rude, as to interrupt this Harmony; and the Queen's Fears, and Indisposition, which proceeded from those Fears, disposed her to leave the Kingdom, which the King to comply with her, consented to (and if that Fear had not been predominant in her, her Jealousy, and Apprehension that the King would, at some Time, be prevailed with to yield to some unreasonable Conditions, would have dissuaded her from that Voyage); to make all Things therefore as sure as might be, that her Absence should not be attended with any such Inconvenience, his Majesty made a solemn Promise to her at parting, that He would receive no Person into any Favour or Trust, who had deserved him, without her Privy and Consent; and that, as She had undergone so many Reproaches and Calumnies at the Entrance into the War, so He would never make any Peace, but by her Interposition and Mediation, that the Kingdom might receive that Blessing only from Her.

THIS Promise (of which his Majesty was too religious an Observer) was the Cause of his Majesty's Rejection, or not entertaining this last Overture. And this was the Reason

Reason that He had that Aversion to the Cessation, which He thought would inevitably oblige him to consent to the Peace, as it should be proposed; and therefore He had countenanced an Address, that had been made to him against it, by the Gentlemen of several Counties attending the Court: And in Truth They were put upon that Address by the King's own private Direction. Upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer told him, when the Business was over, that He had raised a Spirit He would not be able to conjure down: And that those Petitioners had now appeared in a Business that pleased him, but would be as ready to appear at another Time, to cross what He desired; which proved True. For He was afterwards more troubled with Application and Importunity of that Kind, and the Murmurs that arose from that Liberty, when all Men would be Counsellors, and censure all that the Council did, than with the Power of the Enemy.

ABOUT the Time that the Treaty began, the Queen landed in the North: And She resolved with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Arms, to make what Haste She could to the King; having at her first landing, expressed by a Letter to his Majesty, her Apprehension of an ill Peace by that Treaty; and declared, that She would never live in *England*, if She might not have a Guard for the Security of her Person: Which Letter came accidentally afterwards into the Hands of the Parliament, of which They made Use to the Queen's Disadvantage. And the Expectation of her Majesty's Arrival at *Oxford*, was the Reason that the King so much desired the Prolongation of the Treaty. And if it had pleased God that She had come thither Time enough, as She did shortly after, She would have probably condescended to many Propositions for the gratifying particular Persons, as appeared afterwards, if thereby a reasonable Peace might have been obtained.

WHEN the *Scottish Commissioners* attended the King at *Oxford*, and desired his Leave, that there might be a Parliament called in *Scotland*, which his Majesty denied them (well knowing, that They would, against all the Protestations and Oaths They had made to him, at his being in that Country, join with those at *Westminster*) They presented a long Paper to the King, containing a bitter Invective against Bishops, and the whole Govern-

*The Scottish Commissioners present to the King their Request for the Abolition of Episcopacy.*

ment of the Church; as being contrary to the Word of God, and to the Advancement of true Religion: And concluded with a very passionate Desire for the Alteration of that Government, as the only Means to settle Peace throughout his Majesty's Dominions. In all their other Demands, concerning the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and calling a Parliament there, the King had only conferred with two or three of those He most trusted, whereof the Chancellor of the Exchequer was always one, and drew the Answers He gave: But this last Paper which only concerned *England*, He brought to the Council Board, and required their Advice, what Answer He should give to it. The King himself was very desirous to take this Occasion, to shew his Affection and Zeal for the Church; and that other Men's Mouths might be hereafter stopped in that Argument, and that no Body might ever make the same Proposition to him again, He had a great Mind to have made an Answer to every Expression in their Paper; and to have set out the Divine Right of Episcopacy; and how impossible it was ever for him in Conscience to consent to any Thing, to the Prejudice of that Order and Function, or to the alienating their Lands: Enlarging himself more in the Debate, than He used to do upon any other Argument; mentioning those Reasons which the ablest Prelate could do upon that Occasion; and wished that all those, and such others as might occur, should be contained in his Answer.

MANY of the Lords were of Opinion, that a short Answer would be best, that should contain Nothing but a Rejection of the Proposition, without giving any Reason: No Man seeming to concur with his Majesty, with which He was not satisfied; and replied with some Sharpness upon what had been said. Upon which the Lord *Falkland* replied, having been before of that Mind, desiring that no Reasons might be given; and upon that Occasion answered many of those Reasons the King had urged, as not valid to support the Subject, with a little Quickness of Wit (as his Notions were always sharp, and expressed with notable Vivacity) which made the King warmer than He used to be; reproaching all who were of that Mind, with Want of Affection for the Church; and declaring that He would have the Substance of what He had said, or of the like Nature, digested into his Answer; with which Reprehension All sat very silent, having never undergone

dergone the like before. Whereupon the King recollecting himself, and observing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not yet spoke, called upon him to deliver his Opinion, adding, that He was sure He was of his Majesty's Mind, with Reference to Religion and the Church.

*The King  
calls upon the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer  
to deliver his  
Opinion there-  
on.*

THE Chancellor stood up, and said, that He would have been glad to have said Nothing that Day, having observed more Warmth, than had ever been at that Board, since He had the Honour to sit there (which was not many Days before); that in Truth He was not of the Opinion of any one who had spoken; He did not think that the Answer ought to be very short, or without any Reasons; and He did as little think, that the Reasons mentioned by his Majesty, ought to be applied to the Paper, which the *Scots* had been so bold as to present to the King. He said, all those Reasons were fit to be offered in a Synod, or in any other Place, where that Subject could be lawfully ventilated; and He believed them all to be of that Weight, that Mr. *Henderson* and all his Assembly of Divines could never answer; but He should be very sorry that his Majesty should so far condescend to their Presumption, as to give those Reasons; as if He admitted the Matter to be disputed. He asked his Majesty, what Answer He would give to the King of *France*, if He should send to him, to alter the Government of the City of *London*, or any other City, and that He would substitute other Magistrates in the Place of those, who are; which, as a King, He might more reasonably demand, than these Gentlemen of *Scotland* could do what They propose; whether his Majesty would think it more agreeable to his Honour, to make a reasonable Discourse of the Antiquity of the Lord Mayor of *London*, and of the Dependance the present Magistrates had upon the Law, (82) and the Frame of the Government; or whether, He would only send him Word, that He should meddle with what He had to do. He did think, that it was very fit that his Majesty's Answer to this Paper should contain a very severe, and sharp Reprehension for their Presumption; and take Notice, how solicitous They were for the Preservation of what They called the Right and Privilege of their Country, that his Majesty might not bring any Thing into Debate at his Council Board here, that concerned the Kingdom of *Scotland*, though it had often too much

much Relation to the Affairs and Government of *England*; yet that They would take upon them to demand from his Majesty, at least to advise him to make, an Alteration in the Government of *England*, which would quite alter the Frame of it, and make such a Confusion in the Laws; which They could no more comprehend, than They could any of the same Kind, that related to any other foreign Kingdom; and therefore, that for the Future They should not practise the like Presumption.

*With which  
the King is  
well satisfied.*

THE King discovered himself to be very well pleased, all the Time He was speaking; and when He had done, his Majesty said again, He was sure the Chancellor was entirely of his Mind, with Reference to the Church; and that He had satisfied him, that this was not the Season, nor the Occasion, in which those Arguments, which He had used, were to be insisted on; and that He was willing to depart from his own Sense; and was in Truth so well pleased, that He vouchsafed to make some kind of Excuse for the Passion He had spoken with; and all the Lords were very well satisfied with the Expedient proposed; and all commended the Chancellor: And the Answer was given to the *Scotish* Commissioners accordingly: Who had too good Intelligence not to know all that had passed; and upon their long Discourses with the King (who was always forward to enlarge upon that Subject, in which He was so well versed) expected such an Answer as might give them Opportunity to bring the whole Matter of Episcopacy upon the Stage, and into publick Disputation. And so They returned to *London*, with manifest Dissatisfaction, before the Commissioners of the Parliament; and with avowed Detestation of a Person, against whom They were known always to have an inveterate, and an implacable Displeasure.

THE King was much troubled at the *Disunion between the Princes Rupert, and Maurice, and the Marquis of Hertford, after the taking of Bristol*; which He knew must exceedingly disorder and divide that Army: For composing whereof, his Majesty resolved the next Day after the News, to go himself to *Bristol*; which was very necessary in many Respects. The Settlement of the Port, which was of infinite Importance to the King in Point of Trade, and his Customs, with Reference to *Ireland*; and the applying the Army to some new Enterprize, without Loss of Time, could not be done without his Majesty's

jeſty's Preſence. But there was Nothing more diſpoſed his Majeſty to that Reſolution, than to be abſent from his Council at *Oxford*, when He ſhould ſettle the Differences between the Princes, and the Marquis; for as He was always ſwayed by his Affection to his Nephews, which He did not think Partiality; ſo the Lords, towards whom the Princes did not live with any Condeſcenſion, were very ſolicitous, that the Marquis might receive no Injuſtice, or Diſobligation. And the King, to avoid all Counſel in this Particular, reſolved to declare no Reſolution, till He ſhould come himſelf to *Briſtol*; and ſo went from *Oxford* thither; taking with him, of the Council, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and (23) the Chancellor of the Exchequer: The King lodging the firſt Night at *Malmſbury*; and the Lord *Falkland*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome other Gentlemen lodging that Night with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at his Houſe at *Pirton*, which lay in the Way to *Briſtol*; where They were the next Day within an Hour after the King.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer had undergone ſome Mortification, during the ſhort Abode at *Briſtol*, which was the only Port of Trade within the King's Quarters, which was like to yield a conſiderable Benefit to the King, if it were well managed; and the Direction thereof belonged entirely to his Office; but when He ſent to the Officers of the Cuſtoms, to be informed of the preſent State of Trade, He found that ſome Treaty was made, and Order given in it by Mr. *Aſhburnham*, a Groom of the Bedchamber; who, with the Aſſiſtance and Advice of Sir *John Colepepper*, had prevailed with the King, to aſſign that Province to him, as a Means to raiſe a preſent Sum of Money for the Supply of the Army: Which the Chancellor took very heavily, and the Lord *Falkland* out of his Friendſhip to him, more tenderly; and expof-  
The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Office invaded by Mr. Aſhburnham.  
tulated it with the King with ſome Warmth; and more paſſionately with Sir *John Colepepper* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* as a Violation of the Friendſhip They profeſſed to the Chancellor, and an Invaſion of his Office; which no Man bears eaſily.

THEY were both aſhamed of it, and made ſome weak Excuses of Incogitance and Inadvertence; and the King himſelf, who diſcerned the Miſchief that would enſue, if there ſhould be an apparent Schiſm amongſt thoſe He ſo entirely

*The King interposes therein.*

entirely trusted, was pleased to take Notice of it to the Chancellor, with many gracious Expressions; and said, "that Mr. *Albournham* being Treasurer and Paymaster of the Army, He did believe some Money might have been raised for the present Occasion; and only intended it for the Present, without considering, it would be an Invasion of his Right; and therefore directed, that an Account should be given to him of all that had been done, and He should do as He thought fit." But when He understood all that had been done, He would make no Alteration in it, that his Majesty might be convinced, that his Service was not looked after in the Design. And it was discernable enough, that Mr. *Albournham*, who usually looked very far before him, had not so much intended to disoblige the Chancellor, as by introducing himself this Way into the Customs, to continue one of the Farmers of the Customs, when the War should be at an End; of which He got a Promise from the King at the same Time; who had great Affection for him, and an extraordinary Opinion of his Managery. If there remained after this any Jealousy or Coldness between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the other Two, as the Disparity between their Natures and Humours made some believe there did, it never brake out or appeared, to the Disturbance, or Prejudice of the King's Service; but all possible Concurrence in the carrying it on was observed between them.

THE March of the Earl of *Essex* from *London* to *Glocester*, over as large a *Campania* as any in *England*, when the King had an Army of above eight thousand Horse, reputed victorious, without being put to strike one Stroke — the Circumstances of that Siege; and the raising it — the Earl's March, after He had performed that great Work; and when the King's Army watched only to engage him in a Battle; and passing over a large and open *Campania*, three Days before the King had Notice that He was come out of *Glocester* — the overtaking the Army; and the Battle by *Newbury* — and his Retreat afterwards to *London*; contained so many particular Actions of Courage, and Conduct, that They all deserve a very punctual and just Relation; and are much above the Level of this plain and foreign Discourse.

IN this Battle of *Newbury*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lost the Joy and Comfort of his Life; which He lamented.

lamented so passionately, that He could not in many Days compose himself to any Thoughts of Business. His dear Friend the Lord *Falkland*, hurried by his Fate, in the Morning of the Battle, as He was naturally inquisitive after Danger, put himself into the Head of Sir *John Byron's* Regiment, which He believed was like to be in the hottest Service, and was then appointed to charge a Body of Foot; and in that Charge was shot with a Musket Bullet, so that He fell dead from his Horse. The same Day that the News came to *Oxford* of his Death, which was the next after He was killed, the Chancellor received a Letter from him, written at the Time when the Army rose from *Gloucester*; but the Messenger had been employed in other Service, so that He came not to *Oxford* till that Day. The Letter was an Answer to one the Chancellors had then sent to him; in which He had told him, how much He suffered in his Reputation with all discreet Men, by engaging himself unnecessarily in all Places of Danger: And that it was not the Office of a Privy Counsellor, and a Secretary of State, to visit the Trenches, as He usually did; and conjured him, out of the Conscience of his Duty to the King, and to free his Friends from those continual uneasy Apprehensions, not to engage his Person to those Dangers, which were not incumbent to him. His Answer was, that the Trenches were now at an End; there would be no more Danger there: That His Case was different from other Men's; that He was so much taken Notice of for an impatient Desire of Peace, that it was necessary that He should likewise make it appear, that it was not out of Fear of the utmost Hazard of War: He said some melancholick Things of the Time; and concluded, that in few Days They should come to a Battle, the Issue whereof, He hoped, would put an End to the Misery of the Kingdom.

MUCH hath been said of this excellent Person before, but not so much, or so well, as his wonderful Parts and Virtues deserved. He died as much of the Time as of the Bullet: For from the very beginning of the War, He contracted so deep a Sadness and Melancholy, that his Life was not pleasant to him; and sure He was too weary of it. Those who did not know him very well, imputed, very unjustly, much of it to a violent Passion He had for a Noble Lady: And it was the more spoken of, because She died the same Day, and as some computed it, in the

*The Death of  
the Lord  
Falkland.*



same Hour that He was killed; but They who knew either the Lord, or the Lady, knew well, that neither of them was capable of an ill Imagination. She was of the most unspotted, unblemished Virtue, never married, of an extraordinary Talent of Mind, but of no alluring Beauty, nor of a Constitution of tolerable Health, being in a deep Consumption, and not like to have lived so long by many Months. It is very true, the Lord *Falkland* had an extraordinary Esteem of her, and exceedingly loved her Conversation, as most of the Persons of eminent Parts of that Time did; for She was in her Understanding, and Discretion, and Wit, and Modesty, above most Women; the best of which had always a Friendship with her. But He was withal so kind to his Wife, whom He knew to be an excellent Person, that, though He loved his Children with more Affection and Fondness than most Fathers use to do, He left by his Will all He had to his Wife; and committed his three Sons, who were all the Children He<sup>(85)</sup> had, to her sole Care and Bounty.

He was little more than thirty Years of Age when He was killed; in which Time He was very accomplished in all those Parts of Learning and Knowledge, which most Men labour to attain, till They are very Old; and in Wisdom, and the Practice of Virtue, to a wonderful Perfection. From his Age of twenty Years, He had lived in an entire Friendship with the Chancellor, who was about six Months elder; and who never spake of him afterwards, but with a Love, and a Grief, which still raised some Commotion in him. And He very often used to lament him, in the Words of *Cicero* concerning *Hortensius*, *Quod magnâ Sapientium & Civium bonorum Penuriâ, Vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum Consiliorum omnium Societate, alienissimo Reipublicæ Tempore extinctus, & Auctoritatis, & Prudentiæ suæ, triste nobis Desiderium reliquerat.* And without Doubt, it was in a Conjunction of Time, when the Death of every honest and discreet Person was a very sensible and terrible Loss, in the Judgment of all good Men.

AFTER the unhappy Death of the Lord *Falkland*, the King much desired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be Secretary of State in his Place; which the Queen did not oppose, though She rather wished that the Lord *Digby* might have it; who had so much Kindness and Friendship for the Chancellor (which was at that Time,

Time, and long after, as Sincere as could receive Har-  
 bour in his Breast) that He professed, He would not have  
 it, if the other would receive it: But the Chancellor gra-  
 tified his Civility, and refused the Office, the second Time,  
 as He had once before. And He had so much more Rea-  
 son now, by the coming of a very specious Embassy from  
*France*, in the Person of the Count of *Harcourt*, who was  
 already arrived in *London*; in which the Chancellor knew  
 his own Want of Ability, to act that Part, the Office of  
 Secretary would have obliged him to; and for which, as  
 far as the Perfection of the *French* Tongue could qualify  
 him, the Lord *Digby* was very proper; and so He was  
 made Secretary of State; professing to every Body, that  
 as He had the Office by the Chancellor's Refusal of it, so  
 He would wholly advise with him in all Things pertain-  
 ing to it, which He always did; and the Confidence and  
 Friendship between them was mutual, and very notorious,  
 until that Lord changed his Religion. And He was no  
 sooner admitted and sworn Secretary of State, and Privy-  
 Councillor, and consequently made of the *Junto*, which  
 the King at that Time created, consisting of the Duke of  
*Richmond*, the Lord *Cottington*, the two Secretaries of  
 State, and Sir *John Colepepper*, but the Chancellor of the  
 Exchequer was likewise added; to the Trouble, at least  
 the Surprize, of the Master of the Rolls; who could have  
 been contented, that He should have been excluded from  
 that near Trust, where all Matters were to be consulted,  
 before they should be brought to the Council Board. And  
 this Committee was appointed to treat with the Count of  
*Harcourt*; whom the King believed to be sent from  
*France*, to demand any Thing from the Parliament in that  
 King's Name, as his Majesty should direct; and therefore  
 They were appointed to consider well, what He should be  
 directed to propose.

*The Chancel-  
 lor of the Ex-  
 chequer re-  
 fuses the Of-  
 fice of Secre-  
 tary of State  
 a second Time.*

*He is added  
 to the Junto.*

BUT the Ambassadour no sooner came to the Town in  
 great State and Lustre, but He quickly saved them any  
 farther Labour, by declaring, that He would treat with  
 no Body but the King himself; his Business being only to  
 serve the King, with Reference to the Differences between  
 his Majesty, and the Parliament; and pretended that in  
 (86) his short Stay at *London*, He had already discovered that  
 his Majesty was betrayed; and that his most secret Coun-  
 sels were discovered: And so there was never any Commu-  
 nication between him, and the King's Council; but all

Matters were transacted with the King himself, and Queen, and Lord *Jermyn*, who was not of the Council, and the Lord *Digby*; the Queen promising herself very much from his Negotiation; the Ambassadour being then of great Reputation, having been General of the *French* Army in two or three great Actions, in which his Success had been very notable; and the Queen looked upon him as a Person particularly devoted to her Service; and being of the House of *Lorraine* (the younger Son of the Duke d' *Elbocuf*) He was not without some Alliance to the King; and so He returned to *London* with such Instructions, and Advice as They thought fit to entrust him with; which were too Particular; and with the Privy only of the two other Persons mentioned before.

BUT it quickly appeared after, that He was not sent with any Purpose to do the King Service; but that Cardinal *Mazarin* (who was newly entered upon the Ministry, after the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*) might take such a View of the Affairs of *England*, as the better to judge what He was to do; and that an Accommodation there might not break his Measures, with Reference to his other Designs; which the Ambassadour was easily satisfied it was not like to do. And so, after three or four Months spent between *Oxford* and *London*, He returned to *France*; leaving the King's Affairs so much worse than He found them, by having communicated some Instructions, which had been given him at *Oxford*, with over much Confidence, and which less disposed some Persons to Peace than They had been, at *London*.

The King directs the Chancellor of the Exchequer to prepare a Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament at Westminster.

THE King called the Chancellor one Day to him, and told him, "that He thought there was too much Honour done to those Rebels at *Westminster* in all his Declarations, by his mentioning them as Part of the Parliament; which as long as They should be thought to be, They would have more Authority by their continuing their Sitting in the Place, whither They were first called, than all the other Members, though so much more numerous, would have, when They should be convened any where else (there being a Thought of convening them to *Oxford*); therefore He knew no Reason why He should not positively declare them to be dissolved; and so forbid them to Sit or meet any more there." He said, "that He knew learned Men of an Opinion, that that Act for the continuance of the Parliament

“ment was void from the Beginning; and that it is not  
 “in the Power of the King, to bar himself from the  
 “Power of dissolving it; which is to be deprived of an  
 “essential Part of his Sovereignty: But if the Act were  
 “good and valid in Law, They had dissolved themselves,  
 “by their Force, in driving so many Members, and even  
 “his Majesty himself, who was their Head, from the  
 “Parliament; and had forfeited their Right of Sitting  
 “there, and all that the Act had given them, by their  
 “Treason and Rebellion; which the very being a Par-  
 “liament could not support: And therefore He wished,  
 “that a Proclamation might be prepared, to declare them  
 “actually dissolved; and expressly forbidding them to  
 “meet, or any Body to own them, or submit to them, as  
 “a Parliament.”

THE Chancellor told him, that “He perceived by his  
 “Majesty’s Discourse, that He had very much considered  
 “the Argument, and was well prepared in it; which for  
 “his Part He was not. But He besought him to think  
 “it worth a very strict Reflection; and to hear the Opi-  
 (87) “nion of learned Men, before He resolved upon it. That  
 “it was of a very nice and delicate Nature, at which not  
 “only the People in general, but those of his own Party,  
 “and even of his Council, would take more Umbrage,  
 “than upon any one Particular, that had happened since  
 “the Beginning of the War. That He could not imagine  
 “that his forbidding them to meet any more at *Westmin-*  
 “*ster*, would make one Man the less to meet there; but  
 “He might forbid them upon such Grounds and Rea-  
 “sons, as might bring more to them: And that They  
 “who had severed themselves from them, upon the Guilt  
 “of their Actions, might return, and be reconciled to  
 “them, upon their Unity of Opinion. That it had been the  
 “first powerful Reproach They had corrupted the People  
 “with, towards his Majesty, that He intended to dissolve  
 “this Parliament, notwithstanding the Act for Conti-  
 “nuance thereof; and if He had Power to do that, He  
 “might likewise by the same Power, repeal all the other  
 “Acts made this Parliament; whereof some were very  
 “precious to the People: And as his Majesty had al-  
 “ways disclaimed any such Thought, so such a Procla-  
 “mation as He now mentioned, would confirm all the  
 “Fears and Jealousies, which had been infused into them;  
 “and would trouble many of his own true Subjects.”

*His Advice  
 to the King  
 on that Sub-  
 ject.*

“THAT for the Invalidity of the Act from the Beginning, He was in his own Opinion inclined to hope, that it might be originally void, for the Reasons and Grounds his Majesty had mentioned; and that the Parliament itself, if this Rebellion was suppressed, might be of the same Judgment, and declare it accordingly, which would enable him quickly to dissolve it: But till then, He thought all the Judges together, even those who were in his own Quarters, and of unquestionable Affection to his Majesty, would not declare any such Invalidity; and much less, that any private Man, how learned soever, would avow that Judgment: In which his Majesty might easily satisfy himself, having so many of the Judges, and many other excellent Men of the Robe then at *Oxford*. For their having dissolved themselves, or forfeited their Right of Sitting there, by their Treason and Rebellion, *He said*, He could less understand it, than the other Argument of Invalidity: For that the Treason and Rebellion could only concern, and be penal to the Persons who committed them; it was possible many might Sit there, He was sure many had a Right to Sit there, who had always opposed every Illegal, and every Rebellious Act; and therefore the Faults of the others, could never forfeit any Right of theirs, who had committed no Fault. And upon the whole Matter, concluded as He had begun, that his Majesty would very thoroughly consult it, before He did so much as incline in his own Wishes.”

HIS Majesty said, He had spoken more Reason against it, than He had thought could have been alledged: However, He bade him confer with his Attorney General, who, He believed, was of another Opinion. The Chancellor moved his Majesty, that since the Ground of what should be resolved on in this Point must be expressed in the Proclamation, the Attorney might put his own Conceptions in Writing, and then his Majesty would the better judge of them. The King said, it seemed reasonable to him, and He had proposed it to him; but He had declined it, and commended the Pen his Majesty had used to employ, as very clear and significant; and said, if He had an Hour's Conference with that Person, the Business would be done. Whereupon the Chancellor went immediately to his Lodging, chusing rather to use that Civility towards him, than to send for him; who did<sup>(88)</sup> not

not love him so well as He had done, before He was his superior Officer.

After a long Conference together, and many Circumlocutions (which was his natural Way of Discourse) and asking Questions, *why not this?* and *why not that?* without expressing his own Opinion; at last He confessed, that there must be no Attempt to dissolve them, "though it might be even that might be lawful in many Respects," but that it would be sufficient to declare the Force which had been, and still was upon them, that rendered them not Free; and so They ought not to be looked upon as a Parliament: And that They might be required, to adjourn from Time to Time, till all the Members might with Safety repair to, and Sit with them; in all which the other agreed with him, and so They parted: The Chancellor promising that, against the next Morning, He would prepare a Proclamation agreeable to that, which He thought to be their joint Meaning; for He did not observe any Difference to be between them. The next Morning the Attorney came to his Lodging, where He found the Draught prepared, which as soon as He had read, He said did in no Degree express, or comprehend the Sense that had been agreed between them: And thereupon, He entered again into the same Discourse He had made before, and more perplexed than before; being most offended with the Preamble, wherein it was declared, that the King neither could, or intended to break the Parliament: Which was so contrary to what He had infused into the King; and which the Chancellor thought most necessary to contradict that Reproach, which naturally would be cast upon his Majesty. In the End, when He had wearied himself with the Debate, They came both again to mean the same Thing; which was no other than was agreed before, though as the Attorney said, it was not expressed in the Draught before them: Whereupon it was agreed between them, that against the next Morning, either of them should make a Draught apart; and then, when They came together, it would easily be adjusted.

BUT the next Morning They were as far asunder as before, and the Attorney had prepared no Paper, and said, it needed not, the Difference being very small, and would be rectified with changing, or leaving out a Word or two; which the Chancellor desired him to do, and to leave out,

*His Conferences with the Attorney General thereon.*

or put in, what He pleased: Which when He went about to do, twenty other Things occurred to him; and so He entered upon new Discourses, without concluding any Thing; and every Day entertained the King with an Account, as if all were agreed; but upon Conference with the Chancellor, his Majesty wondered at the Delay, and told him, He wondered at it, for the Attorney spake still as clearly to him, as it was possible for any Man to do, and therefore the putting it in Writing could not be hard. The other answered him, that it would never be done any other Way, than that, which He had first proposed to him; and therefore besought his Majesty, that He would oblige the Attorney to put his own Conceptions, which He made so clear to him, into Writing; and then, his Majesty having likewise what the Chancellor prepared in his Hands, He would easily conclude which should stand; and otherwise there would never be any Conclusion.

*Where  
Draught of a  
Proclamation  
the King  
shows to the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer.*

ABOUT two Days after, the Chancellor came into the Garden where the King was walking; and calling him shortly to him, in some Disorder, his Majesty told him, "He was never in that Amazement in his Life; that He had at last, not without a very positive Command, obliged the Attorney to bring him such a Draught in Writing, as was agreeable to his own Sense; and that<sup>(89)</sup> He had now done it; but in such a Manner, that He no more understood what the Meaning of it was, than if it were in *Welsh*," which was the Language of the Attorney's Country: Only, He said, "He was very sure it contained nothing of the Sense He had ever expressed to him;" and so bade him follow him into a little Room at the End of the Garden; where as soon as He was entered He shut the Door, because there were many People in the Garden; and then pulled a Paper out of his Pocket, and bade him read it; which when he had done, it being all in the Attorney's own Hand, He said, "it deserved Wonder indeed;" and it was so rough, perplexed, and insignificant, that no Man could judge by it, or out of it, what the Writer proposed to himself. And it made so great an Impression upon the King (who had before thought him a Man of a Master Reason, and that no Man had so clear Notions) that He never after had any Esteem of him,

THE Truth is, He was a Man very unlike any other Man; of a very good natural Wit, improved by Conversation with learned Men, but not at all by Study and Industry: And then his Conversation was most with Men, though much superior to him in Parts, who rather admired, than informed him, of which his Nature (being the proudest Man living) made him not capable, because not desirous. His greatest Faculty was, and in which He was a Master, to make difficult Matters more intricate and perplexed; and very easy Things to seem more hard than they were. The King considered the Matter and Subject of that Proclamation, at the Council; where that Draught the Chancellor had provided, was agreed to; and the Attorney seemed to be satisfied in it; and was content to have it believed, that it had been consulted with him; though He never forgave the Chancellor for exposing him in that Manner; by which He found He had lost much Ground.

*Character of  
the Attorney  
General.*

AFTER the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, most of the Commissioners had given so good a Testimony of the Chancellor's Diligence and Industry, that the King, shortly after his Return, very graciously took Notice of it to him; and above all, of his Affection to the Church, of which, He said, Dr. *Steward* had so fully informed him, that He looked upon Him as one of the few, who was to be relied upon in that Particular: At which He said, himself was not at all surprized, having long known his Affection, and Judgment in that Point; but confessed He was surprized with the Carriage of some others, from whom He had expected another Kind of Behaviour, in Matters of the Church; and named Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, upon whom He said, He had always looked, being the Son of a Bishop, as so firm, that He could not be shaken; and therefore He was the more amazed to hear what Condescensions He had been willing to have made, in what concerned Religion; and pressed the Chancellor to answer some Questions He asked him about that Transaction; to the Particulars whereof He excused himself from answering, by the Protestation, They had all taken before the Treaty, with his Majesty's Approbation: Though indeed himself had been very much surprized with the first Discovery of that Temper in that Gentleman, which He had never before suspected: And ever after said, that "He was a Man of excellent Parts, and honestly inclined;

*The King's  
Approbation  
of the Chan-  
cellor of the  
Exchequer's  
Behaviour in  
the Treaty of  
Uxbridge.*



“clined; and would chuse much rather to do well than ill; but if it were not safe for him to be steady in those Resolutions, He was so much given to find out Expedients to satisfy unreasonable Men, that He would at last be drawn to yield to any Thing, He should be powerfully pressed to do.”

THE King at that Time having resolved to separate the Prince his Son from himself, by sending him into the West, the Chancellor had a great Desire to excuse himself from attending upon the Prince in that Journey; and represented to his Majesty, that his Office made it more proper for him to be near his Majesty's Person; and therefore renewed his Suit again to him, that his Service might be spared in that Employment; which He was the less inclined to, because He had discovered, that neither the Duke of *Richmond*, or the Earl of *Southampton* did intend to wait upon his Highness in that Expedition: But the King told him positively, and with some Warmth, that if He would not go, He would not send his Son: Whereupon He submitted to do any Thing which His Majesty should judge fit for his Service.

THE Chancellor speaking one Day with the Duke of *Richmond*, who was exceedingly kind to him, of the ill State of the King's Affairs, and of the Prince's Journey into the *West*, the Duke asked him, whether He was well resolved to carry the Prince into *France*, when He should be required. He answered, that there had been no such Thing mentioned to him, nor could He ever be made instrumental in it, but in one Case, which was, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Parliament; and in that Case, He did believe every honest Man would rather advise his going any whither, than being taken by them: Yet even in that Case, He should prefer many Places before *France*. The Duke wished He might stay till then, implying that He doubted it was the present Design; but there was never any Thing discovered to make it believed, that there was a Design at that Time formed to such a Purpose: Yet the Lord *Digby*, who had all Familiarity and Confidence with the Chancellor, shortly after gave him Occasion to apprehend, that there might even then be some such Intention.

AFTER a long Discourse, of the great Satisfaction the King had in his (the Chancellor's) Service; and how much He was pleased with his Behaviour in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*;

bridge; and that He had not a greater Confidence in any Man's Affection, and Fidelity; He said, his Majesty had a great Mind to confer with him upon a Point of the last Importance; but that He was kept from it, by an Apprehension, that He was of a different Judgment from his Majesty in that Particular. The other answered, that

*Lord Digby's  
Discourse  
with the  
Chancellor  
concerning the  
Prince's going  
to France.*

He was very sorry that the King was reserved for such a Reason; for though He knew, the Chancellor did never pretend to think one Thing, when He did think another, and so might take the Boldness to differ from his Majesty in his Judgment; yet the King could not believe, that He would discover the Secret, or refuse to do any Thing that became an honest Man, upon his Command, though He did not believe it counsellable. Whereupon, He entered upon a very reasonable Consideration, of the low Condition of the King; of the Discontent and Murmur of the Court, and of the Camp; how very difficult a Thing it was like to be, to raise such an Army as would be fit to take the Field; and how much more unfit it would be, for the King to suffer himself to be enclosed in any Garrison; which He must be, if there were no Army for him to be in. If the first Difficulty should be mastered, and an Army made ready to march, there could be little Doubt, how great soever their Distractions were at *London*, but that the Parliament would be able to send another more numerous, and much better supplied than the King's could be; and then, if the King's Army was beaten, He could have no Hope ever to raise another; his Quarters already being very streight; and after a Defeat, the victorious Army would find no Opposition;

(91) nor was there any Garrison that could oppose them any considerable Time; *London* would pour out more Forces; that all the *West* would be swallowed up in an Instant; and in such a Case He asked him, whether He would not think it fit, and assist to the carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom.

THE Chancellor told him, He would deliver his Opinion freely to him, and was willing He should let the King know it. That such a Prospect as He had supposed, might, and ought to be prudently considered; but that it must be with great Secrecy, for that there were already to his Knowledge some Whispers of such a Purpose; and that it was the true End of sending the Prince into the *West*; which, if it should be believed, it would never be

*The Chancellor's Reply.*

in

in their Power to execute, though the Occasion should be most pressing; therefore desired there might not be the least Whisper, of any Contingency, that might make it fit. For the Matter itself, it must never be done, upon any Supposition of a Necessity; but when the Necessity should be real, and in View, it ought to be resolved, and executed at once: And He would make no Scruple of carrying him rather into *Turkey*, than suffering him to be made a Prisoner to the Parliament.

THE Lord *Digby* replied, that though the King would be very well pleased with this Opinion of his, yet He would not be surprized with it; since He knew his Affection and Wisdom to be such, that in such an Extremity, He could not but have that Resolution: Therefore that was not the Point that the King doubted He would differ with him in. Then He continued the Discourse, that He hoped there would not such an Occasion fall out; and that the Divisions at *London* would yet open some Door for a good Peace to enter at; but if They should unite, and should send out a strong Army, and likewise appoint the *Scots* to march towards them; how the King would do between two such Armies, was a terrible Prospect: And then the least Blow would raise so general a Consternation, that the King would be more disquieted by his Friends and Servants, than by the Enemy: That his Council was so constituted, that They would look upon the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, as less adviseable, than giving himself up to the Parliament; and that many Men were yet so weak, as to believe, that the best Way the King could take for his Security, and Preservation of his Posterity, was, to deliver up both Himself, and all his Children, into the Hands of the Parliament; and that They would then give him better Conditions, than They had offered in their Treaties; having it then in their Power to keep all such Persons from him, as They were dissatisfied with.

IF this Opinion should once spread itself, as upon any signal Defeat it would undoubtedly do, it must be expected, that the Council, and most of the Lords, who looked upon themselves as ruined for their Loyalty, out of their natural Apprehension, would imagine, that the Prince being then in the *West*, and at Liberty to do what should be thought fit, would be directed by the King to transport himself into Parts beyond the Sea; and the

the Queen his Mother being then in *France*, most probably thither: Which was a Circumstance that would likewise make his Transportation more universally odious. So that upon this Reflection, and erroneous Animadversion, the King would be, in the first unfortunate Conjunction, importuned by all about him, to send for the Prince; or at least to send such Orders to those to whose Care He was entrusted, that They should not presume to transport him beyond the Seas, in what Exigent soever. Most Men would believe, that They should merit of the Parliament by this Advice, and would prosecute it with (9) the more Earnestness and Importunity; whilst those Few who discerned the Mischief and Ruin that must flow from it, would not have the Courage to deliver their Opinions in Publick, for Fear of being accused of the Counsel; and by this Means the King might be so wearied and tired with Importunity, that against his Judgment, He might be prevailed with to sign such a Direction and Order, as is before mentioned; though his Majesty was clearly satisfied in his Understanding, that if both Himself and the Prince were in their Hands together, the best that could happen, would be Murdering Him, and Crowning his Son; whereas if his Son were at Liberty, and out of their Reach, They would get Nothing by his Death, and consequently would not attempt it.

THIS He said, was the fatal Conjunction the King apprehended; and He then asked the Chancellor, what He would do. To which He answered, without pausing, that He hoped the King had made up a firm Resolution never to depart from his own Virtue, upon which his Fate depended: And that if He forsook himself, He had no Reason to depend upon the Constancy of any other Man, who had Nothing to support that Confidence, but the Conscience of doing what was just: That no Man could doubt the Lawfulness of obeying him, in carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom, to avoid his being taken by the Rebels; and He was not only ready to obey in that Case, but would confidently advise it, as a Thing in Policy and Prudence necessary to be done. But if the King, being at Liberty, and with his own Counsellors and Servants, should under his Hand forbid the Prince to transport himself, and forbid all about him to suffer it to be done, He would never be guilty of disobeying that express Command; though He should be very sorry to receive it.

it. He wished the King would speak with him of it, that He might take the Boldness to conjure him, never to put an honest and a faithful Servant to that unjust Streight, to do any Thing expressly contrary to his plain and positive Command, upon Pretence of knowing his secret Pleasure; which is exposing him to publick Justice, and Reproach, which can never be wiped out by the Conscience of the other; and that the Artifice was not worthy the Royal Breast of a great Monarch. This, He said, was still upon the Supposition of the King's Liberty; but if He were a Prisoner in the Hands of his Enemies (though that should not shake his Resolution, or make him say Things He doth not intend, upon Imagination that others will know his Meaning) the Case would be different; and honest Men would pursue former Resolutions, though They should be countermanded, according to Circumstances.

THE Conference ended; and was never after resumed: Nor did the King ever in the least Degree, enter upon the Argument with the Chancellor, though He had many private Conferences with him upon all that occurred to him with Reference to what the Prince should do in the *West*; and of all the melancholick Contingencies, which might fall out in his own Fortune. And it was generally believed, that his Majesty had a much greater Confidence in the Chancellor, than in the Other, whose Judgment He had no Reverence for; and this made the Chancellor afterwards believe, that all the other Discourse from the Lord *Digby*, proceeded rather from some Communication of Counsels He had with the Queen, than any Directions from the King. And He did upon concurrent Circumstances ever think, that the Queen did from the first Minute of the Separation of the Prince from the King, intend to draw his Highness into *France*, that He might be near her, and under her Tuition, before any Thing in the Declension of the King's Fortune required it, or made it counsellable; and therefore had appointed<sup>(93)</sup> the Lord *Digby*, her Creature, who She knew had great Friendship with the Chancellor, to feel his Pulse, and discover, whether He (in whom She had never Confidence) might be applicable to her Purposes. But He often declared, that the King himself never intimated the least Thought of the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, till after the Battle of *Naseby*, and when *Fairfax* was marched with

with his Army into the *West*, and himself was in Despair of being able to raise another Army; and even then, when He signified his Pleasure to that Purpose, He left the Time, and the Manner, and the Place to Them, who were especially trusted by him, about the Prince; as will appear by the particular Papers which are preserved of that Affair; and wherein it will likewise appear, that his Majesty received infinite Satisfaction and Content in the whole Management of that Affair, and the happy and secure Transportation of the Prince, in the just and proper Season, and when all the Kingdom was right glad that it was done.

As his Majesty was more particularly gracious to the Chancellor from the Time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; so there was no Day passed, without his conferring with him in private upon his most secret Considerations, and Apprehensions, before his Departure with the Prince for the *West*. One Day He told him, He was very glad of what the Duke of *Richmond* had done the Day before; and indeed He had done somewhat the Day before, which very much surprized the Chancellor. When his Majesty arose from Council, the Duke of *Richmond* whispered somewhat privately to him, upon which the King went into his Bedchamber; and the Duke called the Chancellor, and told him, the King would speak with him, and so took him by the Hand, and led him into the Bedchamber; the Privilege, and Dignity of which Room was then so punctually preserved, that the King very rarely called any Privy Counsellor to confer with them there, who was not of the Bedchamber; which maintained a just Reverence to the Place, and an Esteem of those who were admitted to attend there.

As soon as He came into the Room, before He said any Thing to the King, who was there alone, the Duke spake to the Chancellor, and told him, that He had been brought up from his Childhood by the Crown, and had always paid it the Obedience of a Child; that as He had taken a Wife with the Approbation and Advice of the Crown, so He had never made a Friendship, which He took to be a Kind of Marriage, without the King's Privy and particular Approbation; that He had long had a Kindness for him, but had taken Time to know him well, which He thought He now did; and therefore had asked his Majesty's Consent, that He might make a

The Chancellor, with the King's Approbation, forms a Friendship with the Duke of Richmond.

Friendship

Friendship with him: And then said to the King, "Sir, "have I not your Approbation to this Conjunction?" to which his Majesty said, "yes, my Lord, I am very glad "of it; and I will pass my Word to you for the Chan- "cellor, that you will not repent it;" with many gracious Expressions to them both: And so the Duke led him out of the Room again, saying, "now, Mr. Chancellor, it is in your Power to deceive me." And to this it was, that his Majesty's Discourse related the next Day, when He told him, He was glad of what had passed, &c. and said, He hoped He would give him good Counsel; for He had not of late lived towards him in the Manner He was used to do; that He knew well the Duke was a very honest and worthy Man, and had all the Kindness, as well as Duty for his Majesty; but that He was grown fullen, or discontented, and had not the same Countenance He used to have; for which He could imagine no other Reason, but that his Man *Webb* gave him ill Counsel: He said, He<sup>(94)</sup> was well contented that He should take Notice, that his Majesty was not well satisfied; and asked him suddenly, when the Duke was at *Oriel* College with them; *Oriel* College was the Lodging of the Lord Treasurer, where that Committee for secret Affairs, of which the Duke was one, used to meet. The Chancellor answered, that indeed the Duke had not been there lately, which He thought had proceeded from his Attendance upon his Majesty, or some other necessary Divertisement. The King said, it proceeded not from thence; and that He might take Occasion from his Absence from thence, to let himself into that Discourse; and afterwards proceed as He thought fit.

*Character of  
the Duke of  
Richmond.*

THE Duke was a Person of a very good Understanding; and of so great Perfection and Punctuality in all Matters of Honesty and Honour, that He was infinitely superior to any Kind of Temptation. He had all the Warmth and Passions of a Subject, and a Servant, and a Friend for the King, and for his Person; but He was then a Man of a high Spirit; and valued his very Fidelity at the Rate it was worth; and not the less, for that it had almost stood single for some Time. The Chancellor was very sorry for this Discovery; and chose to wait upon the Duke the same Day, near the Hour when the Meeting used to be at *Oriel* College: And when He had spent a short Time with him, He said, He thought it was

was Time to go to *Oriel* College, and asked his Grace, whether He would please to go thither; for which He making some Excuse, the other pressed him with some Earnestness, and said, it was observed that He had a good Time declined that Meeting, and if He should not now go thither, He should be doubtful there was some Reason for it.

THE Duke replied, that He had indeed been absent from thence for some Time, and that He would deal clearly with him as his Friend, but desired it should not be known; that He was resolved to be there no more. Then complained, that the King was not kind to him; at least had not that Confidence in him, which He had used to have: And then spake of many Particulars loosely; and especially, that before the Treaty, He had advised the King to use all the Means He could to draw them to a Treaty, for many Advantages which were like to be gotten by it; and to that Purpose, produced a Letter that He had newly received from the Countess of *Carlisle*, and read it to his Majesty, who then seemed not to be moved with the Contents; but afterwards in several Discourses reflected upon it in such a Manner, as if He were jealous, that the Duke held too much Correspondence with that People: Which He looked upon, as such a Point of Diffidence, that it was no longer fit for him to be present, when the secret Part of his Affairs was transacted; and so He had, and would forbear to meet in that Place, till his Majesty should entertain a better Opinion of him: Yet He concealed the Trouble of Mind which He sustained; and wished, that no Notice might be taken of it.

THE Chancellor told him, it was too late for that Caution; that the Lords themselves could not but observe his long Absence, who before used to be the most punctual; and confessed to him, that the King himself had spoken to him of it with a Sense of Wonder, and Dislike; which, He said, He was to blame himself for; since the Honour He had done him to the King, had likewise disposed his Majesty to trust him so far, as to express some Dissatisfaction He had in his Grace's late Carriage and Behaviour. The Duke seemed not displeased with the Communication, but thereupon entered into a fuller, and warmer Discourse than before; how much the King had withdrawn his Confidence from him, and trusted others much more than him.

*Whom He endeavours to reconcile to the King;*



In Sum, it was easy to discern, that the Thing that troubled him, was the Power and Credit that *John Ashburnham* had with the King; which his Vanity made him own to that Degree, that He was not content to enjoy the Benefit of it, except He made it publick, and to be taken Notice of by all Men; which could not but reflect upon his Honour: And when the Chancellor seemed to think it impossible, that himself could believe, that the King could prefer a Man of Mr. *Ashburnham's* Talent, before his Grace; He proceeded with many Instances, and insisted with most Indignation upon One.

THAT about a Year before, Sir *John Lucas*, who was well known to his Grace, having met him abroad in his Travels, and ever after paid a particular Respect to him, had applied himself to him, and desired his Favour, that when there should be any Opportunity offered, He would recommend him to the King, to whom He was not unknown; that his Affection to his Majesty's Service was notorious enough, and that his Sufferings were so likewise; his House being the first that was plundered in the Beginning of the War; by which, the Loss He sustained in Furniture, Plate, Money, and Stock, was very considerable; so that He might modestly hope, that when his Majesty scattered his Favours upon others of his own Rank, his poor Service might likewise be remembered: But He had seen Men raised to Dignities, who He was sure had not the Advantage over him in their Sufferings, whatever They might have in their Actions; and He desired no more, but (since it was too evident that his Majesty's Wants were great, and that Money would do him some Service) that He might receive that Degree of Honour which others had; and He would make such a Present to him, as should manifest his Gratitude; and He desired to owe the Obligation to his Grace, and to receive it only by his Mediation.

HE said, He had moved this Matter, with the Relation of all the Circumstances, to his Majesty, who spake very graciously of the Gentleman, as a Person of Merit, but said, He was resolved to make no more Lords; which He received as a very good Answer, and looked upon as a good Resolution, and commended it; desiring only, that if at any Time his Majesty found it necessary to vary from that Resolution, He would remember his Proposition, and gratify that Gentleman; which He promised to do;

do; and with all which He acquainted the Person concerned; thinking it could not but well satisfy him. But He told him, that He was sorry that He could not receive the Honour, by his Grace's Recommendation; but for the Thing itself, He could have it when He would; and shortly after it was dispatched by Mr. *Alburnham*. He asked, whether this was not preferring Mr. *Alburnham* very much before him. The Chancellor told him, He was preferred as the better Market Man; and that He ought not to believe, that the King's Affection swayed him to that Preference, but an Opinion, that the other would make the better Bargain. He replied, his Majesty was deceived in that, for He had told him what the other meant to give, without the least Thought of reserving any Thing for himself; whereas his Majesty had now received five hundred Pounds less, and his Market Man had gotten so much for his Pains.

IN Conclusion, He prevailed so far with him, that They went that Afternoon together to the Committee to *Oriel* College; and the next Day the Chancellor spake with the King again, and told him, that the Duke had been in the Afternoon with the Committee, where many (96) Things had been consulted; and that He found, all his Trouble proceeded from an Apprehension, that his Majesty had withdrawn his Affection from him; at least that He, the Duke, had not the same Credit with his Majesty, which He had formerly had; and that the Sense, and Fear of that, could not but make an Impression upon a good Servant, who loved his Master as well as He did. His Majesty said, They two should not live as well together as They had done, as long as the Duke kept his Man *Webb*; who made him believe, that the King was wholly governed by *Alburnham*, and cared not for any Body else. He said, no Body who knew him, could believe He could be governed by *Alburnham*; who, though an honest Man, and one that He believed loved him well, no Man thought was of an Understanding superior to his Majesty; and enlarged himself upon this Argument so much, that He seemed as it were glad of the Opportunity, to clear himself from that Asperion, or Imputation.

*And the King  
to the Duke of  
Richmond;*

It is a very great Misfortune for any Prince to be suspected to be governed by any Man; for as the Reproach is of all others the most grievous, so They think the

*But without  
Success.*

trusting weak Men, who are much short of their own Vigour of Wit and Understanding, is a sufficient Vindication from that Calumny; and so, before They are aware of it, They decline wiser Men, who are fit to advise them, and give themselves to weaker, upon an Imagination, that no Body will ever suspect They can be governed by them. In Fine, He found the Work too hard for him; the King being so much incensed against *Webb*, that He expected the Duke should turn him away: And the Duke himself looked upon the King's Prejudice, as infused into him by *Apsburnham*, upon particular Malice; having often desired, that some Accuser might charge *Webb*, and He be heard to answer for himself; which the King not being willing to admit, the other was unwilling to dismiss a Servant, his Secretary, who had served him long, and was very useful to him; and who indeed was never suspected for any Infidelity, or Want of Affection to his Master: And so the Chancellor, to his great Trouble, was not able to remove that Cloudiness that remained in both their Countenances, which never produced the least ill Effect in the View or Observation of any; the Duke's Duty being never in any Degree diminished, and the King's Kindness to him continuing with many gracious Evidences, to his Death.

*The King's  
last Conference  
with the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer.*

THE last Conference his Majesty had with the Chancellor, was the very Day the Prince began his Journey towards the *West*, and indeed after He had received his Blessing; when his Majesty sent for him into his Bed-chamber; and repeated some Things He had mentioned before. He told him, "there had been many Things "which had troubled him, with Reference to his Son's "Absence from him; for all which, but one, He had satisfied himself: The one was, the Inconvenience which "might arise from the Weakness and Folly of his Governor; against which He had provided, as well as He "could, by obliging the Prince to follow the Advice of "his Council in all Things; which He was well assured "He would do; and He had given them as much Authority, as They could wish. Another was, that there "was one Servant about the Prince, who He thought had "too much Credit with him, which was *Elliot*; who He "did not intend should be with him in the Journey; and "had therefore sent him into *France* to the Queen, with "Direction to her Majesty, to keep him there; and if  
"He

“He should return whilst the Prince remained in the  
 “*West*, that He should be sent to his Majesty, and not  
 “suffered to stay with his Highness; and that was all the  
 (97) “Care He could take in those two Particulars: But  
 “there was a Third, in which He knew not what to do,  
 “and that troubled him much more than the other two.”  
 When the Chancellor seemed full of Expectation to know  
 what that might be, the King said, “I have observed of  
 “late some Kind of Sharpness, upon many Occasions, be-  
 “tween *Colepepper* and you; and though you are joined  
 “with other honest Men, yet my great Confidence is  
 “upon you two: I know not that the Fault is in you;  
 “nay, I must confess, that it is very often in him; but  
 “let it be where it will, any Difference and Unkindness  
 “between you two must be at my Charge; and I must  
 “tell you the Fear I have of it, gives me much Trou-  
 “ble: I have spoken very plainly to him my Apprehen-  
 “sion in this Point, within this Hour; and He hath  
 “made as fair Promises to me as I can wish; and upon  
 “my Conscience I think, He loves you, though He may  
 “sometimes provoke you to be angry.”

THE King here making a Pause, the Chancellor, out of  
 Countenance, said, “He was very sorry, that He had ever  
 “given his Majesty any Occasion for such an Apprehen-  
 “sion; but very glad, that He had vouchsafed to inform  
 “him of it; because He believed He should give his Ma-  
 “jesty such Assurance in that Particular, as would fully  
 “satisfy him: He assured his Majesty, that He had a  
 “great Esteem of the Lord *Colepepper*; and though He  
 “might have at some Times Passions which were incon-  
 “venient, He was so confident of himself, that they  
 “should not provoke or disturb him, that He was well  
 “content, that his Majesty should condemn, and think  
 “Him in the Fault, if any Thing should fall out, of Pre-  
 “judice to his Service, from a Difference between them  
 “two.” With which his Majesty appeared abundantly  
 satisfied, and pleased; and embracing him, gave him his  
 Hand to kiss; and He immediately went to Horse, and  
 followed the Prince: And this was the last Time the  
 Chancellor ever saw that gracious and excellent King.

It was upon the 4th of *March*, in the Year 1644, The Chancel-  
 lor attends the  
 Prince into  
 the West;  
 and is there  
 first assaulted  
 by the Gout.  
 that the Prince parted from the King his Father. He  
 lodged that Night at *Farringdon*; having made his Jour-  
 ney thither, in one continued Storm of Rain, from the

Minute He left *Oxford*: And from thence went the next Day to the Garrison of the *Devizes*; and the third to the City of *Bath*; which being a safe Place, and within seven or eight Miles of *Bristol*, He staid there two or three Days. And in this Journey the Chancellor was first assaulted with the Gout, having never had the least Apprehension of it before; but from his coming to *Bath*, He was not able to stand; and so went by Coach to *Bristol*; where in few Days He recovered that first Lameness, which ever after afflicted him too often. And so the Year 1644 ended, which shall conclude this Part.

*Montpelier,*  
6th November, 1669.



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The LIFE of  
*EDWARD* EARL of *CLARENDON*

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL  
FAMILY in the Year 1660.

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PART the FOURTH.

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(98) **A** Very particular Memorial of all material Affairs in the *West*, during the subsequent Year of 1645, during the Prince's Residence in the *West* — The State, and Temper of that Country, after the Defeat of his Majesty's Army at *Naseby* — The several Plots and Devices of the Lord *Goring*, to get the Prince into his Power — The Debauchery of that Army, and amongst the Officers of it; and the Defeats it suffered from the Enemy, through that Debauchery — *Goring's* Departure out of the Kingdom; and the Posture He left his Army in — The beating up of their Quarters afterwards — The entering of *Fairfax* into the *West* with his Army; and his sudden taking the Towns there — The mutinous Behaviour of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and the Quarrels, and Conflicts between the Troops under his Command, with those under the Lord *Goring* — The Prince's Retreat by Degrees backward into *Cornwall*, as *Fairfax* advanced — The several Messages, and Orders from the King, for the transporting the Prince out of *England*; and all the Directions, and Resolutions thereupon; and the several Messages from the Queen, and the Earl of St. *Albans*; with the Assurance of a Supply of six thousand Foot, under the Command of *Ruvignie*, promised confidently to be landed in *Cornwall*, within one Month; when there was

not any such Thing in Nature, nor one Company raised, or Ship in Readiness, or in View for such an Expedition, &c. — The King's obliging the Lord *Hopton*, to take Charge of those broken and dissolute Troops — The Commitment of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, for not submitting to be commanded by him; and for endeavouring to raise a Party in the Country, to treat with the Enemy, for the Security and Neutrality of *Cornwall*; and the Routing the Lord *Hopton's* Troops at *Torrington* — The Prince's Retreat thereupon to *Pendennis*; and the Factions, and Conspiracies between some of his own Servants and some Gentlemen of the Country, to hinder the Prince from going out of the Kingdom; and the Departure of his Highness from *Pendennis*, in the End of that Year 1645, and his Arrival in the Island of *Scilly*, is contained in Papers, orderly and methodically set down; which Papers and Relation are not now at Hand, but are safe; and will be easily found: Together with his Highness's Stay in the<sup>(99)</sup> Island of *Scilly*: From whence, the next Day the Lord *Colepepper* was dispatched, with Letters to the Queen, to *Paris*, to give Notice of his Highness's being in that Island; and to desire Money, Arms, and Ammunition for the Defence thereof: And at the same Time another Vessel was sent into *Ireland*, to give the Marquis of *Ormond* likewise Information of it; and to desire that two Companies of Foot might be sent thither, to encrease that Garrison, and to defend it in case the Enemy should attack it — His Highness's Stay in *Scilly*, near six Weeks; until the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* came thither; after They had made Conditions for the disbanding their Troops, with *Fairfax*; which *Goring's* Troops made it necessary to do: They not only refusing to obey all Orders, but mingling every Day with the Troops of the Enemy, and remaining quietly together in the same Quarters, drinking and making merry with each other — The Report of a Fleet designed from the Parliament for *Scilly*, and those Lords viewing the *Island*, and not looking upon it as tenable, caused a new Consultation to be held, whether it were fit for his Highness to remain there till the Return of the Lord *Colepepper*, or to remove sooner; and whither He should remove; the Frigate which brought the Prince from *Pendennis* being still kept in a Readiness at *Scilly*, upon the Foresight that his Remove might come to be necessary — That upon this Consultation it was resolved,

solved, that it would not be safe for his Highness to remain there; but that He should transport himself from thence into the Island of *Jersey*; which was done accordingly — And his Highness's Arrival there about the beginning of *April, 1645* — The Prince's Reception in *Jersey*, by Sir *George Carteret*; and the universal Joy of the Island for his Arrival; with the Situation and Strength of the Island — The Lord *Digby's* Arrival in *Jersey*, with two Frigates from *Ireland*, and with two hundred Soldiers; having been at *Scilly*, and there heard of his Highness's Departure for *Jersey* — His earnest Advice for the Prince his going for *Ireland*; and, when He could not obtain his Highness's Consent till the Return of the Lord *Colepepper*, His going to *Paris* to persuade the Queen, and to protest against the Prince's going for *France*; against which He inveighed with more Passion than any Man — The Arrival of Mr. *Thomas Jermyn* from *Paris*, with very positive Orders for the Prince's repair thither, from the Queen — And shortly after, the Lord *Colepepper's* Arrival, who had been dispatched from her Majesty to return to *Scilly*, before She knew of his Highness's Remove from thence; which Advertisement overtook the Lord *Colepepper* at *Havre de Grace*, after He was embarked; and so He bent his Course thither, and had the same Orders for the Prince his going to *Paris*, as Mr. *Jermyn* had likewise brought.

THERE was none of the Council inclined that his Highness, being in a Place of unquestionable Safety, should suddenly depart from thence; till the State and Condition in which his Majesty was, and his Pleasure, might be known: It was then understood, that his Majesty had left *Oxford*, and was with the *Scotish* Army before *Newark*; which He had caused to be rendered, that the Army might retire; which it presently did, and the King in it, to *Newcastle*: The Prince was yet in his Father's Dominions; some Places in *England* still holding out, as *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Pendermis*, and other Places; that it would be easy, in a short Time, to understand the King's Pleasure; and that there could be no Inconvenience in expecting it, the Prince's Person being in no possible Danger: but that the Mischief might be very  
 (100) great, if without the King's Direction it were done, whether his Majesty should be well or ill treated by the *Scots*; and that the Parliament might make it a new Matter of Reproach



Reproach against the King, that He had sent the Heir Apparent of the Crown out of the Kingdom; which could be no otherwise excused, at least by those who attended him, than by evident and apparent Necessity: Those Reasons appeared of so much Weight to the Prince himself (who had not a natural Inclination to go into *France*) and to all the Council, that the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepepper* were desired to go to *Paris*, to satisfy the Queen, why the Prince had deferred yielding a present Obedience to her Command.

THE Treatment They received at *Paris*; and their Return again to *Jersey*, together with the Lord *Jermyn*, and Lord *Digby*, and some other Persons of Quality: The Lord *Digby* being to return to *Ireland*, with eight thousand Pistoles, which the Cardinal sent towards the Supply of the King's Service there; and being by it, and the Cardinal, so thoroughly convinced of the Necessity of the Prince's going for *France*, that He was more positive for it, than any of the Rest; and had promised the Queen, that He would convert the Chancellor, and make him consent to it; with whom He had a great Friendship — The Debate at *Jersey* upon their coming back — The Lord *Capel* adhering to his former Opinion, that We might first know the King's Opinion; towards the receiving of which, He had offered the Queen, and now offered again, to go himself to *Newcastle*, where the King still was; no Body knowing what would be the Issue of the Controversy between the *Scots*, and the Parliament; and if the King should direct it, every Man would willingly attend his Highness; and punctually observe whatsoever the King commanded: And because the Objection might be removed, of his being taken Prisoner by the Parliament, or his being not suffered by the *Scots* to speak with the King; He did offer, and all who were of his Opinion consented to it, that if He did not return to *Jersey*, within one Month, the Prince should pursue the Queen's Orders; and every Man would attend his Highness into *France*; and a Month's Delay could be of no ill Consequence — The Prince's Resolution to go presently for *Paris*; — and the Reasons which moved the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, to excuse themselves — and his Highness's Permission to remain in *Jersey*, from whence They would attend his Commands, when He had any Service for them — And the sudden Reservedness,  
and

and Strangeness that grew between those, who advised the going, and those who were for staying — and the Prince's embarking himself for *France*, about *July*, in the Year 1646 —

ALL these Particulars are so exactly remembered in those Papers remaining in a Cabinet easy to be found, that they will quickly be put into a Method; and contain enough to be inserted in the Fourth Part of this Relation.

*Montpelier,*  
9th *November,*  
1669.

N. B. These Materials were afterwards made Use of by the Author, when He compleated the *History of the Rebellion*, where these Occurrences are treated of more at large.



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The LIFE of

**EDWARD EARL of CLARENDON**

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL  
FAMILY in the Year 1660.

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PART the FIFTH.

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(102) **T**HE Prince having left *Jersey*, about *July*, in the Year 1646; the Chancellor of the Exchequer remained there about two Years after; where He presently betook himself to his Study; and enjoyed (as He was wont to say) the greatest Tranquillity of Mind imaginable. Whilst the Lords, *Capel* and *Hopton* staid there, They lived and kept House together in *St. Hillary's*, which is the chief Town of the Island; where having a Chaplain of their own, They had Prayers every Day in the Church, at Eleven of the Clock in the Morning; till which Hour They enjoyed themselves in their Chambers, according as They thought fit; the Chancellor betaking himself to the Continuance of the History, which He had begun at *Scilly*, and spending most of his Time at that Exercise. The other two walked, or rode abroad, or read, as They were disposed; but at the Hour of Prayers They always met; and then dined together at the Lord *Hopton's* Lodging, which was the best House; They being lodged at several Houses, with Convenience enough. Their Table was maintained at their joint Expense, only for Diners; They never using to sup; but met always upon the Sands in the Evening to walk, often going to the Castle to Sir *George Carteret*; who treated them with extraordinary Kindness and Civility, and spent much Time with them; and

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Residence at Jersey.*

and in Truth, the whole Island shewed great Affection to them, and all the Persons of Quality invited them to their Houses, to very good Entertainments; and all other Ways exprest great Esteem towards them.

*He writes  
from thence  
to the King.*

AND from hence They writ a joint Letter to the King, which They sent to him by Mr. *Famshaw*; in which They made great Profession of their Duty to his Majesty, and their Readiness to proceed in his Service; and to wait upon the Prince upon the first Occasion; with such Reasons for their not attending him into *France*, as They thought could not but be satisfactory to his Majesty; declaring, that They had only desired that He would stay so long in a Place of his own, of unquestionable Security, as that They might receive the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure for his Remove; upon which They were all resolved to have waited upon him: Though it was evident enough to them, that their Advice would be no longer hearkened unto, after his Highness should arrive with the Queen. (102)

IN *England*, Men's Hopes, and Fears, were raised according to their Tempers; for there was Argument for both Affections in the Transactions, and Occurrences of every Day; it being no easy Matter, to make a Judgment which Party would prevail; nor what They would do, if They did. The Lord *Capel* received Advice from his Friends in *England*, to remove from *Jersey* into some Part of the *United Provinces*: That so being in a Place to which there could be no Prejudice, his Friends might the more hopefully solicit for Liberty for him to return into his own Country, and that He might live in his own House; which They had Reason to hope would not be denied to a Person, who had many Friends, and could not be conceived to have any Enemies; his Person being worthily esteemed by all. Whereupon, with the full Concurrence and Advice of his two Friends from whom He had great Tenderness to part, and with whom He renewed his Contract of Friendship at parting in a particular Manner, upon Foresight of what might happen, He went from thence, and first waited upon the Prince at *Paris*, that He might have his Royal Highness's Approbation for his Return into *England*, if He might do it upon honourable Conditions: And from thence, with all possible Demonstration of Grace from the Prince, He transported himself to *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*; where He remained till his Friends procured

procured Liberty for him to return, and remain at his own House. The worthy and noble Things He did after, deserve to be transmitted to Posterity, in some more illustrious Testimony, that may be worthy to be recorded.

THE Lord *Capel* thus leaving *Jersey*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Chancellor remained still there, in the same Conjunction, until, some few Months after, the Lord *Hopton* received the News of the Death of his Wife, and of the Arrival in *France* of his Uncle, Sir *Arthur Hopton*; who having been Ambassadour from the King in *Spain*, had left that Court, and retired to *Paris*; from whence He shortly after removed to *Rouen*, with a Purpose, as soon as He had at large conferred with his Nephew, to go into *England*, for the Good and Benefit of both their Fortunes: And upon this Occasion, the Lord *Hopton* likewise left *Jersey*, with all possible Profession of an entire Friendship to the Chancellor, which was never violated in the least Degree to his Death. And the Chancellor being thus left alone, He was, with great Civility and Friendship, invited by Sir *George Carteret* to remove from the Town (where He had lived, with his Friends till then) and to live with him in the Castle *Elizabeth*; whither He went, the next Day after the Departure of the Lord *Hopton*, and remained there to his wonderful Contentment, in the very chearful Society of Sir *George Carteret* and his Lady; in whose House He received all the Liberty, and Entertainment He could have expected in his own Family; of which He always retained so just a Memory, that there was never any Intermiſſion, or Decay of that Friendship He then made: And He remained there, till He was sent for again to attend the Prince, which will be mentioned in its Time.

*And removes  
to Sir George  
Carteret's.*

He built a Lodging in the Castle, of two or three convenient Rooms, to the Wall of the Church, which Sir *George Carteret* had repaired, and beautified; and over the Door of his Lodging He set up his Arms, with this Inscription, *Bene Vixit, qui bene Latuit*: And He always took Pleasure in relating, with what great Tranquillity of Spirit (though deprived of the Joy He took in his Wife (103) and Children) He spent his Time here, amongst his Books (which He got from *Paris*) and his Papers; between which He seldom spent less than ten Hours in the Day; and it can hardly be believed how much He read, and writ there; insomuch as He did usually compute, that during

*Where He  
writes the  
History of  
the Trou-  
bles.*

during his whole Stay in *Jersey*, which was some Months above two Years, He writ daily little less than one Sheet of large Paper, with his own Hand; most of which are still to be seen amongst his Papers.

Towards  
which the  
King fur-  
nishes him  
with the Pas-  
sages of the  
Years 1645,  
and 1646.

FROM *Hampton Court*, his Majesty writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with his own Hand; in which He took Notice that He was Writing the *History of the late Troubles*, for which He thanked him, saying, that He knew no Man could do it so well; and that He would not do it the worse, by the Helps that He would very speedily send him (as his Majesty shortly after did, in two Manuscripts very fairly written, containing all Matters of Importance, that had passed from the Time that the Prince of *Wales* went from his Majesty into the *West*, to the very Time that his Majesty himself went from *Oxford* to the *Scottish* Army; which were all the Passages in the Years 1645, and 1646): He used many gracious Expressions in that Letter to him; and said, He looked upon him as one of those, who had served him with most Fidelity, and therefore He might be confident of his Kindness; and that He would bring him to him with the first; though He said, He did not hold him to be Infallible, as He might discern by what He had commanded Dr. *Sheldon*, who was then Clerk of his Closet, to write to him; and at the same Time the Doctor writ him Word, that the King was sorry that He, the Chancellor, staid at *Jersey*, and did not attend the Prince into *France*; and that if He had been there, He would have been able to have prevented the Vexation his Majesty had endured at *Newcastle*, by Messages from *Paris*.

THE Doctor likewise sent him Word, that great Pains had been taken from *Paris*, to incense the King against him; but that it had so little prevailed, that his Majesty had with some Sharpness reprehended those who blamed him, and had justified the Chancellor. He made haste to answer his Majesty's Letter, and gave him so much Satisfaction, that his Majesty said, He was too hard for him. And about the same time the Lord *Capel* came into *England*; and though He was under Security to the Parliament for behaving himself peaceably, He was not restrained from seeing the King; and so gave him a very particular Information of all that had passed at *Jersey*, and many other Things, of which his Majesty had never been informed before; which put it out of any Body's Power  
to

to make any ill Impressions in him towards the Chancellor.

UPON the King's refusing to give his Assent to the four Acts, sent to him from the Parliament, when He was in the Isle of *Wight*, They voted, *that no more Addresses should be made to the King*; and published a Declaration to that Effect, which contained severe Charges against his Majesty. *Vid. Hist. Reb. Fol. Vol. 3. P. 67, &c.*

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer no sooner received a Copy of it in *Jersey*, than He prepared a very large and full Answer to it; in which He made the Malice and the Treason of that libellous Declaration to appear, and his Majesty's Innocence in all the Particulars charged upon him, with such pathetical Applications and Influinations, as were most like to work upon the Affections of the People: All which was transmitted (by the Care of Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who resided at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and held a constant Correspondence with the Chancellor) to a trusty Hand in *London*; who caused it to be well (104) printed, and divulged, and found Means to send it to the King! Who, after He had read it, said He durst swear it was writ by the Chancellor, if it were not that there was more Divinity in it, than He expected from him, which made him believe He had conferred with Dr. *Steward*. But some Months after, being informed by Secretary *Nicholas*, He sent the Chancellor Thanks for it; and expressed, upon all Occasions, that He was much pleased with that Vindication.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer writes and publishes an Answer to the Parliament's Declaration of the 15th of Feb. 1647.*

THE Lord *Capel* had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained still in *Jersey*, signifying the King's Commands, that as soon as the Chancellor should be required to wait upon the Prince, He should without Delay obey the Summons. The King had writ to the Queen, that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor should have Notice of it, and be required to attend him. About the beginning of *April*, in the Year 1648, the Lord *Capel* writ again to the Chancellor, giving him Notice, that He would probably be sent for soon, and desiring him to be ready. About the Middle of *May*, the Queen sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jersey*, commanding, that He would wait upon the Prince at *Paris*, upon a Day that was past before the Letter came to his Hands; but as soon as He received



the Summons, He immediately transported himself into *Normandy*, and went to *Caen*; from thence He hastened to *Rouen*, where He found the Lord *Cottingham*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who had received the same Commands. They were informed that the Prince was passed by towards *Calais*, and Direction was sent, that the Chancellor and the rest should stay at *Rouen*, till They should receive new Orders from *Calais*. Within few Days They received Advice, that the Prince had put himself on board a Ship that He found at *Calais* bound for *Holland*, where They were to hear from him; whereupon They removed from *Rouen* to *Dieppe*; from whence They might embark for *Holland* when required. *Vid. Hist. Reb. Fol. Vol. 3. P. 102, &c.*

AFTER the Lord *Cottingham*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had staid at *Dieppe* some Days, and were confirmed, by Reports every Day, that the Prince was in *Holland*, and that the Fleet wanted some Provisions, without which it could not put out to Sea; They resolved to make Use of the first Vessel, of which there were many then in the Harbour, that should be bound for *Holland*, and to transport themselves thither; and there was one which within two or three Days would set out for *Flushing*. The Earl of *Bristol* had no Mind to venture himself in such a Vessel, and since the Fleet that had declared for the King was then in *Holland*, He apprehended that the Parliament might have other Vessels abroad, that might easily seize upon that small Bark; and so after some Debate with the Lord *Cottingham* (They two being seldom of one Mind) the Earl resolved to return to his old Habitation at *Caen*, and expect another Occasion.

THE Chancellor, who knew nothing of the Sea, nor understood the Hazards thereof (being always so afflicted upon that Element with Sickness, that He considered nothing about it, and holding himself obliged to make what Haste He could to the Prince) committed himself entirely to the Lord *Cottingham*: And when They resolved to embark themselves in the Vessel bound for *Flushing*, a French Man of War, which was called 'the King's Ship, came into the Road of *Dieppe*, and offered to carry them the next Day to *Dunkirk*; which They took to be the safer Passage: And so giving the Captain as much Money as (105) He demanded, They put themselves upon his miserable Frigate, where They had no Accommodations, but the open

The Chancellor of the Exchequer embarks for Dunkirk.

open Deck; and were safely set on Shore at *Dunkirk*, where Marshal *Rantzau* was then Governour. And They no sooner landed in the Evening, but *Carteret*, a Servant of the Prince's, came to them, and informed them, that the Prince was entered the River of *Thames* with the Fleet; and that He was sent by his Highness to the Marshal for a Frigate, which He had offered to lend the Prince: And that He had delivered the Letter, and the Marshal (who had been out all the Night before upon a Design upon the Enemy, and was newly arrived, and gone to Bed) had promised him that the Frigate should be ready the next Day. This seemed an extraordinary good Fortune to them, that They might now embark directly for the Fleet, without going into *Holland*, which They were willing to avoid; and so resolved to speak with the Marshal as soon as They could, that They might be confirmed by him, that his Frigate should be ready the next Day; and thereupon sent a Servant to wait at the Marshal's Lodging, that They might know when He waked, and was to be spoken with.

THE Marshal had Notice of their Arrival before the Servant came to him, and of their Desire to go to the Prince; and sent one of his Officers to welcome them to the Town, and to see them well accommodated with Lodging; and to excuse him, that He did not wait upon them that Night, by Reason of the Fatigue He had undergone the Night before, and that Day; and to oblige them to dine with him the next Day, against which Time the Vessel would be made ready to receive them, and transport them to the Prince's Fleet; with which They were abundantly satisfied, and betook themselves to their Rest for that Night: And were early up the next Morning to see the Marshal; but it was late before He rose.

HE received them with great Civility, being a very proper Man, of a most extraordinary Presence and Aspect, and might well be reckoned a very handsome Man, though He had but one Leg, one Hand, one Eye, and one Ear, the other being cut off with that Side of his Face; besides many other Cuts on the other Cheek, and upon his Head, with many Wounds in the Body; notwithstanding all which, He stood very upright, and had a very graceful Motion, a clear Voice, and a charming Delivery; and if He had not, according to the Custom of his Nation (for He was a *German*) too much indulged to

*And from  
thence for the  
Prince's  
Fleet.*

the Excess of Wine, He had been one of the most excellent Captains of that Age. He professed great Affection to the Prince, and much commended the Frigate He intended to send to him, which for the swiftness of it was called the *Hare*, and out sailed, as He said, all the Vessels of that Coast; and after He had treated them with a very excellent and a jovial Dinner, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, He brought them to their Boat, that put them on board their Frigate; which was but a small Vessel of twenty Guns, much inferior to what They expected, by the Description the Marshal had made of it. However, it was very proper for the Use They were to make of it, to be delivered at the Fleet; and so, the Moon shining very fair, They weighed Anchor about Sun set, with a very small Gale of Wind.

THE Prince being Master at Sea, They had no manner of Apprehension of an Enemy; not knowing, or considering, that They were very near *Ostend*, and so, in Respect of the Vessel They were in, liable to be made a Prize by those Men of War; as it fell out: For about Break of Day, in a dead Calm, They found themselves pursued<sup>(106)</sup> by six or seven Ships, which, as They drew nearer, were known by the Seamen to be the Frigates of *Ostend*. There was no Hope to escape by the swiftness of the Vessel, for there was not the least Breath of Wind; and it was to no Purpose to resist; for besides that the Vessel was not half manned, four or five of the Pursuers were stronger Ships; so that it was thought best to let the Sails fall, that They might see there was no Purpose of Resistance, and to send *Carteret* in the Boat, to inform the Ships who the Persons were, that were on Board, and that They had a Pass from the Arch-Duke; for an authentick Copy of a Pass the Arch-Duke had sent to the Prince, had been sent to them. All the Ships, though They had the King of *Spain's* Commission, were Free-booters, belonging to private Owners, who observed no Rules or Laws of Nations; but They boarded the Vessel, with their Swords drawn and Pistols cocked, and without any Distinction, plundered all the Passengers with equal Rudeness, save that They stripped some of the Servants to their very Shirts; They used not the rest with that Barbarity, being satisfied with taking all They had in their Pockets, and carefully examined all their *Valises*, and Trunks, in which They found good Booty.

*But is taken  
by some Fri-  
gates of  
Ostend;*

THE Lord *Cottington* lost, in Money and Jewels, above one thousand Pounds; the Chancellor, in Money, about two hundred Pounds, and all his Cloaths and Linen; and Sir *George Ratcliffe* and Mr. *Wansford*, who were in the Company, above five hundred Pounds in Money and Jewels. And having pillaged them in this Manner, They carried them all, with the Frigate They had been in, Prisoners to *Ostend*; where They arrived about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon; all the Men and Women of the Town being gathered together to behold the Prize that was brought in within so few Hours; for Intelligence had been sent from *Dunkirk*, the Night before (according to the Custom, and good Intelligence observed in those Places) of the going out of this Vessel, which had such Persons on Board. When They were on Shore, They were carried, through all the Spectators, to a common Inn; from whence They sent to the Magistrates, to inform them of what Condition They were, and of the Injuries They had received, by having been treated as Enemies; and demanded Restitution of Ship, and Goods.

THE Magistrates, who were called the Lords of the Admiralty, came presently to them, and when They were fully informed of the whole Matter, and had seen the Arch-Duke's Pass, They seemed very much troubled; and with much Civility assured them, that They should not only receive all that had been taken from them, but that the Men should be severely punished for their Transgression. They immediately discharged those Guards that kept them as Prisoners; and provided the best Lodgings in the Town for them: And because it was growing towards the Evening, and the Frigates were not yet come in, They excused themselves that They could do no more that Night; but promised to go themselves on board the Ships the next Morning early; and desired that some of the Gentlemen of their Company might go with them, to the End that They might discover at least some of those, who had been most rude towards them; who should be sure to be imprisoned till full Satisfaction were made by the rest.

As soon as the Lords of the Admiralty were gone, the Governour, an old *Spaniard*, came to visit them with all Professions of Civility and Service, and seemed to abhor the Barbarity with which They had been treated;

(107) asked very particularly of the Manner of them, and of

every Particular that had been taken from them; and told them, They should be sure to have it all returned; for that They did not trouble themselves in such Cases to find out the Seamen, who were the Plunderers, but resorted always to the Owners of the Ships, who lived in the Town, and were substantial Men, and bound to answer and satisfy for all Misdemeanours committed by the Company; and said, He would be with them the next Day, and take Care that all should be done that was Just. These Professions and Assurances made them believe, that They should receive full Reparation for the Damages They had received; and the Lord *Cottington* began to commend the good Order and Discipline that was observed under the *Spanish* Government, much different from that in other Places; and in how much better Condition They were, after such Usage, to be brought into *Ostend*, than if They had been so used by the *French*, and carried into any of their Ports.

THE next Morning two of the Lords of the Admiralty called upon them, in their Way to the Ships; retaining the same Professions They had made the Night before; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, Mr. *Wansford*, and some of their Servants accompanied them according to their Desire; and as soon as They were on Board the Admiral's Vessel, that had brought them in, and had taken them out of their own, They knew some of those Seamen, who had been most busy about them; which were immediately seized on, and searched, and about some of them some Pieces of Chains of Gold, and other Things of Value belonging to the Lord *Cottington* were found, and some Mails, in which were Linen and Cloaths; all which were presently restored and delivered to some of the Servants, who were present, and brought them to their Masters. The Chancellor was more solicitous for some Papers He had lost, than for his Money; and He was used to say, that He looked upon it as a singular Act of Providence, that those Officers prevailed with a Seaman, who had taken it out of his Pocket, to restore a little Letter which He had lately received from the King, whilst He was in the Hands of the Army; which, for the Grace and Kindness contained in it, He did ever exceedingly value.

THOSE of the Admiralty, though They had not yet found out either any of the Jewels or Money, of which They

They had been robbed, thought They had done enough for the Morning; and so returned to Dinner, declaring that They would return in the Afternoon; and directed the Ships to be drawn nearer together, to the End They might visit them together; and They did return in the Afternoon, accompanied as before, ~~but~~ their Reception by the Seamen was not as in the Morning. The Captains answered those Questions, which were asked of them, negligently and scornfully; and those Seamen who had been searched in the Morning, and were appointed to be produced in the Afternoon to be further examined, could not be found; and instead of bringing the Ships nearer together, some of them were gone more out to Sea, and the rest declared, that They would go all out to Sea that Night; and when the Magistrates seemed to threaten them, They swore They would throw both them, and all who came with them, over Board, and offered to lay Hands upon them in Order to it; so that They were all glad to get off; and returned to the Town, talking loud what Vengeance They would take upon the Captains and Seamen when They returned again into Port (for They already stood out to Sea in their Sight) and in the mean Time They would prosecute the Owners of the Vessels, who should satisfy for (108) the Damage received; but from this Time, the Governour, nor the Lords of the Admiralty cared to come near them: And They quickly found that the Reason of all the Governour's Civility the first Night, and the many Questions He had asked concerning all the Particulars They had lost of any Kind, was only to be the better informed, to demand his Share from the Seamen; and that the Lords of the Admiralty were the Owners of the several Vessels, or had Shares in them, and in the victualling, and so were to divide the Spoil, which They pretended should be restored. So that after They had remained there four or five Days, They were contented to receive one hundred Pistoles for discharging the Debts They had contracted in the Town (for there was not any Money left amongst them) and to carry them to the Prince, which those of the Admiralty pretended to have received from some of the Owners, and to wait for farther Justice, when the Ships should return, which They doubted not should be effectually called for, by the Commands of the Arch-Duke, when He should be informed:

But cannot  
obtain it..

And so They prosecuted their Journey to the Prince, making their Way by *Bruges*, and from thence by the Way of *Sluys* to *Flushing*; and those hundred Pistoles were the only Recompence that They ever received for that Affront and Damage They had sustained, which in the whole amounted to two thousand Pounds at the least; though the King's Resident *De-Vic* at *Brussels* prosecuted the Pretence with the Arch-Duke, as long as there was any Hope.

THE Chancellor was often used to relate an Observation that was generally made and discoursed at *Ostend*, at that Time, that never any Man who adventured in setting out those Frigates of Rapine, which are called Men of War, or in victualling, or bearing any Share in them, died rich, or possessed of any valuable Estate: And that as He walked one Morning about the Town, and upon the Quay, with an *English* Officer, who was a Lieutenant in that Garrison, They saw a poor old Man walk by them, whom the Lieutenant desired the Chancellor to observe; and when He was passed by, He told him, that He had known that Man the richest of any Man in the Town; that He had been the Owner of above ten Ships of War at one Time, without any Partner or Sharer with him; that He had had in his Warehouses in the Town, as much Goods and Merchandise together, as amounted to the Value of one hundred thousand Pounds, within seven Years before the Time He was then speaking; and after the Loss of two or three Frigates, He insensibly decayed so fast, that having begun to build another Frigate, which He shewed him as They walked, and which lay then not half finished, He was not able to go through with it; and that He was at that Time so poor, that He had not wherewith to maintain him, but received the Charity of those who had known him in a plentiful Estate: And this Relation He made in Confirmation of that Discourse and Observation; and it made so deep an Impression upon the Chancellor, that afterwards, when the War was between *England*, and *Holland*, and *France*, and when many Gentlemen thought it good Husbandry to adventure in the setting out such Ships of War, He always dissuaded his Friends from that Traffick, relating to them this Story, of the Truth whereof He had such Evidence; and did in Truth more-over in his own Judgment believe, that all Engagements

of that Kind were contrary to the Rules of Justice, and a good Conscience.

WHEN They came to *Flushing*, They thought it best to stay there, as the most likely Place to have Commerce with the Fleet; and They found there Colonel *William* <sup>He goes to Flushing;</sup> *Vavasour*, who had by the Prince's Commission drawn some Companies of Foot together, and expected some Vessel to be sent from the Fleet, for their Transportation; and *Carteret* was already dispatched, to inform the Prince of what had befallen the Treasurer and Chancellor, and that They waited his Commands at *Flushing*: And because *Middleburgh* would be as convenient to receive Intelligence, and more convenient for their Accommodation, They removed thither, and took a private Lodging; where, by having a Cook, and other Servants, They might make their own Provisions. They had been at *Middleburgh* very few Days, before the *Hind* Frigate was sent by the Prince to bring them to the Fleet, with Direction that They should make as much Haste as was possible; and They had no Occasion to delay; but the Wind was so directly against them for two or three Days, that They could not put themselves on Board. It was now about the Middle of *July*, when the Wind appeared fair, and They presently embarked and weighed Anchor, and sailed all the Night; but in the Morning the Wind changed, and blew so hard a Gale, that They were compelled to turn about, and came before Night again to *Flushing*; whence They endeavoured three Times more to get into the Downs, from whence They might easily have got to the Fleet; but as often as They put to Sea, so often They were driven back; and once with so violent a Storm, that their Ship was in Danger, and was driven in under the *Ramekins*; a Fort near the Mouth of the River that goes to *Middleburgh*; whither They again repaired: And the Winds were so long contrary, that They received Order from the Prince to repair into *Holland*; for that his Highness resolved within very few Days, it being now towards the End of *August*, to carry the Fleet thither; as He shortly after did. And by this Means, the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor were not able to attend the Prince, whilst He remained with the Fleet within the River of *Thames*; but were well informed, when They came to him, of all that had passed there.

from ibenca  
to Middle-  
burgh;

Embarks to  
attend the  
Prince in the  
River of  
Thames, but  
is driven back.



Arrives at  
the Hague.

THE Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as soon as They received Advertisment at *Middleburgb*, that the Prince resolved to return with the Fleet into *Holland*, made all the Haste They could to the *Hague*, it being then about the End of *August*; and came thither within one Day after the Prince's Arrival there.

THE next Morning after the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to the *Hague*, the Prince appointed his Council to meet together, to receive and deliberate upon a Message the Lord *Lautberdale* had brought him from the Parliament of *Scotland*, earnestly pressing him to repair forthwith to their Army; which was already entered into *England*, under the command of the Duke of *Hamilton* — The Chancellor reproves the Lord *Lautberdale* for his insolent Behaviour before the Council. *Vid. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 129, 130, &c.*

THE Factions in the Prince's Family, and the great Animosity which Prince *Rupert* had against the Lord *Colepepper*, infinitely disturbed the Counsels; and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer — *Colepepper* had Passions and Infirmities which no Friends could restrain; and Prince *Rupert*, though very well inclined to the Chancellor, was absolutely governed by *Herbert* the Attorney General, who industriously cultivated his Prejudice to *Colepepper* — *Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 149, &c.*

WHILST the Prince was at the *Hague*, He received the shocking Account of the Murder of the King his Father; and soon after, the Queen wrote to him from (110) *Paris*, advising him to repair into *France*, as soon as possible; and desiring him not to swear any Persons to be of his Council, till She could speak with him: But before He received her Letter, He had already caused those of his Father's Council, who had long attended him, to be sworn of his Privy Council; adding only Mr. *Long* his Secretary. He had no Mind to go into *France*; and it was evident that He could not be long able to reside at the *Hague*, an Agent from the Parliament being there at that very Time; so that it was Time to think of some other Retreat. *Ireland* was then thought most adviseable; some favourable Accounts having been received from thence, of the Transactions of the Marquis of *Ormond* and Lord *Inchiquin*, and  
of

of the Arrival of Prince *Rupert* at *Kinsale* with the Fleet. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 216.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to confer with the Marquis of *Montrose* in a Village near the *Haque*, upon the State of Affairs in *Scotland*. The Marquis came now into *Holland* to offer his Service to his Majesty; expecting that He would presently send him to *Scotland* with some Forces, to prepare the Way for his Majesty to follow after. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 223, &c.

THE King declared his Resolution of going into *Ireland*, and Preparations were made for that Expedition; which however, from Accidents that afterwards fell out, did not take Effect. The Lord *Cottington*, wishing to avoid the Fatigue of such Expeditions, took that Occasion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the Expediency of the King's sending an Embassy into *Spain*; and proposed that himself and the Chancellor should be appointed Ambassadors to that Court, to which the Chancellor consented; and upon the Lord *Cottington's* Representation of the Matter to the King, his Majesty soon after publicly declared his Resolution to send those Two, Ambassadors Extraordinary into *Spain*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 234, &c.

THIS was no sooner known, but all kind of People, who agreed in nothing else, murmured and complained of this Counsel; and the more, because it had never been mentioned, or debated in Council. Only the Scots were very glad of it (*Montrose* excepted) believing that when the Chancellor was gone, their beloved Covenant would not be so irreverently mentioned, and that the King would be wrought upon to withdraw all Countenance and Favour from the Marquis of *Montrose*; and the Marquis himself looked upon it as a deserting him, and complying with the other Party; and from that Time, though They lived with Civility towards each other, He withdrew very much of his Confidence, which He had formerly reposed in him. They who loved him were sorry for him, and themselves; They thought He deserted a Path He had long trod, and was well acquainted with; and was henceforward to move *extra Sphaeram Activitatis*, in an Office He had not been acquainted with; and then They should want his Credit to sup-

*The Murmurs of the Court on his being appointed Ambassador to Spain.*

support, and confirm them in the King's Favour and Grace: And there were many who were very sorry when They heard it, out of particular Duty to the King; who being young, They thought might be without that Counsel, and Advertisement, which They knew well He would still administer to him.

His own Consent in that Office.

No Man was more angry, and offended with the Counsel than the Lord *Colepepper*; who would have been very glad to have gone himself in the Employment, if He could have persuaded the Lord *Cottington* to have accepted his Company, which He would by no Means do; (111) and though He and the Chancellor were not thought to have the greatest Kindness for each other, yet He knew He could agree with no other Man so well in Business; and was very unwilling He should be from the Person of the King. But the Chancellor himself, from the Time that the King had signified his own Pleasure to him, was exceedingly pleased with the Commission; and did believe that He should in some Degree improve his Understanding, and very much refresh his Spirits, by what He should learn by the one, and by his Absence from being continually conversant with those Wants which could never be severed from that Court, and that Company which would be always corrupted by those Wants. And so He sent for his Wife and Children, to meet him at *Antwerp*, where He intended They should reside whilst He continued in *Spain*, and where They were like to find some Civilities in Respect of his Employment.

THE Ambassadors took Leave of the King before the Middle of *May*, and went to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and Family were arrived, who were to remain there during his Embassy — After staying two or three Days at *Antwerp*, They went to *Brussels*, to deliver their Credentials to the Arch-Duke, and to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to visit the *Spanish* Ministers there, &c. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 240.

WHEN the Ambassadors had dispatched all their Business at *Brussels*, They returned to *Antwerp*, to negotiate the Remittance of their Money to *Madrid*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

THE Queen is much displeased, that the King had taken any Resolutions, before She was consulted, and imputed all that had been done principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; suspecting He meant to exclude

clude her from meddling in the Affairs. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

LORD *Cottington* and the Chancellor, hearing that the King was on his Way to *France*, resolve to defer going to *St. Germain's*, till the King's first Interview with the Queen should be over.

ABOUT a Week after the King left *Brussels*, the two Ambassadors prosecuted their Journey to *Paris*; staid only one Day there; and then went to *St. Germain's*, where the King, and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families, and the Duke of *York* then were — They found that Court full of Jealousy, and Disorder — The Queen much troubled at the King's Behaviour to her, as if He had no Mind that She should interfere in his Affairs — She now attributes this Reservedness of the King towards her, more to the Influence of some Body else, than to the Chancellor of the Exchequer — He had a private Audience of the Queen — She complained of the King's Unkindness to her, and of the great Credit Mr. *Elliot* (one of his Majesty's Grooms of the Bedchamber) had with the King. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 243, &c.

ABOUT the Middle of *September*, the King left *St. Germain's*, and began his Journey towards *Jersey*, and the Queen removed to *Paris* — The two Ambassadors attended her Majesty thither, and prepared for their Journey into *Spain*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 252.

DURING the Time of their short Stay at *Paris*, the Queen used the Chancellor very graciously; but still expressed Trouble that He was sent on that Embassy, which She said, would be fruitless, as to any Advantage the King would receive from it; and She said, She must confess, that though She was not confident of his Affection and Kindness towards her, yet She believed that He did wish that the King's Carriage towards her should be always fair and respectful; and that She did desire that He might be always about his Majesty's Person; not only because She thought He understood the Business of *England* better than any Body else, but because She knew that He loved the King, and would always give him good Counsel, towards his living virtuously; and that She thought He had more Credit with him, than any other, who would deal plainly and honestly with him.

*The Queen is displeased at his going to Spain.*

THERE

• THERE was a Passage at that Time, of which He used to speak often, and looked upon as a great Honour to him: The Queen one Day amongst some of her Ladies, in whom She had most Confidence, expressed some Sharpness towards a Lord of the King's Council, whom She named not, who She said, always gave her the fairest Words, and promised her every Thing She desired, and had persuaded her to affect somewhat that She had before no Mind to; and yet She was well assured, that when the same was proposed to the King on her Behalf, He was the only Man who dissuaded the King from granting it. Some of the Ladies seemed to have the Curiosity to know who it was, which the Queen would not tell; one of them who was known to have a Friendship for him, said, She hoped it was not the Chancellor; to which her Majesty replied with some Quickness, that She might be sure it was not He, who was so far from making Promises, or giving fair Words, and flattering her, that She did verily believe, that if He thought her to be a Whore, He would tell her of it; which when that Lady told him, He was not displeased with the Testimony.

*The Queen's  
Opinion of  
his Sincerity.*

THE two Ambassadors began their Journey from Paris, on Michaelmas Day; and continued it without one Day's Rest to Bourdeaux — *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 253.

THEY continue their Journey to Bayonne; and from thence to St. Sebastian's; where They were told by the Corregidor, that He had received Directions from the Secretary of State, to persuade them to remain there till the King's farther Pleasure might be known; and They received a Packet from Sir Benjamin Wright at Madrid, inclosing a Pass for them, under the Title of Ambassadors from the Prince of Wales. They immediately sent an Express to the Court, complaining of their Treatment, and desiring to know, whether their Persons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majesty; and if otherwise, They desired They might be treated in the Manner due to the Honour and Dignity of the King their Master. They received an Answer full of Civility, imputing the Error, in the Style of their Pass, to the Negligence or Ignorance of the Secretary; and new Passes were sent to them in the proper Style, with Assurance, that They should find a very good Welcome from his Majesty — They left St. Sebastian's about the

the Middle of November — *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 254, 255.

(123) WHEN They came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, Sir *Benjamin Wright* came to them, and informed them, that all Things were in the State they were, when He writ to them at *St. Sebastian's*; that no House was yet prepared for their Reception; and that there was an evident Want of Attention for them in the Court; the *Spanish* Ambassadour in *England* having done them ill Offices, lest their good Reception in *Spain* might incense the Parliament — After a Week's stay in that little Town, They accepted of Sir *Benjamin Wright's* Invitation to his House at *Madrid*; They went privately thither, to reside *incognito* — The Court knew of their Arriyal, but took no Notice of it — Lord *Cottington* desired, and obtained a private Audience of Don *Lewis de Haro* — Don *Lewis* excused the Omissions towards the Ambassadors, on Pretence that the *Fiestas*, for their new Queen's Arrival, had engrossed the whole Attention of all the Officers about the Court; and promised immediate Reparation — Lord *Cottington* returned Home well satisfied — The Ambassadors are invited to see the Exercises of the *Fiestas*; and the Chancellor accordingly went to the Place assigned. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 256, 257.

THE Masquerade is an Exercise They learned from the Moors; performed by Squadrons of Horse, seeming to charge each other with great Fierceness; with Bucklers in their left Hands, and a Kind of Cane in their right; which, when They come within little more than a Horse's Length, They throw with all the Strength They can; and against them They defend themselves with very broad Bucklers; and as soon as They have thrown their Darts, They wheel about in a full Gallop, till They can turn to receive the like Assault from those whom They had charged; and so several Squadrons of twenty or five and twenty Horse run round, and charge each other. It hath at first the Appearance of a Martial Exercise; the Horses are very beautiful, and well adorned; the Men richly clad, and must be good Horsemen, otherwise They could not conduct the quick Motions and Turns of their Horses; all the rest is too childish; the Darts being nothing else but plain Bulrushes of the biggest Growth.

After

After this, They run the Course; which is like our running at the Ring; save that two run still together, and the swifter hath the Prize; a Post dividing them at the End: From the Start They run their Horses full Speed about fifty Paces, and the Judges are at that Post to determine who is first at the End.

*Description of  
the Toros.*

THE next Day, and so for two or three Days together, both the Ambassadors had a Box prepared for them, to see the *Toros*; which is a Spectacle very wonderful. Here the Place was very noble, being the Market-Place, a very large Square, built with handsome Brick Houses, which had all Balconies, which were adorned with Tapestry, and very beautiful Ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first Story; the lower Rooms being Shops, and for ordinary Use; and in the Division of those Scaffolds, all the Magistrates and Officers of the Town knew their Places. The Pavement of the Place was all covered with Gravel, which in Summer Time was upon those Occasions watered by Carts charged with Hogsheds of Water. As soon as the King comes, some Officers clear the whole Ground from the common People; so that there is no Man seen upon the Plain, but two or three *Alguazills*, Magistrates with their small white Wands. Then one of the four Gates which lead into the Streets is opened; at which the *Torreadors* enter, all Persons of Quality richly clad, and upon the best Horses in *Spain*, every one attended by eight, or ten, or more Lackeys, all clinquant with Gold and Silver Lace, who carry the Spears, which their Masters are to use against the Bulls; and with this Entry many of the common People break in, for which sometimes They pay very dear. The Persons on Horseback have all Cloaks folded up upon their left Shoulder, the least Disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great Disgrace; and in that grave Order, They march to the Place where the King sits, and after They have made the Reverences, They place themselves at a good Distance from one another, and expect the Bull.

THE Bulls are brought in the Night before from the (114) Mountains, by People used to that Work; who drive them into the Town when no Body is in the Streets, into a Pen made for them, which hath a Door that opens into that large Space; the Key whereof is sent to the King, which the King, when He sees every Thing ready, throws

to an *Alguazill*, who carries it to the Officer that keeps the Door; and He causes it to be opened when a single Bull is ready to come out. When the Bull enters, the common People who sit over the Door, or near it, strike him, or throw short Darts with sharp Points of Steel to provoke him to Rage: He commonly runs with all his Fury against the first Man he sees on Horseback; who watches him so carefully, and avoids him so dexterously, that when the Spectators believe him to be even between the Horns of the Bull, He avoids him by the quick Turn of his Horse, and with his Lance strikes the Bull upon a Vein that runs through his Pole, with which in a Moment he falls down dead. But this fatal Stroke can never be struck, but when the Bull comes so near upon the Turn of the Horse, that his Horn even touches the Rider's Leg; and so is at such a Distance, that He can shorten his Lance, and use the full Strength of his Arm in the Blow; and They who are the most skilful in the Exercise, do frequently kill the Beast with such an exact Stroke, insomuch as in a Day, two or three fall in that Manner: But if They miss the Vein, it only gives a Wound that the more enrages him.

SOMETIMES the Bull runs with so much Fierceness (for if he escapes the first Man, he runs upon the rest as They are in his Way) that he gores the Horse with his Horns, so that his Guts come out, and he falls, before the Rider can get from his Back. Sometimes, by the Strength of his Neck, he raises Horse and Man from the Ground, and throws both down; and then the greatest Danger is another Gore upon the Ground. In any of these Disgraces, or any other, by which the Rider comes to be dismounted, He is obliged in Honour to take his Revenge upon the Bull by his Sword, and upon his Head; towards which the Standers by assist him, by running after the Bull, and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder Legs; but before that Execution can be done, a good Bull hath his Revenge upon many poor Fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that no Body dares to attack him; and then the King calls for the Mastiffs, whereof two are let out at a Time, and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequently they are, the King then, as the last Refuge, calls for the *English* Mastiffs, of which They seldom turn out above one at a Time, and he rarely misses taking the Bull, and holding



him by the Nose, till the Men run in; and after They have hocked him, They quickly kill him.

In one of those Days there were no fewer than sixteen Horses, as good as any in *Spain*, the worst of which would that very Morning have yielded three hundred *Pistoles*, killed, and four or five Men; besides many more of both hurt, and some Men remained perpetually maimed: For after the Horsemen have done as much as They can, They withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble Fellows, to whom Money is thrown when They perform their Feats with Skill, stand to receive the Bulls, whereof the worst are reserved to the last; and it is a wonderful Thing to see with what Steadiness those Fellows will stand a full Career of the Bull, and by a little quick Motion upon one Foot, avoid him, and lay a Hand upon his Horn, as if They guided him from them; but then the next Standers by, who have not the same Activity, commonly pay for it; and there is no Day<sup>(115)</sup> without much Mischief. It is a very barbarous Exercise, and Triumph; in which so many Mens Lives are lost, and always ventured; but so rooted in the Affections of that Nation, that it is not in the King's Power, They say, to suppress it; though if He disliked it enough, He might forbear to be present at it.

THERE are three Festival Days in the Year, whereof *Midsummer* is one, on which the People hold it to be their Right to be treated with these Spectacles; not only in great Cities, where They are never disappointed, but in very ordinary Towns, where there are Places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual Days, upon any extraordinary Accidents of Joy, as at this Time for the Arrival of the Queen, upon the Birth of the King's Children, or any signal Victory, these Triumphs are repeated, which no Ecclesiastical Censures or Authority can suppress or discountenance; for Pope *Pius* the V, in the Time of *Philip* the II, and very probably with his Approbation, if not upon his Desire, published a Bull against the *Toros* in *Spain*, which is still in Force; in which He declared, that Nobody should be capable of *Christian* Burial, who lost his Life at those Spectacles, and that every Clergyman, who should be present at them, stood excommunicated *ipso facto*; and yet there is always one of the largest Galleries assigned to the Office of the Inquisition and the chief of the Clergy, which is  
always

always filled; besides that many Religious Men in their Habits get other Places; only the *Jesuits* out of their Submission to the supreme Authority of the Pope, are never present there; but on those Days, do always appoint some such solemn Exercise to be performed, that obliges their whole Body to be together.

THOUGH it is not the Course for the Ambassadors to make their Visits to those who come last, before They receive their first Audience from the King; yet the very Night They came to the Town, the *Venetian* Ambassador sent to congratulate their Arrival, and to know what Hour They would assign of the next Day to receive a Visit from him: To which They returned their Acknowledgments; and that when They had obtained their Audience of the King, They would be ready to receive that Honour from him. However, the very next Day He came to visit them; and He was no sooner gone, but the *German* Ambassador not sending Notice till He was at the Bottom of the Stairs, likewise came to them; and then the other Ambassadors, and Publick Ministers took their Times to make their Visits, without attending the Audience.

*The Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are visited by the other Ambassadors at Madrid before their Audience.*

THERE was one Thing very notable, that all the foreign Ministers residing then in *Madrid* (the *English* Ambassadors and the Resident of *Denmark* only excepted) were *Italians*; and all, but the *Venetian*, Subjects of the Great Duke. *Julio Rospigliosi* Nuntio for the Pope, was of *Pistoja*, and so a Subject to the Duke of *Florence*; a grave Man, and at that Time, save that his Health was not good, like to come to be, what He was afterwards, Pope, as He was *Clement* the IX. The Emperor's Ambassador, the Marquis of *Grana*, was likewise an *Italian*, and a Subject of *Florence*; He had been General of one of the Emperor's Armies, and was sent afterwards Ambassador to *Madrid*; He was a Man of great Parts; and the removing the Conde-Duke *Olivarez* from Court was imputed to his Artifice. He made the Match between the King and the present Queen, for which He expected to have the Cap of a Cardinal; and had received it, if He had not died before the following Creation; the Cardinal of *Hesse* being nominated by the Emperor upon his Death. He was a Man of an imperious and insolent Nature, and capable of any Temptation, and no Body was

*Some Account of the Ambassadors then at Madrid.*

*of Julio Rospigliosi.*

*Of the Marquis of Grana.*

more glad of his Death than his own Servants, over whom He was a great Tyrant.

*Of the Venetian Ambassadour.*

THE Ambassadour of *Venice*, *Pietro Basadonna*, a noble *Venetian*, was a Man, as all that Nation is, of great Civility, and much Profession; He was the first who told the Ambassadours, that the King their Master had a Resident at *Venice*, which was Mr. *Killigrew*; which They did not at first believe, having before They left *St. Germain's*, dissuaded the King from that Purpose; but afterwards his Majesty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that Capacity, He might borrow Money of *English* Merchants for his own Subsistence; which He did, and Nothing to the Honour of his Master; but was at last compelled to leave the Republick, for his vicious Behaviour; of which the *Venetian* Ambassadour complained to the King, when He came afterwards to *Paris*.

*Of the Polish Ambassadour.*

THE Ambassadour of the King of *Poland* was likewise a *Florentine*; who was much in Favour with the King *Uladislaus*, from whom He was sent; and continued by King *Casimir*. He had lived in great Splendour; but by his vicious Course of Life, and some Miscarriages, He fell very low, and was revoked with some Circumstances of Dishonour. He was a Man of a great Wit; if it had not served him to very ill Purposes. The Ambassadour of *Florence*, was a Subject of his Master, and an Abbot, a grave Man; and though He was frequently called Ambassadour, He was in Truth but Resident; which was discovered by a Contest He had with the *Denmark* Resident for Place, who alledged that the other was no more than Resident; which was true, and made the Discovery that the *Florentines* send no Ambassadours to *Madrid*, because They are not suffered to cover, which They use to do in many other Courts. The Arch-Duke of *Inspruck's*

*Of the Ambassadour of Florence.*

*Of the Arch-Duke of Inspruck's Minister.*

Minister was likewise a *Florentine*, and had been bred in *Spain*, and was a Knight of the Order; and supported that Character upon a small Assignment from his Master, for some Benefit and Advantage it gave him in Negotiations, and Pretences He had in that Court.

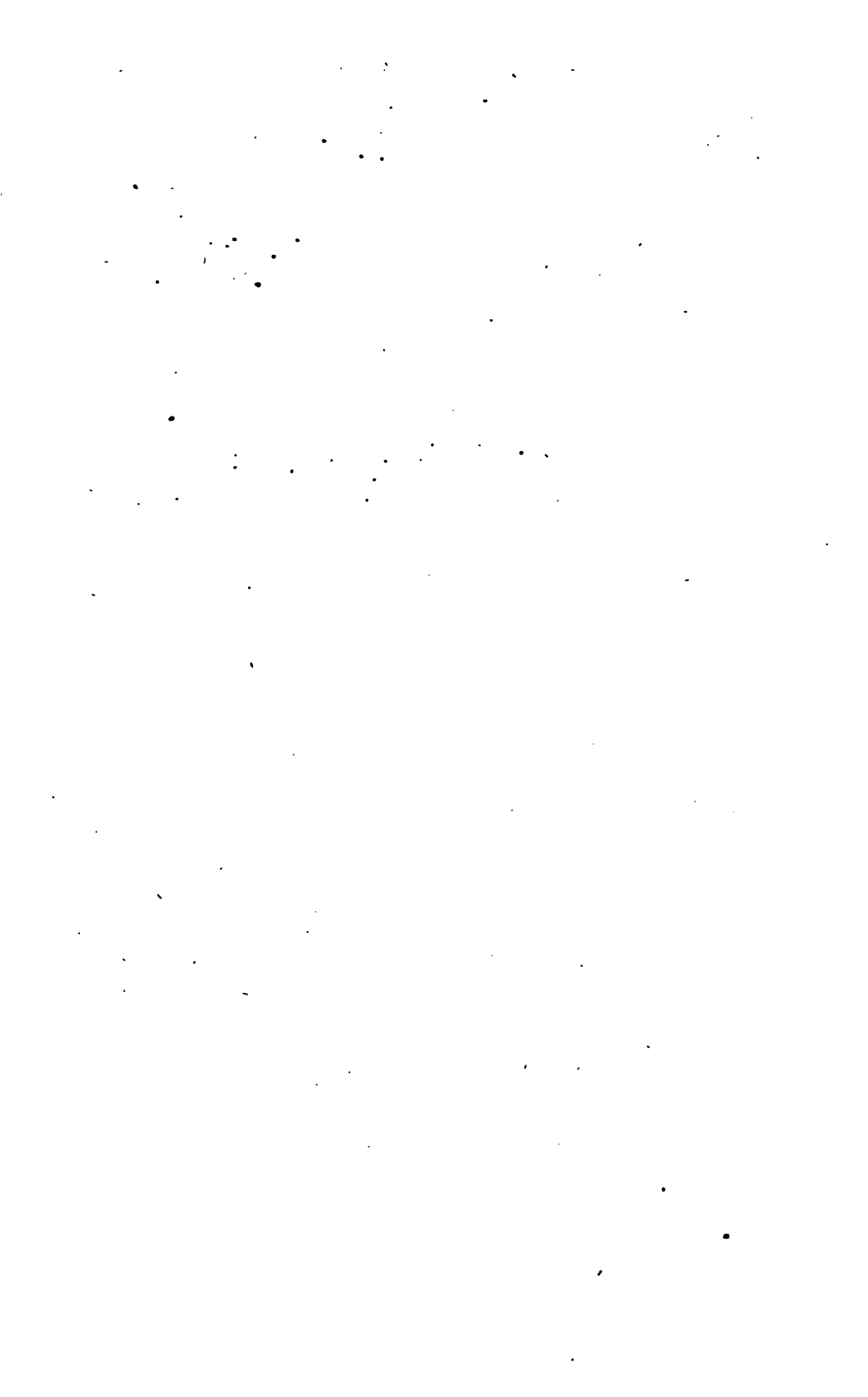
*Of the Resident of Denmark.*

THE Resident of *Denmark* was Don *Henrique Williamson* (He was afterwards called *Rosewell*) who came Secretary to *Hannibal Zestel*; who had been the Year before Ambassadour in that Court, and lived in extraordinary Splendour, as all the Northern Ministers do; who have not their Allowance from the King, but from a Revenue that

that is purposely set aside for that Kind of Service. When He went away, He left this Gentleman to remain there as Resident. He was a grave, and a sober Man, wiser than most of his Nation; and lived with much more Plenty, and with a better Retinue than any other Minister of that Rank in that Court.

THEY had not been many Days in *Madrid*, when Don *Lewis* sent them the News of the Imprisonment of the Prince of *Condè*, Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*; and that Marshall *Turenne* was fled into *Flanders*; so much the Cardinal had improved his Condition from the Time that They had left *Paris*. There was yet no House provided for them, which They took very heavily; and believed that it might advance that Business, if They had once a publick Reception as Ambassadors; and therefore They resolved to demand an Audience. Don *Lewis* came to be advertised, that the Ambassadors had prepared Mourning for themselves and all their Train, against their Audience, which was true; for They thought it the most proper Dress to appear in, and to demand Assistance to revenge the Murder of their Master, it being yet within the Year: But Don *Lewis* sent to them, that He hoped, that when the whole Court was *in Gala*, upon the Joy of the Marriage of the King, and (117) to give the Queen a cheerful Reception, They would not dishonour the Festival by appearing *in Luto*, which the King could not but take unkindly; which He said, He thought to advertise them of, out of Friendship, and without any Authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an Affair which seemed to have somewhat of Reason in it, as out of Apprehension, that from hence They might take Occasion to defer their Audience, They changed their Purpose, and caused new Cloaths to be made; and then sent to demand their Audience. *The English Ambassadors demand their Audience.*

*Montpelier,*  
1st of *March*, 1670.



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The LIFE of  
**EDWARD EARL of CLARENDON**

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL  
 FAMILY in the Year 1660.

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PART the SIXTH.

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(118) **T**HE Ambassadors were conducted in Form to their Audience of the King of *Spain*, and afterwards of the Queen, and Infanta; and at last a House was provided for them. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 259.

THEY perceived that Court was more inclined to cultivate a strict Friendship with the new Commonwealth of *England*, than with the King their Master, from an Opinion of his Condition being irrecoverable — After all Ceremonies were over, the Ambassadors had a private Audience of the King, to whom They delivered a Memorial containing their Propositions, and Demands — They received shortly after such an Answer, as was Evidence enough to them, how little They were to expect from any avowed Friendship of that Crown — They rested for some Time without giving themselves any farther Trouble (*History of the Rebellion*, Folio, Vol. 3. P. 261, 262.) and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant Retreat from Business, if They could have put off the Thought of the miserable Condition of their Master, and their own particular Concernments in their own Country. The Chancellor be- took himself to the learning their Language, by reading their Books, of which He made a good Collection; and

*The Chan-  
 cellor of the Ex-  
 chequer ap-  
 plies himself  
 to the learn-  
 ing Spanish.*

informing himself the best He could, of their Government, and the Administration of their Justice: And there began his Devotions upon the Psalms, which He finished in another Banishment.

PRINCE *Rupert* came upon the Coast of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; and wrote to the Chancellor, acquainting him, that He had brought away all the Fleet from *Ireland*; and desiring him to procure Orders from the Court, that He might find a good Reception in all the *Spanish* Ports, if his Occasions brought him thither — The News of a Fleet of the King of *England* being on their Coast, at a Time when their *Galleons* were expected Home, occasioned great Alteration in the Behaviour of that Court; and all that the Ambassadors asked, was easily granted; but that seeming favourable Disposition was of short Duration; for on the Arrival afterwards of a strong Fleet sent out by the Parliament, and the Commander thereof writing an insolent Letter to the King of *Spain*, the Ambassadors found themselves less regarded — *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 262, 263.

THE King had now determined to go into *Scotland*, upon the Invitation of the Council, and Parliament of that Kingdom; and the Ambassadors, who in Reality disapproved of that Measure, notified it to the Court of *Spain*, as a happy Turn in the King's Affairs; setting forth, that his Majesty was now Master of that Kingdom; and therefore might reasonably hope to be restored to the Possession of the rest of his Dominions — The Court of *Spain* then began again to treat the Ambassadors with more Regard — *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 269.

UPON the News of *Cromwell's* Victory over the Marquis of *Argyle's* Army in *Scotland*, the Ambassadors received a Message from the King of *Spain*, desiring them to depart, since their Presence in the Court would be prejudicial to his Affairs — They imagined this proceeded from the Expectation of the Arrival of an Ambassador from the Commonwealth of *England*, which was then reported; but They knew afterwards that the true Cause of this Impatience to get rid of them was, that their Minister in *England*, having purchased many of the King's Pictures, and rich Furniture, had sent them to the *Grzyne*; from whence They were expected

pected to arrive about that Time, at *Madrid*: Which They thought could not decently be brought to the Palace, while the Ambassadors remained at the Court — *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 295.

LORD *Cottington* resolves, and obtains Leave to stay as a private Man in *Spain*; but is not permitted to reside at *Madrid*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 297.

THE other Ambassadors made his Journey by *Alcala*; and staid a Day there, to see that University, where the College, and other Buildings made by the Cardinal *Ximenes*, are well worth the seeing; and went through the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Pampeluna*, where the Vice-King, the Duke of *Escalona*, received him; and lodged him two Days in the Palace; and treated him with great Civility. There He was seized upon with the Gout; yet He continued his Journey by Mules, there being no Passage by Coach or Litter, over the *Pirenees*, to *Bayonne*; where He was forced to keep his Bed, and to bleed, for many Days; but was so impatient of Delay, that after a Week's Rest, and before He was fit for the Journey, He put himself into a Litter, and reached *Bordeaux*; where He was forced to follow the Prescription of Dr. *Lopez*, a very learned Jew, and Physician; and yet went too soon from thence too; so that when He came to *Paris*, He was cast into his Bed by a new Defluxion of the Gout, more violent than ever.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer begins his Journey from Madrid,*

*And arrives at Paris.*

As soon as He had recovered any Strength, He waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciously; complained very much to him of the Duke of *York*; who having been left with her by the King when He parted with her Majesty at *Beauvais*, had expressly against her Consent and Command, transported himself to *Brussels*, upon Imaginations which had no Foundation, and upon some Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*, which She was sure could produce no good Effect. Her Majesty seemed most offended with Sir *Edward Herbert* the Attorney General, and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, as the two Persons who prevailed with the Duke, and had engaged him in that Journey, and governed him in it, against the Advice of the Lord *Byron*, who was his Governor; and that being disappointed of what They had unreasonably looked for at *Brussels*, They had carried his Royal Highness into *Holland*, to his Sister, who suffered much by his Presence; the States of *Holland* being resolved

*The Queen's Complaint to him of the Duke of York.*



solved not to suffer him to reside within their Province; the Prince of *Orange* being lately dead of the Small Pox, and his Son, who was born after his Death, being an Infant, and depending so entirely upon the good Will of the States; and therefore the Princess Royal was much troubled that the coming of the Duke her Brother into those Parts gave the States any Occasion of Offence. The Queen said, that She had writ to the Duke to return into *France*, but had received no Answer; and therefore She desired the Ambassadour, as soon as He should come into those Parts (for He meant to go to *Antwerp*, where his Wife and Children then were) that He would make a Journey to the *Hague*, to reduce the Duke, and to prevail with him to return into *France*; which the Ambassadour could not refuse to promise.

*Dr. Cofins  
forbid to officiate to the  
Protestants in  
the Queen's  
Family.*

He found there the Queen's own Family in some Disorder, upon some Declaration She had made, that the Protestant Chaplain should be no more permitted to perform his Function in the *Louvre*; where the Queen's Court resided, and where there was a lower Room which had been always used as a Chapel, from the Time of the Prince's first coming thither, to that Time; and where twice a Day, the Common Prayer was read to those who were Protestants in both Families; and now the Queen had signified to Dr. *Cofins* (who was the Chaplain assigned by the late King, to attend in her Majesty's Family for the Protestant Part of it) that He should be no more permitted to have the Use of that Room.

*The Chancellor  
speaks to  
the Queen on  
that Subject.*

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer took this Occasion to speak with the Queen; and put her in Mind of some Promise She had made him, when He took his Leave of her to go for *Spain*, that She would not withdraw her Stipend, which She allowed to Dr. *Cofins*; whereby He must be compelled to withdraw; and so the Protestant Part of her Family would be deprived of their publick Devotions; which Promise She had observed to that Time: But if now the Room should be taken from that Use, it would be the same Thing, as if the Chaplain was turned away. He put her Majesty in Mind of the ill Impression it might make in the Hearts of the Protestants in *England*, who retained their Respects and Duty for her Majesty; and of what pernicious Consequence it might prove to the King, who was still in *Scotland* in a hopeful Condition, and depended most upon the Affections of his

his Protestant Subjects of *England*; and in the last Place, whether it might not prove a better Argument to those, who were suspected by her to mislead the Duke of *York*, to dissuade him from returning to her, since She would not permit him to have the Exercise of his Religion. The Queen seemed to think that what He said was not without Reason, and confessed that She was not the Author of this new Resolution, which She did not believe to be seasonable.

M<sup>r</sup>. *Walter Mountague*, who had some Years ago changed his Religion, and was become Catholick, after He had sustained a long Imprisonment in the *Tower of London*, procured his Release from thence, upon Assurance that He would no more return into *England*; and so came into *France*, where He was very well known in the *French*, as well, as the *English* Court, and in great Reputation and Esteem with both Queens. He appeared a Man wholly restrained from all the Vanity and Levity of his former Life, and perfectly mortified to the Pleasures of the World, which He had enjoyed in a very great Measure and Excess.

- (111) He dedicated himself to his Studies with great Austerity; and seemed to have no Affection, or Ambition for Preferment, but to live within himself upon the very moderate Exhibition He had left to him by his Father; and in this melancholick Retreat He had newly taken the Order of Priesthood; which was in Truth, the most reasonable Way to satisfy his Ambition, if He had any left; for both the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, could not but liberally provide for his Support in that Profession; which They did very shortly after: And this devout Profession, and new Function much improved the Interest and Credit He always had in his old Mistress; who very much hearkened to him in Cases of Conscience: And She confessed to the Chancellor, that He was a little too bigotted in this Affair; and had not only pressed her very passionately to remove the Scandal of having a Protestant Chapel in her House, as inconsistent with a good Conscience, but had likewise inflamed the Queen Regent with the same Zeal; who had very earnestly pressed and importuned her Majesty no longer to permit that Offence to be given to the Catholick Religion. And upon this Occasion She lamented the Death of her late Confessor, Father *Philips*, who, She said, was a very discreet Man; and

and would never suffer her to be troubled with such Infusions and Scruples. In Conclusion, She wished him to confer with Mr. *Mountague*, and to try if He could withdraw him from that Asperity in that Particular; to which Purpose, the Chancellor conferred with him, but without any Effect.

*The Chancellor confers with Mr. Mountague thereon, but without Effect.*

HE said, the House was the King of *France's*, who only permitted the Queen to live there; and that the Queen Regent thought her self bound in Conscience no longer to suffer that Reproach, of which She had never had Information till very lately: That if the Duke of *York* came thither, there was no Thought or Purpose to deny him the Exercise of his Religion; He might have his Chaplain say Prayers to him in his own Chamber, or in some Room adjacent, which served likewise to all other Purposes; but that the setting a Room apart, as this was, for that Service, was upon the Matter dedicating it as a Chapel, for the Exercise of a Religion, contrary to what was established in that Kingdom; which the King of *France* would not suffer to be done in a House of his, though the King should return thither again. He undervalued all the Considerations which were offered of *England*, or of a Protestant Interest; as if He thought them all, as no Doubt He did, of no Importance to the King's Restoration, which could never be effected but by that Interest which was quite opposite to it. When He gave the Queen an Account of this Discourse, He prevailed so far with her, that She promised, in Case She should be compelled to take away that Room, as She foresaw She should be, the Family should be permitted to meet in some other Room; and if the Duke of *York* came, the Place that should be appointed for his Devotions, should serve for all the rest to resort to.

*The Chancellor goes to Brussels,*

As soon as the Chancellor had recovered his Strength, He took Leave of the Queen, and pursued his Journey for *Flanders*. At *Brussels* He staid till He had an Audience of the Arch-Duke, to whom He had Letters from the King of *Spain*, and Don *Lewis*; by which the King signified his Pleasure, that He should reside any where in those Provinces He best liked, until He could conveniently repair to the King his Master; and that in the mean Time He should enjoy all the Privileges due to an Ambassadour: And so He had his Audience in that Quality. He spake in *Latin*, and the Arch-Duke answering in the same, assured

*has an Audience of the Arch-Duke:*

(122) fured him of all the Respects He could pay him, whilst He staid in those Parts; and thereupon He went to his Family at *Antwerp*, and kept that Character till the King's coming into *France*, and his Return to him; by Means whereof He enjoyed many Privileges, and Exemptions in the Town; and had the Freedom of his Chapel, not only for his own Devotions, but for the Resort of all the Protestants, who were then in the Town; whereof the Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *Charles Cavendish* were the principal; who came always on the *Sundays*, and frequently on the Week Days, to the Common Prayer, to the Grief of many *English*, and *Irish* Roman Catholicks; who used all the malicious Artifices They could, to procure that Liberty to be restrained; and which could not have been enjoyed under any other Concession, than by the Privilege of an Ambassadour.

*And resides with his Family at Antwerp in the Character of Ambassadour.*

WHILST He was preparing to make a Journey to the *Hague* to wait upon the Duke of *York*, according to the Promise He had made to the Queen, He received Information from the *Hague*, that his Royal Highness would be at *Breda* such a Day; whereupon He was glad to shorten his Journey, and at the Day, to kiss his Hands there; where He found his Highness newly arrived, and in an Inclination enough to return to the Queen; so that the Chancellor had no great Task to confirm him in that Resolution; nor in Truth did He know what else to do: However all about him were very glad of the Chancellor's Presence, every Body hoping to get him to their Party, that He might be ready to make a fair Report of their Behaviour to the King; whom They knew the Queen would endeavour to incense against them.

*He goes to the Duke of York at Breda, to persuade him to return to Paris.*

NEVER little Family was torn into so many Pieces and Factions. The Duke was very young; yet loved Intrigues so well, that He was too much inclined to hearken to any Men, who had the Confidence to make bold Propositions to him. The King had appointed him to remain with the Queen; and to obey her in all Things, Religion only excepted. The Lord *Byron* was his Governour, ordained to be so by his Father, and very fit for that Province; being a very fine Gentleman, well bred both in *France* and *Italy*, and perfectly versed in both Languages; of great Courage, and Fidelity; and in all Respects qualified for the Trust; but his being absent in the King's Service, when the Duke made his Escape out of *England*, and

*Some Account of the Duke of York's Family.*

and Sir *John Berkley* being then put about him, all Pains had been taken to lessen his Esteem of the Lord *Byron*; and Sir *John Berkley*, knowing that He could no longer remain Governour when the Lord *Byron* came thither, and hearing that He was in his Journey, infused into the Duke's Mind, that it was a great lessening of his Dignity at that Age (when He was not above fourteen Years of Age, and backward enough for that Age) to be under a Governour; and so partly by disesteeming the Person, and partly by reproaching the Office, He grew less inclined to the Person of that good Lord, than He should have been.

BUT what Title soever any Body had, the whole Authority was in the Queen, not only by the Direction of the King, but by inevitable Necessity; for there was no Kind of Fund assigned for the Support of the Duke; but He depended entirely upon the Queen his Mother's Bounty, who had no more assigned for her self, than They, to whom the Management thereof was committed, knew well how to dispose of, nor was it enough to serve their Occasions; so that her Majesty herself certainly spent less upon her own Person, or in any Thing relating to herself, than ever any Queen, or Lady of a very eminent Degree did. This visible and total Dependance of the Duke upon his Mother, made her Majesty the less apprehensive of his doing any Thing contrary to her liking; and there was not that Care for the general Part of his<sup>(123)</sup> Education, nor that Indulgence to his Person, as ought to have been; and the Queen's own Carriage and Behaviour towards him was at least severe enough, as it had been before to the King, in the Time that He was Prince; which then, and now gave Opportunity to those, who were not themselves at Ease, to make many Infusions; which, how contrary soever to their Duties, were not so unreasonable, as to be easily rejected, or to make no Impression.

THE King at his going from *Beauvais* in his Voyage for *Scotland*, had given some Recommendation to the Duke his Brother of Sir *George Ratcliffe*, to whose Care his Father had once designed to commit him, when He meant to have sent him into *Ireland*; and his Majesty had likewise, at the same Time at *Beauvais*, made some Promise to Sir *George Ratcliffe* of some Place about his Brother, when his Family should be settled, of which there was then

then little Appearance: However it was enough to entitle him to give his frequent Attendance upon the Duke; and the general Reputation He had, of having been the Person of the nearest Trust with the *Earl of Strafford*, might well dispose the Duke to think him a wise Man, and the better to esteem any Thing He said to him.

SIR *Edward Herbert* thought himself the wisest Man that followed the King's Fortune, and was always angry that He had no more to do; and now Prince *Rupert* was absent, endeavoured all He could, to get Credit with the Duke of *York*; and came very frequently to him, and held him in long Whispers, which the Duke easily indulged to him, out of a real Belief that He was a Man of great Wisdom and Experience. The Queen liked neither of these two; which They well enough discerning, grew into a Friendship, or rather a Familiarity together, though They were of the most different Natures and Humours imaginable: *Ratcliffe* being a Man very capable of Business; and if the Prosperity of his former Fortune had not raised in him some Fumes of Vanity and Self-conceitedness, was very fit to be advised with; being of a Nature constant and sincere; which the other was not; yet They agreed well in the Design of making the Duke of *York* discontented, and weary of his Condition; which was not pleasant enough to be much delighted in.

THE News from *England*, of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, made most Men believe that his Majesty was irrecoverably lost; and there was for some Time a Rumour scattered abroad, and by many believed, that the King was dead. These two Gentlemen, upon the Fame of this, consulted together, whether, if the News were or should be true, the Duke of *York*, who must succeed, were in a good Place; and both concluded, that in that Case, it would not be fit that He should be with his Mother. Hereupon They persuaded the Duke, that it was not fit for him to remain idle in *France*, but to employ himself Abroad, whereby his Experience might be improved; and He might put himself into a Posture to be able to assist the King his Brother; or if any Misfortune should befall him, in some Degree to provide for himself; and proposed to him, that He would resolve to make a Journey to *Brussels*, to advise and consult with the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was a Prince of great Wisdom, Wealth, and Courage; and being driven out of his own Country by too powerful and potent a Neighbour, had

*The Cause of  
the Duke of  
York's leaving  
Paris.*

had yet by his own Activity and Virtue made himself so considerable, that *Spain* depended upon his Army, and *France* it self would be glad of his Friendship; that He was very rich, and would not be only able to give the Duke good Counsel, but Assistance to make it effectual.

THE Duke without farther examining the Probability<sup>(124)</sup> of the Design, which He concluded had been thought upon enough by two such wise Men, gave his full Consent to it; and They having likewise found Credit for so much Money as would defray the Charges of the Journey, and really believing that the King was dead, the Duke one Day told the Queen, that He was resolved to make a Journey to *Brussels* to see the Duke of *Lorraine*; with which the Queen being surprized, used both her Reason and her Authority to dissuade him from it, but could not prevail by either; his Highness telling her very obstinately, that He would begin his Journey within two Days. She found that none of his Servants were privy to the Design, or were at all acquainted with the Purpose; and quickly discovered the two Counsellors; who having no Relation to his Service that She knew, were prepared to wait on him, and had drawn Dr. *Steward* (who was Dean of the Chapel to the King, and left behind, when his Majesty went for *Scotland*, with Direction to be with the Duke of *York*) to be of their Party.

Character of  
Dr. Steward.

THE Doctor was a very honest, and learned Gentleman; and most conversant in that Learning, which vindicated the Dignity and Authority of the Church, upon which his Heart was most entirely set; not without some Prejudice to those, who thought there was any other Object to be more carefully pursued. Sir *George Ratcliffe* seemed to be of his Mind; and so was looked upon by him as one of the best Friends of the Church, which was Virtue enough to cover many Defects. He told him of the Rumour of the Death of the King, and what Conference had been between him and the Attorney General upon it, which They both believed; and how necessary They thought it was for the Duke to be out of *France*, when the Certainty of that News should arrive: That They had spoken with the Duke of it, who seemed very well disposed; yet They knew not how his Mother's Authority might prevail over his Obedience; and therefore wished that He would speak with the Duke, who had great Reverence for him in all Matters of Conscience, and  
remove

remove any Scruples which might arise. The Doctor did not think himself so much regarded by the Queen, as He expected to be; and did really believe the Case to be such as the other had informed him; and confirmed the Duke in his Resolution, notwithstanding any Thing his Mother should say to the contrary; and the Queen could neither say, or do any Thing to dissuade him from the Journey.

THE Lord *Byron* his Governour, and Mr. *Bennet* his Secretary, both well liked by the Queen, and of great Confidence in each other, thought it their Duty to attend upon him. Sir *John Berkley* staid behind, as well to avoid the being inferior to another, which He always abhorred, as to prosecute an Amour, which He was newly embarked in; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Edward Herbert*, and the good Doctor were so to improve their Interest, that neither the Queen, or any who depended on her, might have any Credit with the Duke. Most of the inferior Servants depended upon them, because They saw They had most Interest with their Master; and with these Thoughts and Resolutions, They all set out for *Brussels*; and these wild Notions were the true Reasons, and Foundation of that Journey, which many sober Men so much wondered at then, and so much censured afterwards.

WHEN his Highness came to *Brussels*, He was accommodated in the House of Sir *Henry De Vic*, the King's Resident there: And He was no sooner there, but They began to model his House, and regulate his Family; towards which, Sir *George Ratcliffe* was designed to manage all the Affairs of Money; the Attorney contenting himself with having the greatest Power in governing the Councils; and all looking for other Stations upon the Arrival of the News from *Scotland*. But in a short Time the Intelligence from thence was quite contrary to what They expected; the King was not only in good Health, but his Affairs in no desperate Condition; all Factions seemed reconciled; and He was at the Head of an Army that looked *Cromwell* in the Face.

HEREUPON They were at a great Stand in their Councils. The Duke of *Lorrain* had been civil to the Duke, and had at his first coming lent him some Money; but when He found he was without any Design, and by what Persons his Counsels were directed, He grew colder in his Respects: And They who had gone thus far, took upon



them the Presumption to propose a Marriage between the Duke of *York*, and a natural Daughter of the Duke of *Lorrain*; his Marriage with *Madame de Cantecroix*, the Mother of the said Lady, being declared void in the Court of *Rome*: But the Duke of *Lorrain* was so wise as not to entertain the Motion, except it should be made with the King's Privy. So apt are unexperienced Men, when They are once out of the Way, to wander into Bogs and Precipices, before They will be sensible of their false Conduct. When They found there was Nothing to be done at *Brussels*, They persuaded the Duke to go to the *Hague*, with as little Design; and when They had wearied all People there, They came to *Breda*, where the Chancellor had met them.

*The State of  
the Duke of  
York's Fa-  
mily at Bre-  
da.*

THE Duke himself was so young, that He was rather delighted with the Journeys He had made, than sensible that He had not entered upon them with Reason enough; and They had fortified him with a firm Resolution, never to acknowledge that He had committed any Error. But his Counsellors had lost all the Pleasure of their Combination; and reproached each other of their Follies and Presumptions, with all the Animosity imaginable. The Lord *Byron* and Mr. *Bennet*, who had comforted each other in their Sufferings, were glad enough to see that there was some End put to their Peregrinations; and that by returning to the Queen, They were like to find some Rest again: And They entertained the Chancellor with many ridiculous Relations of the Politicks of the Attorney and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and of the pleasant Discourses the Duke of *Lorrain* made of the *Latin* Orations, Sir *George Ratcliffe* had entertained him with.

ON the other Hand, Sir *George* was well pleased with the Grace He had received from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and with the Testimony He had given of him to some Men, who had told him of it again, that He was a very grave and a wise Man; and that He wished He had such another to look after his Affairs. He, and Dr. *Steward* continued their Affections towards each other; and concurred in most bitter Invectives against Sir *Edward Herbert*, as a mad Man, and of that intolerable Pride, that it was not possible for any Man to converse with him; and the Attorney as frankly reproached them all, with being Men of no Parts, of no Understanding, no Learning, no Principles, and no Resolution; and was so just to them all,

all, as to condemn every Man alike; and in Truth, had rendered himself so grievous to them all, and behaved himself so insolently towards all, that there was not a Man who desired to be in his Company: Yet by the Knack of his Talk, which was the most like Reason, and not it, He retained still great Credit with the Duke; who being (126) still confounded with his positive Discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easy to be understood.

THE Duke upon the Receipt of the Queen's Letters, which the Chancellor delivered to him, resolved upon his Journey to *Paris*, without farther Delay; and the Chancellor waiting upon his Highness as far as *Antwerp*, He prosecuted his Journey with the same Retinue He had carried with him; and was received by his Mother without those Expostulations and Reprehensions, which He might have expected; though her Severity was the same towards all those, who She thought had the Credit and Power to seduce him.

THE Chancellor was now at a little Rest again with his own Family in *Antwerp*, and had Time to be vacant to his own Thoughts, and Books; and in the Interval to enjoy the Conversation of many worthy Persons of his own Nation, who had chosen that Place to spend the Time of their Banishment in. There was the Marquis of *Newcastle*, who having married a young Lady, confined himself most to her Company, and lived as retired, as his ruined Condition in *England* obliged him to; yet with Honour and Decency, and with much Respect paid him by all Men, as well Foreigners, as those of his own Country. The Conversation the Chancellor took most Delight in, was that of Sir *Charles Cavendish*, Brother to the Marquis; who was one of the most extraordinary Persons of that Age, in all the noble Endowments of the Mind. He had all the Disadvantages imaginable in his Person; which was not only of so small a Size, that it drew the Eyes of Men upon him; but with such Deformity in his little Person, and an Aspect in his Countenance, that was apter to raise Contempt than Application: But in this unhandsome or homely Habitation, there was a Mind and a Soul lodged that was very lovely and beautiful; cultivated, and polished by all the Knowledge and Wisdom, that Arts and Sciences could supply it with. He was a great Philosopher, in the Ex-

*The Chancellor's Friendship with, and Character of Sir Charles Cavendish.*

tent of it; and an excellent Mathematician; whose Correspondence was very dear to *Gassendus* and *Descartes*; the last of which dedicated some of his Works to him. He had very notable Courage; and the Vigour of his Mind so adorned his Body, that being with his Brother the Marquis in all the War, He usually went out in all Parties, and was present, and charged the Enemy in all Battles, with as keen a Courage as could dwell in the Heart of Man. But then the Gentleness of his Disposition, the Humility and Meekness of his Nature, and the Vivacity of his Wit was admirable. He was so modest, that He could hardly be prevailed with to enlarge himself on Subjects He understood better than other Men, except He were pressed by his very familiar Friends; as if He thought it Presumption to know more than handsomer Men use to do. Above all, his Virtue and Piety was such, that no Temptation could work upon him to consent to any Thing, that swerved in the least Degree from the precise Rules of Honour, or the most severe Rules of Conscience.

WHEN He was exceedingly importuned by those whom He loved best to go into *England*, and compound for his Estate, which was very good, that thereby He might be enabled to help his Friends, who were reduced into great Streights; He refused it, out of Apprehension that He might be required to take the *Covenant*, or *Engagement*, or to do somewhat else, which his Conscience would not permit him to do: And when They endeavoured to undervalue that Conscience, and to persuade him not to be governed by it, that would expose him to Famine, and restrain him from being charitable to his best Friends; He was so offended with their Argumentation, that He<sup>(127)</sup> would no more admit any Discourse upon the Subject. Upon which They applied themselves to the Chancellor, who They thought had most Credit with him; and desired him to persuade him to make a Journey into *England*, the Benefit whereof to him and themselves was very intelligible; but informed him not of his Refusal, and the Arguments They used to convert him.

*The Chancellor  
persuades  
Sir Charles  
Cavendish to  
go into Eng-  
land.*

THE next Time They met, which They usually did once a Day, the Chancellor told him, He heard He had a Purpose to make a Journey into *England*; to which He suddenly answered, that indeed He was desired to do so, but that He had positively refused; and thereupon with much

much Warmth and Indignation, related what Importunity, and what Arguments had been used to him, and what He had answered: And thereupon said, that his present Condition was in no Degree pleasant or easy to him (as in Truth it was not, He being in very visible Want of ordinary Conveniences) but, He protested, that He would rather submit to Nakedness, or starving in the Street, than subscribe to the *Covenant*, or *Engagement*, or do any Thing else that might trench upon his Honour or his Conscience. To which the Chancellor replied, that his Resolution became him, and was worthy of his Wisdom and Honesty; and that if He found him inclined to do any Thing that might trench upon either, He was so much his Friend, that He would put him in Mind of his Obligations to both; that indeed the Arguments which had been used to him could never prevail upon a virtuous Mind; however, He told him, He thought the Motion from his Friends might be a little more considered, before it was rejected; and confessed to him that He was desired to confer with him about it, and to dispose him to it; without being informed, that any Attempt had been already made: And then asked him, whether He did in Truth believe, that his Journey thither might probably produce those Benefits to himself and his Friends, as They imagined; and then it would be fit to consider whether those Conveniences were to be purchased at a dearer Price than they were worth.

He answered, there could be no Doubt, but that if He could go thither with Safety, and be admitted to compound for his Estate, as others did, He could then sell it at so good a Price, that He could not only provide for a competent Subsistence for himself, when He returned, but likewise assist his Friends for their better Support; and that He could otherwise, out of Lands that were in Trust, and not known to be his, and so had not been yet sequestered, raise other Sums of Money, which would be attended with many Conveniences; and He confessed Nothing of all this could be done without his own Presence. But then that which deprived him of all this was, in the first Place, the Apprehension of Imprisonment, which, He said, his Constitution would not bear; but especially, because by their own Ordinance, no Body was capable to compound, till He had subscribed to the *Covenant* and *Engagement*; which He would not

do to save his Life; and that in what Necessity soever He was, He valued what Benefit He could possibly receive by the Journey, only as it might consist with his Innocence, and Liberty to return; and since He could not reasonably presume of either, He had no Thought of going.

THE Chancellor told him, that They were both of the same Mind in all Things which related to Conscience and Honour; but yet, since the Benefits which might result from this Journey were great, and very probable, and in some Degree certain, and the Mischiefs He apprehended were not certain, and possibly might be avoided, He thought He was not to lay aside all Thoughts of the (128) Journey, which He was so importuned to undertake by those who were so dear to him. That He was of the Few who had many Friends, and no Enemies; and therefore had no Reason to fear Imprisonment, or any other Rigour extraordinary, which was seldom used, but to Persons under some notable Prejudice. That after He once came to *London*, He would not take much Pleasure in going abroad; but might dispatch his Business by others, who would repair to him: And that for the *Covenant* and *Engagement*, they were so contrary, that both were rarely offered to the same Person; and They had now so much jostled, and reviled each other, that they were neither in so much Credit as they had been, and were not pressed, but upon such Persons, against whom They had a particular Design; however He went well armed as to that Point, with a Resolution not to submit to either; and the worst that could happen, was to return without the full Effect of his Journey. Whereas if those Mischiefs could be avoided, which the skilfull upon the Place could only instruct him in, He would return with great Benefit and Satisfaction to himself and his Friends: And if He were subjected to Imprisonment (which He ought not to apprehend, and could be but short) even in that Case, his Journey could not be without Fruit, by the Conference and Transactions with his Friends; though no Composition could be made. Upon revolving these Considerations, He resolved to undertake the Journey; and performed it so happily, without those Obstructions He feared, that He finished all He proposed to himself, and made a competent Provision to support his Brother during his Distress; though when He had  
dispatched

dispatched it, He liyed not to enjoy the Repose He desired, but died before He could return to *Antwerp*; and the Marquis ever after publickly acknowledged the Benefit He received hereby to the Chancellor's Advice.

As soon as the Chancellor had reposed himself at *Antwerp*, after so much Fatigue, He thought it necessary to give some Account of himself to the King; and though the Prohibition before his going into *Scotland*, and the sending away many of the Servants who attended him thither out of the Kingdom, made it unfit for him to repair thither himself; He resolved to send his Secretary (a Man of Fidelity, and well known to the King) to inform his Majesty of all that had passed, and to bring back his Commands; but when He was at *Amsterdam*, ready to embark upon a Ship bound for *Scotland*, the News arrived there of his Majesty's being upon his March for *England*; upon which He returned to *Antwerp*; where He found the Spirits of all the *English* exalted with the same Advertisement.

As soon as the King came to *Paris* (after his wonderful Deliverance from the Battle of *Worcester*) and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, his Majesty sent to him to repair thither, which He accordingly did; and for the first four or five Days after his Arrival, the King spent many Hours with him in Private, and informed him of many Particulars of the Treatment He had met with in *Scotland*; of his March into *England*; of the Confusion at *Worcester*; and all the Circumstances of his happy Escape and Deliverance. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 332.

THE Chancellor was yet looked upon with no ungracious Eye by her Majesty; only the Lord *Jermyn* knew well He would never resign himself to be disposed of, which was the Temper that could only endear any Man to him: For besides former Experience, an Attempt had  
(229) been lately made upon him by Sir *John Berkley*; who told him, that the Queen had a good Opinion of him, and knew well in how ill a Condition He must be, in Respect of his Subsistence; and that She would assign him such a competent Maintenance, that He should be able to draw his Family to him out of *Flanders* to *Paris*, and to live comfortably together, if She might be confident of his Service, and that He would always concur with her in his Advice to the King. To which He answered,

*The Queen endeavours to attach the Chancellor to her Interest.*

swered, that He should never fail in performing his Duty to the Queen, whom He acknowledged to be his most gracious Mistress, with all possible Integrity: But as He was a Servant and Counsellor to the King, so He should always consider what was good for his Service, and never decline that out of any Compliance whatsoever; and that He did not desire to be supported from any Bounty but the King's; nor more by his, than in Proportion with what his Majesty should be able to do for his other Servants. And shortly after the Queen herself speaking with him, and complaining that She had no Credit with the King, the Chancellor desired her not to think so; He knew well the King had great Duty for her, which He would still preserve towards her; but as it would not be fit for her to affect such an Interest as to be thought to govern, so Nothing could be more disadvantageous to the King and to his Interest, than that the World should believe that He was absolutely governed by his Mother; which He found (though She seemed to consent to it) was no acceptable Declaration to her. However She did often employ him to the King, upon such Particulars as troubled, or offended her; as once for the Removal of a young Lady out of the *Louvre*, who had procured a Lodging there, without her Majesty's Consent; and with whom her Majesty was justly offended, for the little Respect She shewed towards her Majesty; and when the Chancellor had prevailed so far with the King, that He obliged the Lady to remove out of the *Louvre*, to satisfy his Mother, the Queen was well content that the Lady herself and her Friends should believe, that She had undergone that Affront merely by the Malice and Credit of the Chancellor.

THE King remained at *Paris* till the Year 1654, when in the Month of *June* He left *France*; and passing through *Flanders*, went to *Spa*, where He proposed to spend two or three Months with his Sister, the Princess Royal. His Stay at *Spa* was not so long as He intended, the Small Pox breaking out there — His Majesty and his Sister suddenly removed to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 417, 418, 419.

\* AT this Time there fell out an Accident necessary to be inserted in the particular Relation of the Chancellor's

\* THE Entrance of the Chancellor's Daughter into the Family of the Princess Royal is related in both Manuscripts. The Fact is here retained, as best preserving the Order of Time:

Life, which had afterwards an Influence upon his Fortune, and a very great one upon the Peace and Quiet of his Mind, and of his Family. When the King resolved, immediately after the Murder of his Father, to send the Chancellor his Ambassadour into *Spain*, the Chancellor, being to begin his Journey from the *Hague*, sent for his Wife and Children, to meet him at *Antwerp*; and had at that Time only four Children, one Daughter and three Sons; all of so tender Years, that their own Discretions could contribute little to their Education. These Children, under the sole Direction of a very discreet Mother, He left at *Antwerp*, competently provided for, for the Space of a Year or more; hoping in that Time, to be able to send them some farther Supply; and having removed them out of *England*, to prevent any In-  
 (130) convenience that might befall them there, upon any Accident that might result from his Negotiation in *Spain*; it being in those Times no unusual Thing for the Parliament, when it had conceived any notable Displeasure against a Man, who was out of their Reach, to seize upon his Wife and Children, and to imprison them, in what Manner, and for what Time seemed reasonable to them; and from this Hazard He was willing to preserve his. The King was in *Scotland* when the Chancellor returned from his Embassy to *Antwerp*, where his Family had still remained; his Children being grown as much as usually attends the Space of two Years, which was the Time He had been absent. The fatal Success at *Worcester* about this Time had put a Period to all his Majesty's present Designs; and He had no sooner made his wonderful Escape into *France*, than He sent for the Chancellor; who left his Family, as He had done formerly, and as meanly supplied, and made all Haste to *Paris*, where He found the King; with whom He remained till his Majesty was even compelled to remove from thence into *Germany*; which was above three Years.

*The Situation of the Chancellor's Family at Antwerp.*

DURING that Time the Princess Royal had, out of her own Princely Nature and Inclination, cultivated by the Civility and Offices of the Lady *Stanbope*, conferred a very seasonable Obligation upon him, by assigning a House, that was in her Disposal at *Breda*, to his Wife  
*They removed to Breda.*

Time: The Circumstances preceding it, from p. 201. l. 3. to p. 202. l. 28. and the Conclusion of it p. 206. l. 5. to l. 15. are transcribed from the Manuscript of *The Continuation*, and therefore the whole Transaction is omitted in that Part of the Work,

and



and Children; who had thereupon left *Amsterp*; and without the Payment of any House Rent, were more conveniently, because more frugally, settled in their new Mansion at *Brada*; where He got Liberty to visit them for four or five Days, whilst the King continued his Journey to the *Spa*; and after another Absence of near four Years, finding his Children grown, and improved after that Rate. The gracious Inclination in the Princess Royal towards the Chancellor's Wife and Children (not without some Reprehension from *Paris*) and the Civilities in the Lady *Stanbope*, had proceeded much from the good Offices of *Daniel O Neale* of the King's Bedchamber; who had for many Years lived in very good Correspondence with the Chancellor; and was very acceptable in the Court of the Princess Royal, and to those Persons who had the greatest Influence upon her Councils and Affections.

THE Princess met the King her Brother at the *Spa*, rather for the mutual Comfort They took in each other, than for the Use either of them had of the Waters; yet the Princess engaged herself to that Order and Diet that the Waters required; and after near a Months Stay there, They were forced suddenly to remove from thence, by the Sickness of some of the Princesses Women of the Small Pox; and resided at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where They had been but one whole Day, when Notice came from the *Spa* that Mrs. *Killigrew*, one of the Maids of Honour

to the Princess, was dead of the Small Pox. *O Neale* came in the Instant to the Chancellor with very much Kindness, and told him, that the Princess Royal had a very good Opinion of him, and kind Purposes towards his Family, which She knew suffered much for his Fidelity to the King; and therefore that She was much troubled to find that her Mother the Queen had less Kindness for him than He deserved; that by the Death of Mrs. *Killigrew* there was a Place now fallen, which very many would desire; and that it would no sooner be known at *Paris*, than the Queen would undoubtedly recommend some Lady to the Princess; but He was confident that, if the Chancellor would move the King to recommend his Daughter, who was known to the Princess, her Highness would willingly receive her. He thanked him for his particular Kindness; but conjured him not to use his Interest to promote any such Pretence; and told him that

*Mr. O Neale*  
proposes to the  
Chancellor to  
ask for Mrs.  
*Killigrew's*  
Place for his  
Daughter.

*Which the  
Chancellor de-  
clines.*

(113) that "himself would not apply the King's Favour to such  
 "a Request; that He had but one Daughter, who was  
 "all the Company and Comfort her Mother had, in her  
 "melancholick Retirement; and therefore He was re-  
 "solved not to separate them, nor to dispose his Daugh-  
 "ter to a Court Life;" which He did in Truth perfectly  
 detest. O *Neile*, much disappointed with the Answer, and  
 believing that the Proposition would have been very  
 grateful to him, confessed, that the Princess had been  
 already moved in it by the Lady *Chesterfield*; and that it  
 was her own Desire that the King should move it to her,  
 to the End, that She might be thereby sheltered from the  
 Reproach which She expected from the Queen; but that  
 the Princess herself had so much Kindness for his Daugh-  
 ter, that She had long resolved to have her upon the first  
 Vacancy. The Chancellor was exceedingly perplexed;  
 and resolved Nothing more, than that his Daughter  
 should not live from her Mother; and therefore renewed  
 his Conjurations to Mr. O *Neile*, that He would not far-  
 ther promote it, since it would never be acceptable to  
 him; and concluded, that his making no Application,  
 and the Importunity of others who desired the Honour,  
 would put an End to the Pretence.

THE King had heard of the Matter from the Princess, and willingly expected when the Chancellor would move him for his Recommendation; which when He saw He forbore to do, He spake himself to him of it, and asked him, why He did not make such a Suit to him; upon which the Chancellor told him all that had passed between O *Neile* and him; and that for many Reasons, He declined the receiving that Obligation from the Princess; and therefore He had no Use of his Majesty's Favour in it. The King told him plainly, that "his Sister upon having seen his Daughter some Days, liked her so well, that She desired to have her about her Person; and had herself spoken to him to move it to her, for the Reason aforesaid, and to prevent any Displeasure from the Queen; and He knew not how the Chancellor could, or why He should omit such an Opportunity of providing for his Daughter, in so honourable a Way." The Chancellor told Him, "He could not dispute the Reasons with him; only that He could not give himself Leave to deprive his Wife of her Daughter's Company; nor believe that She could be  
 "more

*The King  
 speaks to him  
 on that Sub-  
 ject.*

*The Chan-  
 cellor's Answer.*

*His Discourse  
with the Princess  
Royal.*

“more advantageously bred than under her Mother.”

Hereupon He went to the Princess, and took Notice of the Honour She was inclined to do him; but, He told Her, the Honour was not fit for him to receive, nor the Conjunction seasonable for her Royal Highness to confer it: That She could not but know his Condition, being deprived of his Estate; and if her Highness's Bounty had not assigned a House at *Breda*, where his Wife and Family lived Rent free, They had not known how to have subsisted: But by that her Favour, the small Supplies his Friends in *England* secretly sent over to them, sustained them in that private Retirement in which They lived; so that it was not in his Power to make his Daughter such an Allowance, as would enable her to live in her Court, in that Manner as would become her Relation.

THE Princess would not permit him to enlarge; but very generously told him, that She knew well the Streightness of his Condition, and how it came to be so low; and had no Thought, that He should be at the Charge to maintain his Daughter in her Service; that He should leave that to Her: And so used many Expressions of Esteem of him, and of Kindness and Grace to his Daughter. He foreseeing, and expecting such Generosity, replied to her, that since her Goodness disposed her to such an Act of Charity and Honour, it became his Duty and Gratitude to provide, that She should bring no Inconvenience upon<sup>(132)</sup> herself: That He had the Misfortune (with all the Innocence and Integrity imaginable) to be more in the Queen her Mother's Disfavour, than any Gentleman, who had had the Honour to serve the Crown so many Years in some Trust; that all the Application He could make, nor the King's own Interposition, could prevail with her Majesty to receive him into her gracious Opinion; and that He could not but know, that this unseasonable Act of Charity, which her Highness would vouchsafe to so ungracious a Family, would produce some Resentment and Displeasure from the Queen her Mother towards her Highness, and increase the Weight of her severe Indignation against him, which so heavily oppressed him already; and therefore He resolved to prevent that Mischief, which would undoubtedly befall her Highness; and would not submit to the receiving the Fruits of her favourable Condescension.

To

TO this the Princess answered with some Warmth, that She had always paid that Duty to the Queen her Mother, which was due to her; and would never give her a just Cause to be offended with her: But that She was Mistress of her own Family, and might receive what Servants She pleased; and that She should commit a great Fault against the Queen, if She should forbear to do a good and a just Action, to which She was inclined, out of Apprehension that her Majesty would be offended at it. She said, She knew some ill Offices had been done him to her Mother, for which She was sorry; and doubted not, but her Majesty would in due Time discern that She had been misinformed, and mistaken; and then She would like and approve of what her Highness should now do. In the mean Time She was resolved to take his Daughter, and would send for her as She returned into *Holland*. The Chancellor, not in any Degree converted, but confounded with the gracious and frank Discourse of the Princess Royal, knew not what more to say; replied only, that He hoped her Highness would think better of what She seemed to undervalue, and that He left his Daughter to be disposed of by her Mother, who He knew would be very unwilling to part with her; upon which her Highness answered, "I'll warrant you, my Lady and I will agree upon the Matter." To conclude this Discourse, which, considering what fell out afterwards, is not impertinent to be remembered, He knew his Wife had no Inclination to have her Daughter out of her own Company; and when He had by Letter informed her of all that had passed, He endeavoured to confirm her in that Resolution: But when the Princess after her Return into *Holland* sent to her, and renewed her gracious Offer, She, upon Consultation with Dr. *Morley* (who upon the old Friendship between the Chancellor and him, chose in his Banishment, from the Murder of the King, to make his Residence for the most Part in his Family, and was always perfectly kind to all his Interests) believed it might prove for her Daughter's Benefit; and writ to her Husband her Opinion, and that the Doctor concurred in the same.

THE Chancellor looked upon the Matter itself, and all the Circumstances thereof, as having some Marks of Divine Providence, which He would not resist; and so referred it wholly to his Wife: Who when She had presented

*His Wife accepts the Offer, and presents her Daughter to the Princess.*

sented her Daughter to the Princess, came herself to reside with her Husband, to his great Comfort; and which He could not have enjoyed, if the other Separation had not been made; and possibly that Consideration had the more easily disposed her to consent to the other. We have now set down all the Passages and Circumstances which accompanied, or attended that Lady's first Promotion to the Service of the Princess Royal; which the extreme Averseness in her Father and Mother from embracing that Opportunity, and the unusual Grace and Importunity from them who conferred the Honour, being considered, there may appear to many an extraordinary Operation of Providence, in giving the first Rise to what afterwards succeeded; though of a Nature so transcendent, as cannot be thought to have any Relation to it.

*Cromwell publishes a Declaration justifying his Order for decimating the King's Party.*

AFTER an unsuccessful Insurrection of some of the King's Friends in *England*, *Cromwell* exercised the utmost Severity and Cruelty against them; putting many to Death, and transporting others, as Slaves, to *Barbadoes*; and by his own Authority, and that of his Council, made an Order, that all Persons who had ever borne Arms for, or declared themselves of, the Royal Party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth Part of all the Estate They had left, to support the Charge of the Commonwealth; and published a Declaration to justify his Proceedings: *Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. from P. 429 to 444.* which confidently set down such Maxims, as made it manifest to all who had ever served the King, or would not submit to *Cromwell's* Power and Government, that They had Nothing that They could call their own, but must be disposed of at his Pleasure; which as much concerned all other Parties, as the King's, in the Consequence.

*To which the Chancellor by the King's Command writes an Answer.*

THIS Declaration, as soon as printed, was sent over to *Cologne, where the King then was*, and the Chancellor was commanded by the King to write some Discourse upon it, to awaken the People, and shew them their Concernment in it; which He did by Way of a Letter to a Friend; which was likewise sent into *England*, and there printed; and when *Cromwell* called his next Parliament, it was made great Use of to inflame the People, and make them sensible of the Destruction that attended them; and was thought then to produce many good Effects. And so We conclude this Part.

*Conclusion.*

*Montpelier, 27th of May, 1670.*

*THE Seventh and last Part of the Manuscript is dated at Montpelier, August the 1st, 1670, and continues the History from the King's Residence at Cologne, to the Restoration of the Royal Family in 1660; containing the Substance of what is printed in the two last Books of The History of the Rebellion. The only remarkable Circumstance of the Author's Life during that Period is, that in the Year 1657, while the King was at Bruges, his Majesty appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be Lord High Chancellor of England; and delivered the Great Seal into his Custody, upon the Death of Sir Edward Herbert, the last Lord Keeper thereof. Hist of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 480.*





**T H E**  
**CONTINUATION**  
Of the **L I F E** of  
***EDWARD*** EARL of ***CLARENDON***  
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of ***ENGLAND,***  
**A N D**  
CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of ***OXFORD.***  
  
From the Restoration in 1660, to his Banishment in 1667.





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T H E  
CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

---

*Molins, 8<sup>th</sup> Day  
of June, 1672.*

*Reflections upon the most material  
Passages which happened after  
the King's Restoration to the  
Time of the Chancellor's Banish-  
ment; out of which his Children,  
for whose Information they are  
only collected, may add some im-  
portant Passages to his Life, as  
the true Cause of his Misfor-  
tunes,*

- (1) **T**HE easy and glorious Reception of the King, in the Manner that hath been mentioned, without any other Conditions than what had been frankly offered by himself in his Declaration and Letters from *Breda*; the Parliament's casting themselves in a Body at his Feet, in the Minute of his Arrival at *Whitehall*, with all the Professions of Duty and Submission imaginable; and no Man having Authority there, but They who had either eminently served the late King, or who were since grown up out of their Nonage from such Fathers, and had thoroughly manifested their fast Fidelity to his present Majesty; the rest who had been enough criminal,
- The Author's  
Preface.*
- shewing

shewing more Animosity towards the severe Punishment of those, who having more Power in the late Times had exceeded them in Mischief, than Care for their own Indemnity: This Temper sufficiently evident, and the universal Joy of the People, which was equally visible, for the total Suppression of all those who had so many Years exercised Tyranny over them, made most Men believe both abroad and at Home, that God had not only restored the King miraculously to his Throne, but that He had, as He did in the Time of *Hezekiab, prepared the People, for the Thing was done suddenly,* (2 Chron. xxix. 36.) in such a Manner, that his Authority and Greatness would have been more illustrious, than it had been in any of his Ancestors. And it is most true, and must never be denied, that the People were admirably disposed and prepared to pay all the Subjection, Duty and Obedience, that a just and prudent King could expect from them, and had a very sharp Aversion and Detestation of all those who had formerly misled and corrupted them; so that, except the General, who seemed to be possessed entirely of the Affection of the Army, and whose Fidelity was now above any Misapprehension, there appeared no Man whose Power and Interest could in any Degree shake or endanger the Peace and Security the King was in; the Congratulations for his Return being so universal, from all the Counties of *England*, as well as from the Parliament and City; from all those who had most signally diserved and disclaimed him, as well as from those of his own Party and those who were descended from them: Inso-much as the King was wont merrily to say, as hath been mentioned before, “that it could be Nobody’s Fault but his own that He had stayed so long abroad, when “all Mankind wished him so heartily at Home.” It cannot therefore but be concluded by the Standers by, and the Spectators of this wonderful Change and Exclamation of all Degrees of Men, that there must be some wonderful Miscarriages in the State, or some unheard of Defect of Understanding in those who were trusted by the King in the Administration of his Affairs; that there could in so short a Time be a new Revolution in the general Affections of the People, that They grew even weary of that Happiness They were possessed of and had so much valued, and fell into the same Discontents and Murmurs which had naturally accompanied them in the worst Times.

Times. From what fatal Causes these miserable Effects were produced, is the Business of this present Disquisition to examine, and in some Degree to discover; and therefore must be of such a Nature, as must be as tenderly handled, with Reference to Things and Persons, as the Discovery of the Truth will permit; and cannot be presumed to be intended ever for a publick View, or for more than the Information of his Children of the true Source and Grounds from whence their Father's Misfortunes proceeded, in which Nothing can be found that can make them ashamed of his Memory.

THE King brought with him from beyond the Seas that Council which had always attended him, and whose Advice He had always received in his Transactions of greatest Importance; and his small Family, that consisted of Gentlemen who had for the most Part been put about him by his Father, and constantly waited upon his Person in all his Distress, with as much Submission and Patience undergoing their Part in it, as could reasonably be expected from such a People; and therefore had the keener Appetites, and the stronger Presumption to push on their Fortunes (as They called it) in the Infancy of their Master's Restoration, that other Men might not be preferred before them, who had not *borne the Heat of the Day*, as They had done.

- (3) Of the Council were the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, *The King's Council at the Restoration.* who lived in great Unity and Concurrence in the Communication of the most secret Counsels. There had been more of his Council abroad with him, who, according to the Motions He made and the Places He had resided in, were some Times with him, but other remained in *France*, or in some Parts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, for their Convenience, ready to repair to his Majesty when They should be called. The four nominated above were They who constantly attended, were privy to all Counsels, and waited upon him in his Return.

THE Chancellor was the highest in Place, and thought to be so in Trust, because He was most in private with the King, had managed most of the secret Correspondence in *England*, and all Dispatches of Importance had passed through his Hands; which had hitherto been with the

*Lord Chancellor Hyde.*

less Envy, because the indefatigable Pains He took were very visible, and it was as visible that He gained Nothing by it. His Wants and Necessities were as great as any Man's, nor was the Allowance assigned to him by the King in the least Degree more, or better paid, than every one of the Council received. Besides; the Friendship was so entire between the Marquis of *Ormond* and him, that no Arts that were used could dissolve it; and it was enough known, that as He had an entire and full Confidence from the King and a greater Esteem than any Man, so, that the Chancellor so entirely communicated all Particulars with him, that there was not the least Resolution taken without his Privy and Approbation. The Chancellor had been employed by the last King in all the Affairs of the greatest Trust and Secrecy; had been made Privy Counsellor and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the very Beginning of the Troubles; and had been sent by that King into the *West* with his Son, when He thought their Interest would be best preserved and provided for by separating their Persons. A greater Testimony and Recommendation a Servant could not receive from his Master, than the King gave of him to the Prince, who from that Time treated him with as much Affection and Confidence as any Man, and which (notwithstanding very powerful Opposition) He continued and improved to this Time of his Restoration; and even then rejected some Intimations rather than Propositions which were secretly made to him at the *Hague*, that the Chancellor was a Man very much in the Prejudice of the Presbyterian Party, as in Truth He was, and therefore that his Majesty would do best to leave him behind, till He should be himself settled in *England*: Which the King received with that Indignation and Disdain, and answered the Person, who privately presumed to give the Advice, in such a Manner, that He was troubled no more with the Importunity, nor did any Man ever own the Advice. Yet the Chancellor had besought the King upon some Rumours which had been spread, that if any Exception or Prejudice to his Person should be so insisted on, as might delay his Return one Hour, He would decline giving him any Protection, till He should find it more in his Power, after his Arrival in *England*: Which Desire of his, though it found no Reception with the King, proceeded from so much Sincerity, that it is well known, the Chancellor

did

did positively resolve, that if any such Thing had been urged by any Authority, He would render the King's Indulgence and Grace of no Inconvenience to his Majesty, by his secret and voluntary withdrawing himself, without his Privy, and without the Reach of his Discovery for some Time: So far He was from being biased by his own particular Benefit and Advantage.

- (4) THE Marquis of *Ormond* was the Person of the greatest Quality, Estate and Reputation, who had frankly engaged his Person and his Fortune in the King's Service from the first Hour of the Troubles, and pursued it with that Courage and Constancy, that when the King was murdered, and He deserted by the *Irish*, contrary to the Articles of the Peace which they had made with him, and when He could make no longer Defence, He refused all the Conditions which *Cromwell* offered, who would have given him all his vast Estate, if He would have been contented to have lived quietly in some of his own Houses, without farther concerning himself in the Quarrel; and transported himself, without so much as accepting a Pass from his Authority, in a little weak Vessel into *France*; where He found the King, from whom He never parted till He returned with him into *England*. And having thus merited as much as a Subject can do from a Prince, He had much more Credit and Esteem with the King than any other Man: And the Lustre the Chancellor was in, was no less from the declared Friendship the Marquis had for him, than from the great Trust his Majesty reposed in him.

THE Lord *Colepepper* was a Man of great Parts, a very sharp and present Wit, and an universal Understanding; so that few Men filled a Place in Council with more Sufficiency, or expressed themselves upon any Subject that occurred with more Weight and Vigour. He had been trusted by the late King (who had a singular Opinion of his Courage and other Abilities) to wait upon the Prince when He left his Father, and continued still afterwards with him, or in his Service, and in a good Correspondence with the Chancellor.

SECRETARY *Nicholas* was a Man of general good Reputation with all Men, of unquestionable Integrity and long Experience in the Service of the Crown; whom the late King trusted as much as any Man to his Death. He was one of those who were excepted by the Parlia-

ment from Pardon or Composition, and so was compelled to leave the Kingdom shortly after *Oxford* was delivered up, when the King was in the Hands of the *Scots*. The present King continued him in the Office of Secretary of State, which He had so long held under his Father. He was a Man of great Gravity, and without any ambitious or private Designs; and had so fast a Friendship with the Chancellor for many Years, that He was very well content and without any Jealousy for his making many Dispatches and other Transactions, which more immediately related to his Office, and which indeed were always made with his Privity and Concurrence.

THIS was the State and Constitution of the King's Council, and his Family, when He embarked in *Holland*, and landed at *Dover*: The Additions and Alterations which were after made will be mentioned in their Place.

It will be convenient here, before We descend to those Particulars which had an Influence upon the Minds of Men, to take a clear View of the Temper and Spirit of that Time; of the Nature and Inclination of the Army; of the Disposition and Interest of the several Factions in Religion, all which appeared in their several Colours without dissembling their Principles, and with equal Confidence demanded the Liberty of Conscience They had enjoyed in and since the Time of *Cromwell*; and the Humour and the present Purpose and Design of the Parliament itself, to whose Judgment and Determination the whole Settlement of the Kingdom both in Church and State stood referred by the King's own Declaration from *Breda*, which by God's Inspiration had been the sole visible Motive to that wonderful Change that had ensued. And whosoever takes a Prospect of all those several Passions and Appetites and Interests, together with the divided Affections, Jealousies and Animosities, of those who had been always looked upon as the King's Party, which if united would in that Conjuncture have been powerful enough to have ballanced all the other: I say, whoever truly and ingenuously considers and reflects upon all this Composition of contradictory Wishes and Expectations, must confess that the King was not yet the Master of the Kingdom, nor his Authority and Security such as the general Noise and Acclamation, the Bells and the Bonfires, proclaimed it to be; and that there was in no Conjuncture more Need, that the Virtue and Wisdom and Industry

*The Temper  
and Spirit of  
that Time.*

dustry of a Prince should be evident and made manifest in the Preservation of his Dignity, and in the Application of his Mind to the Government of his Affairs; and that all who were eminently trusted by him should be Men of unquestionable Sincerity, who with Industry and Dexterity should first endeavour to compose the publick Disorders, and to provide for the Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, before They applied themselves to make or improve their own particular Fortunes. And there is little Question, but if this good Method had been pursued, and the Resolutions of that Kind, which the King had seriously taken beyond the Seas, when He first discerned his good Fortune coming towards him, had been executed and improved; the Hearts and Affections of all Degrees of Men were so prepared by their own natural Inclinations and Integrity, by what They had seen and what They had suffered, by their Observations and Experience, by their Fears or by their Hopes; that They might have been all kneaded into a firm and constant Obedience and Resignation to the King's Authority, and to a lasting Establishment of monarchick Power in all the just Extents which the King could expect, or Men of any publick or honest Affections could wish or submit to.

THE first Mortification the King met with was as soon as He arrived at *Canterbury*, which was within three Hours after He landed at *Dover*; and where He found many of those who were justly looked upon, from their own Sufferings or those of their Fathers, and their constant adhering to the same Principles, as of the King's Party, who with Joy waited to kiss his Hand, and were received by him with those open Arms and flowing Expressions of Grace, calling all those by their Names who were known to him, that They easily assured themselves of the Accomplishment of all their Desires from such a generous Prince. And some of them, that They might not lose the first Opportunity, forced him to give them present Audience, in which They reckoned up the insupportable Losses undergone by themselves or their Fathers, and some Services of their own; and thereupon demanded the present Grant or Promise of such or such an Office. Some, for the real small Value of one though of the first *Classis*, pressed for two or three with such Confidence and Importunity, and with such tedious Discourses, that the King was extremely nauseated with their Suits, though his Modesty

*Importunate  
Solicitations  
made to the  
King at Can-  
terbury by  
some Royalists,*



deſty knew not how to break from them; that He no ſooner got into his Chamber, which for ſome Hours He was not able to do, than He lamented the Condition to which He found He muſt be ſubject: And did in Truth from that Minute contract ſuch a Prejudice againſt the Perſons of ſome of thoſe, though of the greateſt Quality, for the Indecency and Incongruity of their Pretences, that He never afterwards received their Addreſſes with his uſual Grace or Patience, and rarely granted any Thing They deſired, though the Matter was more reaſonable, and the Manner of aſking much more modeſt.

Monk re-  
commends a  
Liſt of Privy  
Counſellers to  
the King.

BUT there was another Mortification which immedi- (6)  
ately ſucceeded this, that gave him much more Trouble, and in which He knew not how to comport himſelf. The General, after He had given all neceſſary Orders to his Troops, and ſent a ſhort Diſpatch to the Parliament of the King's being come to *Canterbury*, and of his Purpoſe to ſtay there two Days till the next *Sunday* was paſt, He came to the King in his Chamber, and in a ſhort ſecret Audience, and without any Preamble or Apology, as He was not a Man of a graceful Elocution, He told him, "that He could not do him better Service, than by recommending to him ſuch Perſons who were moſt grateful to the People, and in Reſpect of their Parts and Interests were beſt able to ſerve him." And thereupon gave him a large Paper full of Names, which the King in Diſorder enough received, and without reading put it into his Pocket that, He might not enter into any particular Debate upon the Perſons, and told him "that He would be always ready to receive his Advice, and willing to gratify him in any Thing He ſhould deſire, and which would not be prejudicial to his Service." The King, as ſoon as He could, took an Opportunity, when there remained no more in his Chamber, to inform the Chancellor of the firſt Affaults He had encountered as ſoon as He alighted out of his Coach, and afterwards of what the General had ſaid to him; and thereupon took the Paper out of his Pocket and read it. It contained the Names of at leaſt threeſcore and ten Perſons, who were thought fitteſt to be made Privy Counſellers; in the whole Number whereof, there were only two, who had ever ſerved the King or been looked upon as zealouſly affected to his Service, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, who were Both of ſo uni-  
verſal

versal Reputation and Interest, and so well known to have the very particular Esteem of the King, that They needed no such Recommendation. All the rest were either those Counsellors who had served the King, and deserted him by adhering to the Parliament; or of those who had most eminently disserved him in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all Fierceness and Animosity until the new Model, and dismissing the Earl of *Essex*: Then indeed *Cromwell* had grown terrible to them, and disposed them to wish the King were again possessed of his regal Power, and which They did but wish. There were then the Names of the principal Persons of the Presbyterian Party, to which the General was thought to be most inclined, at least to satisfy the foolish and unruly Inclinations of his Wife. There were likewise the Names of some who were most notorious in all the other Factions; and of some who in Respect of their mean Qualities and meaner Qualifications, Nobody could imagine how They could come to be named, except that, by the very odd Mixture, any sober and wise Resolutions and Concurrence might be prevented.

THE King was in more than ordinary Confusion with the reading this Paper, and knew not well what to think of the General, in whose absolute Power He now was. However, He resolved in the Entrance upon his Government not to consent to such Impositions, which might prove perpetual Fetters and Chains upon him ever after. He gave the Paper therefore to the Chancellor, and bade him "take the first Opportunity to discourse the Matter "with the General" (whom He had not yet saluted) "or "rather with Mr. *Morrice* his most intimate Friend," whom He had newly presented to the King, and "with "Both whom He presumed He would shortly be acquainted," though for the present Both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual Visits had passed between them, and such Professions as naturally are made between Persons who were like to have  
(7) much to do with each other; and Mr. *Morrice* being in private with him, the Chancellor told him, "how much "the King was surprised with the Paper He had received "from the General, which at least recommended (and "which would have always great Authority with him) "some such Persons to his Trust, in whom He could not "yet, till They were better known to him, repose any  
"Confidence."

*With which  
He is dis-  
pleased.*

*The Continuation of the Life of*

"Confidence." And thereupon He read many of their Names, and said, "that if such Men were made Privy Counsellors, it would either be imputed to the King's own Election, which would cause a very ill Measure to be taken of his Majesty's Nature and Judgment; or (which more probably would be the Case) to the Inclination and Power of the General, which would be attended with as ill Effects." Mr. *Morrice* seemed much troubled at the Apprehension, and said, "the Paper was of his Handwriting, by the General's Order, who He was assured had no such Intention, but that He would presently speak with him and return;" which He did within less than an Hour, and expressed "the Trouble the General was in upon the King's very just Exception; and that the Truth was; *He had been obliged to have much Communication with Men of all Humours and Inclinations, and so had promised to do them good Offices to the King, and could not therefore avoid inserting their Names in that Paper, without any Imaginations that the King would accept them: That He had done his Part, and all that could be expelled from him, and left the King to do what He had thought best for his own Service, which He would always desire him to do, whatever Proposition He should at any Time presume to make to his Majesty, which He would not promise should be always reasonable. However, He did still heartily wish, that his Majesty would make Use of some of those Persons,*" whom He named, and said, "*He knew most of them were not his Friends, and that his Service would be more advanced by admitting them, than by leaving them out.*"

*But satisfied  
by Monk's  
Explanation.*

THE King was abundantly pleased with this good Temper of the General, and less disliked those, who He discerned would be grateful to him, than any of the rest: And so the next Day, He made the General Knight of the *Garter*, and admitted him of the Council; and likewise at the same Time gave the Signet to Mr. *Morrice*, who was sworn of the Council and Secretary of State; and Sir *Anthony Asbley Cooper*, who had been presented by the General under a special Recommendation, was then too sworn of the Council, and the rather, because having lately married the Niece of the Earl of *Southampton* (who was then likewise present, and received the *Garter* to which He had been elected some Years before) it was believed that his slippery Humour would be easily restrained and

and fixed by the Uncle. All this was transacted during his Majesty's Stay at *Canterbury*.

UPON the 29th of *May*, which was his Majesty's Birth-Day, and now the Day of his Restoration and Triumph, He entered *London* the Highway from *Rocheſter* to *Blackheath*, being on both Sides ſo full of Acclamations of Joy, and crowded with ſuch a Multitude of People that it ſeemed one continued Street wonderfully inhabited. Upon *Blackheath* the Army was drawn up, conſiſting of above fifty thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot, in excellent Order and Equipage, where the General preſented the chief Officers to kiſs the King's Hands, which Grace They ſeemed to receive with all Humility and Cheerfulneſs. Shortly after, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffs, and Body of the Aldermen, with the whole Militia of the City, appeared with great Luſtre; whom the King received with a moſt graceful and obliging Countenance, and knighted the Mayor and all the Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and the principal Officers of the Militia: An Honour the City had been without near eighteen Years, and therefore abundantly welcome to the Huſbands and their Wives. With this Equipage the King was attended through the City of *London*, where the Streets were railed in on Both Sides that the Livery of the Companies of the City might appear with the more Order and Decency, till He came to *Whitehall*; the Windows all the Way being full of Ladies and Perſons of Quality, who were impatient to fill their Eyes with a beloved Spectacle of which They had been ſo long deprived. The King was no ſooner at *Whitehall*, but (as hath been ſaid) the Speakers, and Both Houſes of Parliament, preſented themſelves with all poſſible Profeſſions of Duty and Obedience at his Royal Feet, and were even raviſhed with the cheerful Reception They had from him. The Joy was univerſal; and whoſoever was not pleaſed at Heart, took the more Care to appear as if He was; and no Voice was heard but of the higheſt Congratulation, of extolling the Perſon of the King, admiring his Condeſcenſions and Affability, raiſing his Praiſes to Heaven, and curſing and deteſting the Memory of thoſe Villains who had ſo long excluded ſo meritorious a Prince, and thereby withheld that Happineſs from them, which They ſhould enjoy in the largeſt Meaſure They could deſire or wiſh. The Joy on all Sides was with the greateſt Exceſs, ſo that moſt Men thought, and had

*The King's  
triumphant  
Entry into  
London.*

*Exceſſive Joy  
upon the Re-  
ſtoration.*

had Reason enough to think, that the King was even already that great and glorious Prince, which the Parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promised to raise his Father to be.

*Both Houses  
of Parliament  
meet.*

*The Character  
of the  
House of  
Commons.*

THE Chancellor took his Place in the House of Peers with a general Acceptation and Respect; and all those Lords who were alive and had served the King his Father, and the Sons of those who were dead and were equally excluded from sitting there by Ordinances of Parliament, together with all those who had been created by this King, took their Seats in Parliament without the least Murmur or Exception. The House of Commons seemed equally constituted to what could be wished; for though there were many Presbyterian Members, and some of all other Factions in Religion, who did all promise themselves some Liberty and Indulgence for their several Parties, yet They all professed great Zeal for the establishing the King in his full Power. And the major Part of the House was of sober and prudent Men, who had been long known to be very weary of all the late Governments, and heartily to desire and pray for the King's Return. And there were many, who had either themselves been actual and active Malignants and Delinquents in the late King's Time, or the Sons of such, who inherited their Fathers Virtues; Both which Classes of Men were excluded from being capable of being elected to serve in Parliament, not only by former Ordinances, but by express Caution in the very Writs which were sent out to summon this Parliament, and were notwithstanding made Choice of and returned by the Country, and received without any Hesitation in the House, and treated by all Men with the more Civility and Respect for their known Malignity: So that the King, though it was necessary to have Patience in the Expectations of their Resolutions in all important Points, which could not suddenly be concluded in such a popular Assembly, was very reasonably assured, that He should have nothing pressed upon him that should be ungrateful, with Reference to the Church or State.

*Particularly  
of the Presby-  
terian Party  
in it.*

It is true, the *Presbyterians* were very numerous in the House, and many of them Men of good Parts, and had a great Party in the Army, and a greater in the City, and except with Reference to Episcopacy were desirous to make themselves grateful to the King in the settling all his Interest, and especially in vindicating themselves from the (9)  
odious

odious Murder of the King by loud and passionate Inveighing against that monstrous Parricide, and with the highest Animosity denouncing the severest Judgments not only against those who were immediately guilty of it, but against those principal Persons who had most notoriously adhered to *Cromwell* in the Administration of his Government, that is, most eminently opposed them and their Faction. They took all Occasions to declare, "that the Power and Interest of the Party had been the chief Means to bring Home the King;" and used all possible Endeavours that the King might be persuaded to think so too, and that the very *Covenant* had at last done him Good and expedited his Return, by the causing it to be hung up in Churches, from whence *Cromwell* had cast it out, and their Ministers pressing upon the Conscience of all those who had taken it, "that They were bound by that Clause which concerned the Defence of the King's Person, to take up Arms, if Need were, on his Behalf, and to restore him to his rightful Government;" when the very same Ministers had obliged them to take up Arms against the King his Father by Virtue of that *Covenant*, and to fight against him till They had taken him Prisoner, which produced his Murder. This Party was much displeased, that the King declared himself so positively on Behalf of Episcopacy, and would hear no other Prayers in his Chapel than those contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and that all those Formalities and Solemnities were now again resumed and practised, which They had caused to be abolished for so many Years past. Yet the King left all Churches to their Liberty, to use such Forms of Devotion which They liked best; and such of their chief Preachers who desired it, or were desired by their Friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the Surplice, or any other Habit than They made Choice of. But this Connivance would not do their Business: Their Preaching made no Proselytes who were not so before; and the Resort of the People to those Churches, where the *Common Prayer* was again introduced, was Evidence enough of their Inclinations; and They saw the King's Chapel always full of those, who had used to possess the chief Benches in their Assemblies: So that it was manifest that Nothing but the supreme Authority would be able to settle their Discipline; and therefore with their usual Confidence They were very importunate in the House of Commons,

*Which urges  
the Settlement  
of Ecclesiasti-  
cal Govern-  
ment accord-  
ing to the  
Covenant.*

mons, "that the Ecclesiastical Government might be settled and remain according to the *Covenant*, which had been practised many Years, and so the People generally well devoted to it, whereas the introducing the *Common Prayer* (with which very few had ever been acquainted or heard it read) would very much offend the People, and give great Interruption to the composing the Peace of the Kingdom." This was urged in the House of Commons by eminent Men of the Party, who believed They had the major Part of their Mind. And their Preachers were as solicitous and industrious to inculcate the same Doctrine to the principal Persons who had returned with the King, and every Day resorted to the Court as if They presided there, and had frequent Audiences of the King to persuade him to be of the same Opinion; from whom They received no other Condescensions than They had formerly had at the *Hague*, with the same gracious Affability and Expressions to their Persons.

THAT Party in the House that was in Truth devoted to the King, and to the old Principles of Church and of State, which every Day increased, thought not fit to cross the *Presbyterians* as to make them desperate in their Hopes of Satisfaction, but, with the Concurrence with those who were of contrary Factions, diverted the Argument by proposing other Subjects of more immediate Relation to the publick Peace, as the *Act of Indemnity* which every Man impatiently longed for, and the raising Money towards the Payment of the Army and the Navy, without which that unsupportable Charge could not be lessened, to be first considered and dispatched; and the Model for Religion to be debated and prepared by that Committee, which had been nominated before his Majesty's Return to that Purpose; They not doubting to cross and puzzle any pernicious Resolutions there, till Time and their own extravagant Follies should put some End to their destructive Designs.

IN the mean Time there were two Particulars, which the King with much inward Impatience, though with little outward Communication, did most desire, the disbanding the Army, and settling the Revenue, the Course and Receipt whereof had been so broken and perverted, and a great Part extinguished by the Sale of all the Crown-Lands, that the old Officers of the Exchequer, Auditors

or

or Receivers, knew not how to resume their Administrations. Besides that the great Receipt of Excise and Customs was not yet vested in the King; nor did the Parliament make any Haste to assign it, finding it necessary to reserve it in the old Way, and not to divert it from those Assignments, which had been made for the Payment of the Army and Navy, for which until some other Provision could be made, it was to no Purpose to mention the disbanding the one or the other, though the Charge of Both was so vast and unsupportable, that the Kingdom must in a short Time sink under the Burden. For what concerned the Revenue and raising Money, the King was less solicitous, and yet there was not so much as any Assignment made for the Support of his Household, which caused a vast Debt to be contracted before taken Notice of, the Mischief of which is hardly yet removed. He saw the Parliament every Day doing somewhat in it, and it quickly dissolved all Bargains, Contracts and Sales, which had been of any of the Crown-Lands, so that all that Royal Revenue (which had been too much wasted and impaired in those improvident Times which had preceded the Troubles) was entirely remitted to those to whom it belonged, the King and the Queen his Mother; but very little Money was returned out of the same into the Exchequer in the Space of the first Year; so difficult it was to reduce any Payments which had been made for so many Years irregularly, into the old Channel and Order. And every Thing else of this Kind was done, how slowly soever, with as much Expedition as from the Nature of the Affair, and the Crowd in which it was necessary to be agitated, could reasonably be expected; and therefore his Majesty was less troubled for those Inconveniencies which He foresaw must inevitably flow from thence.

BUT the Delay in disbanding the Army, how unavoidable soever, did exceedingly afflict him, and the more, because for many Reasons He could not urge it nor complain of it. He knew well the ill Constitution of the Army, the Distemper and Murmuring that was in it, and how many Diseases and Convulsions their infant Loyalty was subject to; that how united soever their Inclinations and Acclamations seemed to be at *Blackheath*, their Affections were not the same: And the very Countenances then of many Officers as well as Soldiers did sufficiently

*The Nature  
and Inclina-  
tion of the  
Army*



manifest, that They were drawn thither to a Service They were not delighted in. The General, before He had formed any Resolution to himself, and only valued himself upon the Presbyterian Interest, had cashiered some Regiments and Companies which He knew not to be devoted to his Person and Greatness; and after He found it necessary to fix his own Hopes and Dependance upon the King, He had dismissed many Officers who He thought<sup>(11)</sup> might be willing and able to cross his Designs and Purposes, when He should think fit to discover them, and conferred their Charges and Commands upon those who had been disfavoured by the late Powers; and after the Parliament had declared for and proclaimed the King, He cashiered others, and gave their Offices to some eminent Commanders who had served the King; and gave others of the loyal Nobility Leave to lift Voluntiers in Companies to appear with them at the Reception of the King, who had all met and joined with the Army upon *Blackheath* in the Head of their Regiments and Companies: Yet, notwithstanding all this Providence, the old Soldiers had little Regard for their new Officers, at least had no Resignation for them; and it quickly appeared, by the select and affected Mixtures of fullen and melancholick Parties of Officers and Soldiers, that as ill-disposed Men of other Classes were left as had been disbanded; and that much the greater Part so much abounded with ill Humours, that it was not safe to administer a general Purgation. It is true that *Lambert* was close Prisoner in the *Tower*, and as many of those Officers who were taken and had appeared in Arms with him when He was taken, were likewise there or in some other Prisons, with others of the same Complexion, who were well enough known to have the present Settlement that was intended in perfect Detestation: But this Leprosy was spread too far to have the Contagion quickly or easily extinguished. How close soever *Lambert* himself was secured from doing Mischief, his Faction was at Liberty and very numerous; his disbanded Officers and Soldiers mingled and conversed with their old Friends and Companions, and found too many of them possessed with the same Spirit; They concurred in the same Reproaches and Revilings of the General, as the Man who had treacherously betrayed them, and led them into an Ambuscade from whence They knew not how to disentangle themselves.

They

They looked upon him as the sole Person who still supported his own Model, and were well assured that if He were removed, the Army would be still the same and appear in their old Retrenchments; and therefore They entered into several Combinations to assassinate him, which They resolved to do with the first Opportunity. In a Word, They liked neither the Mien nor Garb nor Countenance of the Court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious Aspect and Benignity of the King himself.

ALL this was well enough known to his Majesty, and to the General, who was well enough acquainted and not at all pleased with the Temper and Disposition of his Army, and therefore no less desired it should be disbanded than the King did. In the mean Time, very diligent Endeavours were used to discover and apprehend some principal Persons, who took as much Care to conceal themselves; and every Day many dangerous or suspected Men of all Qualities were imprisoned in all Counties: Spies were employed, who for the most Part had the same Affections which They were to discover in others, and received Money on both Sides to do, and not to do, the Work They were appointed to do. And in this melancholick and perplexed Condition the King and all his Hopes stood, when He appeared most gay and exalted, and wore a Pleasantness in his Face that became him, and looked like as full an Assurance of his Security as was possible to put on.

THERE was yet added to this slippery and uneasy Posture of Affairs, another Mortification, which made a deeper Impression upon the Kings Spirit than all the rest, and without which the worst of the other would have been in some Degree remediable; that was, the Constitution (12) and Disunion of those who were called and looked upon as his own Party, which without Doubt in the whole Kingdom was numerous enough, and capable of being powerful enough to give the Law to all the rest; which had been the Ground of many unhappy Attempts in the late Time, that if any present Force could be drawn together, and possessed of any such Place in which They might make a Stand without being overrun in a Moment, the general Concurrence of the Kingdom would in a short Time reduce the Army, and make the King superiour to all his Enemies; which Imagination was enough confuted, though not enough extinguished, by the dearbought Ex-  
*Disunion of  
the King's  
Friends.*

*A Review of  
the Causes of  
this Disunion  
previous to  
the Restora-  
tion.*

perience in the woful Enterprife at *Worcester*. However, it had been now a very justifiable Presumption in the King, to believe as well as hope, that He could not be long in *England* without such an Apparency of his own Party that wished all that He himself desired, and such a Manifestation of their Authority, Interest and Power, that would prevent or be sufficient to subdue any froward Disposition that might grow up in the Parliament, or more extravagant Demands in the Army itself. And Appearance there was of that People, great enough, who had all the Wishes for the King which He entertained for himself. But They were so divided and disunited by private Quarrels, Factions and Animosities; or so unacquainted with each other; or, which was worse, so jealous of each other; the Understandings and Faculties of many honest Men were so weak and shallow, that They could not be applied to any great Trust; and others who wished and meant very well had a Peevishness, Frowardness and Opiniatrety, that They would be engaged only in what pleased themselves, nor would join in any Thing with such and such Men whom They disliked. The severe and tyrannical Government of *Cromwell* and the Parliament had so often banished and imprisoned them upon mere Jealousies, that They were grown Strangers to one another, without any Communication between them: And there had been so frequent Betrayings and Treacheries used, so many Discoveries of Meetings privately contrived, and of Discourses accidentally entered into, and Words and Expressions rashly and unadvisedly uttered without any Design, upon which Multitudes were still imprisoned and many put to Death; that the Jealousy was so universal, that few Men who had never so good Affections for the King, durst confer with any Freedom together.

MOST of those of the Nobility who had with Constancy and Fidelity adhered to the last King, and had greatest Authority with all Men who professed the same Affections, were dead, as the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, and many other excellent Persons. And of that *Classis*, that is, of a powerful Interest and unsuspected Integrity (for there were some very good Men, who were without any Cause suspected then, because They were not equally persecuted upon all Occasions) there were only two who survived, the Marquis of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*; who were Both great and

and worthy Men, looked upon with great Estimation by all the most valuable Men who could contribute most to the King's Restoration, and with Reverence by their greatest Enemy, and had been courted by *Cromwell* himself till He found it to no Purpose. And though the Marquis had been prevailed with once and no more to give him a Visit, the other, the Earl, could never be persuaded so much as to see him; and when *Cromwell* was in the *New Forest* and resolved one Day to visit him, He being informed of it or suspecting it, removed to another House He had at a such a Distance as exempted him from that Visitation. But these two great Persons had for several Years withdrawn themselves into the Country, lived  
 (13) retired, sent sometimes such Money as They could raise out of their long-sequestered and exhausted Fortunes, by Messengers of their own Dependance, with Advice to the King, "to sit still and expect a reasonable Revolution, "without making any unadvised Attempt;" and industriously declined any Conversation or Commerce with any who were known to correspond with the King: So that now upon his Majesty's Return, They were totally unacquainted with any of those Persons, who now looked as Men to be depended upon in any great Action and Attempt. And for themselves, as the Marquis shortly after died, so the other with great Abilities served him in his most secret and important Counsels, but had been never conversant in martial Affairs.

THERE had been six or eight Persons of general good and confessed Reputation, and who of all who were then left alive had had the most eminent Charges in the War, and executed them with great Courage and Discretion; so that few Men could with any reasonable Pretence refuse to receive Orders from them, or to serve under their Commands. They had great Affection for and Confidence in each other, and had frankly offered by an Express of their own Number, whilst the King remained in *France*, "that, "if They were approved and qualified by his Majesty, "They would by joint Advice intend the Care of his "Majesty's Service; and as They would not engage in "any absurd and desperate Attempt, but use all their "Credit and Authority to prevent and discountenance the "same, so They would take the first rational Opportunity, which They expected from the Divisions and Animosities which daily grew and appeared in the Army,

“to draw their Friends and old Soldiers who were ready  
 “to receive their Commands together, and try the ut-  
 “most that could be done with the Loss or Hazard of  
 “their Lives :” Some of them having, beside their Expe-  
 rience in War, very considerable Fortunes of their own  
 to lose, and were Relations to the greatest Families in  
*England*. And therefore They made it their humble Suit,  
 “that this secret Correspondence might be carried on and  
 “known to none but to the Marquis of *Ormond* and to the  
 “Chancellor; and that if any other Counsels were set on  
 “Foot in *England* by the Activity of particular Persons,  
 “who too frequently with great Zeal and little Animad-  
 version embarked themselves in impossible Undertak-  
 ings, his Majesty upon Advertisement thereof would  
 “first communicate the Motives or Pretences which  
 “would be offered to him, to them; and then They  
 “would find Opportunity to confer with some sober Man  
 “of that Fraternity” (as there was no well-affected Per-  
 son in *England*, who at that Time would not willingly  
 receive Advice and Direction from most of those Persons)  
 “and thereupon They would present their Opinion to his  
 “Majesty, and if the Design should appear practicable to  
 “his Majesty, They would cheerfully embark themselves  
 “in it, otherwise use their own Dexterity to divert it.”  
 These Men had been armed with all necessary Commis-  
 sions and Instructions according to their own Desires; the  
 King consented to all They proposed; and the Ciphers  
 and Correspondence were committed to the Chancellor, in  
 whose Hands, with the Privy only of the Marquis of  
*Ormond*, all the Intelligence with *England*, of what Kind  
 soever, was intrusted.

UNDER this Conduct for some Years all Things suc-  
 ceeded well, many unreasonable Attempts were prevent-  
 ed, and thereby the Lives of many good Men preserved:  
 And though (upon the cursory Jealousy of that Time, and  
 the restless Apprehension of *Cromwell*, and the almost con-  
 tinual Commitments of all who had eminently served the  
 King and were able to do it again) these Persons who  
 were thus trusted, or the major Part of them, were seldom<sup>(14)</sup>  
 out of Prison, or free from the Obligation of good Sureties  
 for their peaceable Behaviour; yet all the Vigilance of  
*Cromwell* and his most diligent Inquisitors could never dis-  
 cover this secret Intercourse between those Confidants and  
 the King, which did always pass and was maintained by  
 Expresses

Expresses made Choice of by them, and supported at their Charge out of such Monies as were privately collected for publick Uses, of, which They, who contributed most, knew little more than the Integrity of him who was intrusted, who did not always make skilful Contributions.

It fell out unfortunately, that two of these principal Persons fell out, and had a fatal Quarrel, upon a Particular less justifiable than any Thing that could result from or relate to the great Trust They Both had from the King, which ought to have been of Influence enough to have suppressed or diverted all Passions of that Kind: But the Animosities grew suddenly irreconcilable, and if not divided the Affections of the whole *Knot*, at least interrupted or suspended their constant Intercourse and Confidence in each other, and so the diligent Accounts which the King used to receive from them. And the Cause growing more publick and notorious, though not known in a long Time after to the King, exceedingly lessened Both their Reputations with the most sober Men; inasmuch as They withdrew all Confidence in their Conduct, and all Inclination to embark in the Business which was intrusted in such Hands. And which was worse than all this, one Person amongst them of as unblemished a Reputation as either of them, and of much better Abilities and Faculties of Mind, either affected with this untoward Accident, or broken with frequent Imprisonments and Despair of any Resurrection of the King's Interest, about this Time yielded to a foul Temptation; and for large Supplies of Money, which his Fortune stood in Need of, engaged to be a Spy to *Cromwell*, with a Latitude which He did not allow to others of that ignominious Tribe, undertaking only to impart enough of any Design to prevent the Mischief thereof, without exposing any Man to the Loss of his Life, or ever appearing himself to make good and justify any of his Discoveries. The rest of his Associates neither suspected their Companion, nor lessened their Affection or utmost Zeal for the King; though They remitted some of their Diligence in his Service, by the other unhappy Interruption.

THIS falling out during his Majesty's Abode in *Caologne*, He was very long without Notice of the Grounds of that Jealousy, which had obstructed his usual Correspondence; and the Matter of Infidelity being not in the

least Degree suspected, He could not avoid receiving Advice and Propositions from other honest Men, who were of known Affection and Courage, and who conversed much with the Officers of the Army, and were unskilfully disposed to believe that all They, who They had Reason to believe did hate *Cromwell*, would easily be induced to serve the King: And many of the Officers in their Behaviour, Discourses and Familiarity, contributed to that Belief; some of them, not without the Privy and Allowance of *Cromwell*, or his Secretary *Thurlow*. And upon Overtures of this Kind, and wonderful Confidence of Success, even upon the Preparations which were in Readiness, of and by his own Party, several Messengers were sent to the King; and by all of them sharp and passionate Complaints against those Persons, who were so much and still in the same Confidence with him, as Men who were at Ease, and uninclined to venture themselves upon dangerous or doubtful Enterprises. They complained, "that  
 "when They imparted to them or any one of them" (for They knew not of his Majesty's Reference to them, but had of themselves resorted to them as Men of the greatest<sup>(15)</sup> Reputation for their Affections and Experience) "a Design which had been well consulted and deliberated by  
 "those who meant to venture their own Lives in the Execution of it, They made so many Excuses and Arguments and Objections against it, as if it were wholly  
 "unadvisable and unpracticable; and when They proposed the meeting and conferring with some of the Officers, who were resolved to serve his Majesty, and were  
 "willing to advise with them, as Men of more Interest and who had managed greater Commands, upon the  
 "Places of Rendezvous, and what Method should be observed in the Enterprises, making no Scruple themselves to receive Orders from them, or to do all Things  
 "They should require which might advance his Majesty's Service, these Gentlemen only wished them to take  
 "Heed They were not destroyed, and positively refused  
 "to meet or confer with any of the Officers of the Army:  
 "And hereupon" They said "all the King's Party was  
 "so incensed against them, that They no more would  
 "have Recourse to them, or make any Conjunction  
 "with them." They informed his Majesty at large of the Animosity that was grown between two of the principal Persons, and the original Cause thereof, and therefore

fore desired "that some Person might be sent, to whom  
"They might repair for Orders, until the King himself  
"discerned that all Preparations were in such a Readiness,  
"that He might reasonably venture his Royal Person with  
"them."

THOUGH He was not at all satisfied with the Grounds of their Expectation and Proceedings, and therefore could not blame the Wariness and Reservedness of the other, and thought their Apprehension of being betrayed (which in the Language of that Time was called *trepanned*) which befel some Men every Day, very reasonable; yet the Confidence of many honest Men who were sure to pay dear for any rash Undertaking, and their Presumption in appointing a peremptory Day for a general Rendezvous over the Kingdom, but especially the Division of his Friends, and Sharpness against those upon whom He principally relied, was the Cause of his sending over the Lord *Rochester*, and of his own Concealment in *Zealand*; the Success whereof, and the ill Consequence of those precipitate Resolutions, in the Slaughter of many worthy and gallant Gentlemen with all the Circumstances of Insolence and Barbarity, are mentioned in their proper Places.

BUT these unhappy and fatal Miscarriages, and the sad Spectacles which ensued, made not those Impressions upon the Affections and Spirits of the King's Friends, as they ought to have done; nor rendered the Wariness and Discretion of those who had dissuaded the Enterprize, and who were always imprisoned upon Suspicion, how innocent soever, the more valued and esteemed: On the contrary it increased the Reproaches against the *Knot*, as if their *Laches* and Want of Appearance and engaging had been the sole Cause of the Misfortune. And after some short Fits of Dejection and Acquiescence, upon the shedding so much Blood of their Friends and Confederates, and the notorious Discovery of being betrayed by those, who had been trusted by them, of the Army; They began again to resume Courage, to meet and enter upon new Counsels and Designs, imputing the former Want of Success to the Want of Skill and Conduct in the Undertakers, not to the all-seeing Vigilance of *Cromwell* and his Instruments, or to the formed Strength of his Government not to be shaken by weak or ill seconded Conspiracies, Young Men were grown up, who inherited



rited their Fathers Malignity, and were too impatient to revenge their Death, or to be even with their Oppressors, and so entered into new Combinations as unskilful and<sup>(16)</sup> therefore as unfortunate as the former; and being discovered even before they were formed, *Cromwell* had Occasion given him to make himself more terrible in new Executions, and to exercise greater Tyranny upon the whole Party in Imprisonments, Penalties and Sequestrations; making those, who heartily desired to be quiet, and who abhorred any rash and desperate Insurrection, to pay their full Shares for the Folly of the other, as if all were animated by the same Spirit. And this unjust and unreasonable Rigour increased the Reproaches and Animosities in the King's Friends against each other: The wiser and more sober Part, who had most Experience, and knew how impossible it was to succeed in such Enterprises, and had yet preserved or redeemed enough of their Fortunes to sit still and expect some hopeful Revolution, were unexpressibly offended, and bitterly inveighed against those, who without Reason disturbed their Peace and Quiet, by provoking the State to fresh Persecutions of them who had given them no Offence: And the other stirring and enraged Party, with more Fierceness and publick Disdain protested against and reviled those, who refused to join with them, as Men who had spent all their Stock of Allegiance, and meant to acquiesce with what They had left under the Tyranny and in the Subjection of *Cromwell*. And thus, They who did really wish the same Things, and equally the Overthrow of that Government, which hindered the Restoration of the King, grew into more implacable Jealousies and Virulencies against each other, than against that Power that oppressed them Both, and *poured out their Blood like Water*. And either Party conveyed their Apologies and Accusations to the King: One insisting upon the Impertinency of all such Attempts; and the other insisting that They were ready for a very solid and well grounded Enterprize, were sure to be possessed of good Towns, if, by his Majesty's positive Command, the rest, who professed such Obedience to him, would join with them.

It was at this Time, and upon these Reasons, that the King sent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *England*, to find out and discover whether in Truth there were any  
sober

sober Preparations and Readiness for Action, and then to head and conduct it; or if it was not ripe, to compose the several Distempers, and unite, as far as was possible, all who wished well, to concur in the same Patience for the present, and in the same Activity when it should be seasonable. And He, upon full Conference with the principal Persons of the most contradictory Judgments, quickly found that They who were accused to be lazy and unactive, were in Truth discreet Men, and as ready vigorously to appear as the other, when the Season should be advisable, which He clearly discerned it was not then; and that the Presumption of the other, upon Persons as well as Places, was in no Degree to be depended upon. And so, after He had done what was possible towards making a good Intelligence between Tempers and Understandings so different, the Marquis had the same good Fortune to retire from thence and bring himself safe to the King; which was the more wonderful Preservation, in that, during the whole Time of his Abode in *London*, He had trusted no Man more, nor conferred with any Man so much, as with that Person of the *select Knot*, who had been corrupted to give all Intelligence to *Cromwell*: And as He had now blasted and diverted some ill laid Designs, so He had discovered the Marquis his Arrival to him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his Lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every Change, or to contrive any Way for his Apprehension; on the contrary, as in all his Conferences with him He appeared a Man of great Judgment and Perspicacity, and the most ready to engage his Person in any Action that might be for his Majesty's Advantage, so He seemed best to understand the Temper of the Time, and the Parts, Faculties and Interest of all the King's Party; and left the Marquis abundantly satisfied with him, and of the general good Reputation He had with all Men: Which had afterwards an ill Effect, for it kept the King and those who were trusted by him from giving Credit to the first Information He received, from a Person who could not be deceived, of his Tergiversation; his late Fidelity to the Marquis of *Ormond* weighing down with them all the Intimations, until the Evidence was so pregnant, that there was no Room for any Doubt.

AFTER

AFTER all these Endeavours by the King to discountenance and suppress all unseasonable Action amongst his Party, and to infuse into them a Spirit of Peace and Quiet till He himself could appear in the Head of some foreign Forces, which He looked upon as the only reasonable Encouragement that could animate his Friends to declare for him; the generous Distemper and Impatience of their Nature was incorrigible. They thought the Expectation of Miracles from God Almighty was too lazy and stupid a Confidence, and that God no less required their Endeavours and Activity, than They hoped for his Benediction in their Success. New Hopes were entertained, and Counsels suitable entered upon. Mr. *Mordaunt* the younger Son and Brother to the Earls of *Peterborough*, who was too young in the Time of the late War to act any Part in it, had lately undergone, after *Cromwell* himself had taken great Pains in the Examination of him, a severe Trial before the High Court of Justice; where by his own singular Address and Behaviour, and his Friends having wrought by Money upon some of the Witnesses to absent themselves, He was by one single Voice acquitted; and after a longer Detention in Prison by the Indignation of *Cromwell*, who well knew his Guilt, and against the Rules and Forms of their own Justice, He was discharged, after most of his Associates were publicly and barbarously put to several Kinds of Death. And He no sooner found himself at Liberty, than He engaged in new Intrigues, how He might destroy that Government that was so near destroying him. The State of the Kingdom was indeed altered, and He had Encouragement to hope well, which former Undertakers, and himself in his, had been without. *Cromwell* had entered into a War with *Spain*; and the King was received and permitted to live in *Flanders*, with some Exhibition from that King for his Support, and Assurance of an Army to embark for *England*, (which made a great Noise, and raised the broken Hearts of his Friends after so many Distresses) which his Majesty was contented should be generally reputed to be greater and in more Forwardness, than there was Cause for. He had likewise another Advantage much superiour and of more Importance than the other, by the Death of *Cromwell*, which fell out without or beyond Expectation, which seemed to put an End to all his Stratagems, and to dissolve the whole

Frame

Frame of Government in the three Kingdoms, and to open many Doors to the King to enter upon that which every Body knew to be his own. And though this reasonable Hope was, sooner than could be imagined, blasted and extinguished, by an universal Submission to the Declaration that *Cromwell* had made at his Death, "that his Son *Richard* should succeed him;" upon which He was declared Protector by the Council, Army, Navy, with the Concurrence of the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and the Addressees of all the Counties in *England*, with Vows of their Obedience; insomuch as He appeared in the (18) Eyes of all Men as formidably settled as his Father had been: Yet Mr. *Mordaunt* proceeded with Alacrity in his Design, contrary to the Opinion and Advice of those with whom He was obliged to consult, who thought the Conjuncture as unfavourable as any that was past, and looked upon Mr. *Mordaunt* as a rash young Man, of a daring Spirit, without any Experience in military Affairs, and upon themselves as unkindly treated by those about the King, in being exposed to the Importunity of a Gentleman who was a Stranger to them, and who was not equally qualified with them for the forming any Resolution, which They could concur in.

BUT the Intermision of the severe Persecution, which had been formerly practised against the Royal Party, in this Nonage of *Richard's* Government, gave more Liberty to Communication; and the Presbyterian Party grew more discontented and daring, and the Independent less concerned to prevent any Inconvenience or Trouble to the weak Son of *Oliver*, whom They resolved not to obey. Mr. *Mordaunt*, who had gained much Reputation by his steady Carriage in his late Mortification, and by his so brisk Carriage so soon after, found Credit with many Persons of great Fortune and Interest; as Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, the greatest Men in *Cheshire* and *North Wales*, who were reputed *Presbyterians*, and had been Both very active against the King, and now resolved to declare for him; Sir *Horatio Townsend*, who was newly become of Age, and the most powerful Person in *Norfolk*, where there were many gallant Men ready to follow him; and many others the most considerable Men in most of the Counties of *England*: Who all agreed in so many several Counties of *England* to appear upon a Day, in such Bodies as They could draw together;

gether; many considerable Places being prepared for their Reception, or too weak to oppose them. And Mr. *Mordaunt* secretly transported himself and waited upon the King at *Brussels*, with that Wariness that He was known to none, but to them with whom He was to consult. The King received by him a full Information of the Engagement of all those Persons to do him Service with the utmost Hazard, and of the Method They meant to proceed in, and the Probability, most like Assurance, of their being to be possessed of *Glocester*, *Chester*, *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, all *Kent*, and the most considerable Places in the *West*, where indeed his own Friends were very considerable.

UPON the whole Matter the King thought it so reasonable to approve the whole Design, that He appointed the Day, with a Promise to be himself, with his Brother the Duke of *York*, concealed at *Calais* or thereabout, that They might divide themselves to those Parts which should be thought most proper for the Work in Hand. Mr. *Mordaunt* lamented the Wariness and Want of Confidence in those Persons upon whom the King depended, and acknowledged them most worthy of that Trust, and of much Reputation in the Nation; and imputed their much Reservation to the Troubles and Imprisonments which They had been seldom free from, and their Observation how little Ground there had been for former Enterprises, without the least Suspicion of Want of Affection and Resolution in any one of them, and less of Integrity. But the King was by this Time fully convinced where the Treachery was, without any Blemish to any one of the rest, who needed not to be ashamed of being deceived by a Man, whom all the Kingdom would have trusted. The ridiculous Dethroning of *Richard* by the Army, and the reassembling that Part of the old Parliament which was called the *Rump*, and which was more terrible than any single Person could be, because They presently returned into their old Track, and renewed their former Rigour<sup>(19)</sup> against their old, more than their new Enemies, rather advanced than restrained this Combination; too much being known to too many to be secure any other Way than by pursuing it. So the King and Duke according to their former Resolution went to *Calais* and *Boulogne*, and prepared as well to make a Descent into *Kent* with such Numbers of Men, as the Condition They were in would permit.

permit. How, many of those Designs came to be wonderfully and even miraculously disappointed, and Sir *George Booth* defeated by *Lambert*, are particularly set down by those who have taken upon them to mention the Transactions of those Times. And from thence the Universality of all who were, or were suspected to be, of the King's Party, were according to Custom imprisoned, or otherwise cruelly entreated; and thereupon a new Fire kindled amongst themselves: They who had done Nothing reproaching them who had brought that Storm upon them; and They who had been engaged, more loudly and bitterly cursing the other as Deserters of the King, and the Cause of the Ruin of his Cause through their Want of Courage, or what was worse, of Affection. And so all Mens Mouths were opened wider to accuse and defame each other, than to defend their own Integrity and their Lives.

I HAVE thought myself obliged to renew the Memory of all these Particulars, that the several Vicissitudes and Stages may be known, by which the Jealousies, Murmurs and Disaffections, in the Royal Party amongst themselves and against each other, had mounted to that Height, which the King found them at when He returned; when in Truth very few Men of active Minds, and upon whom He could depend in any sudden Occasion that might probably press him, can be named, who had any Confidence in each other. All Men were full of bitter Reflections upon the Actions and Behaviour of others, or of Excuses and Apologies for themselves for what They thought might be charged upon them. The woful Vice of Drinking, from the Uneasiness of their Fortune, or the Necessity of frequent Meetings together, for which Taverns were the most secure Places, had spread itself very far in that *Class* of Men, as well as upon other Parts of the Nation, in all Counties; and had exceedingly weakened the Parts, and broken the Understandings of many, who had formerly competent Judgments, and had been in all Respects fit for any Trust; and had prevented the Growth of Parts in many young Men, who had good Affections, but had been from their Entering into the Word so corrupted with that Excess, and other License of the Time, that They only made much Noise, and, by their extravagant and scandalous Debauches, brought many Calumnies and Disestimation upon that Cause which They pretended to advance.

*The unhappy Constitution of the King's Friends at his Return further exemplified.*

*Many of them much addicted to Drinking.*

advance. They who had suffered much in their Fortunes and by frequent Imprisonments and Sequestrations and Compositions, expected large Recompenses and Reparations in Honours which They could not support, or Offices which They could not discharge, or Lands and Money which the King had not to give; as all dispassioned Men knew the Conditions which the King was obliged to perform, and that the Act of Indemnity discharged all those Forfeitures, which could have been applied to their Benefit: And therefore They who had been without Comparison the greatest Sufferers in their Fortunes, and in all Respects had merited most, never made any inconvenient Suits to the King, but modestly left the Memory and Consideration of all They had done or undergone, to his Majesty's own gracious Reflections. They were observed to be most importunate who had deserved least, and were least capable to perform any notable Service; and none had more Esteem of themselves, and believed Preferment to be more due to them, than a Sort of Men, who had<sup>(20)</sup> most loudly began the King's Health in Taverns, especially if for any Disorders which had accompanied it They had suffered Imprisonment, without any other Pretence of Merit, or running any other Hazard.

*Those who  
had done least  
the most im-  
portunate.*

THOUGH it was very evident (humanly speaking) that the late Combination entered into, and the brave Attempt and Engagement of Sir *George Booth*, how unsuccessful soever in the Instant, had contributed very much to the wonderful Change that had since ensued, by the Discovery of the general Affections and Disposition of the Kingdom, and their Aversion from any Kind of Government that was not founded upon the old Principles; and the publick or private Engagement of very many Persons who had never been before suspected, whereof though many of the most considerable Persons had been by the Treachery heretofore mentioned committed to several Prisons, yet many others of equal Interest remained still in Liberty, and had a great Influence upon the Counsels both in the Parliament and Army: Yet I say, notwithstanding this was notorious, a greater Animosity had been kindled in the Royal Party, and was still pursued and improved amongst them from that Combination and Engagement, than from all the other Accidents and Occasions, and gave the King more Trouble and Perplexity. It had introduced a great Number of Persons, who had formerly no  
Pre-

Pretence of Merit from the King, rather might have been the Objects of his Justice, to a just Title to the greatest Favours the King could confer; and which, from that Time, They had continually improved by repeated Offices and Services, which being of a later Date might be thought to cloud and eclipse the Lustre of those Actions which had before been performed by the more ancient Cavaliers, especially of those who had been observed to be remiss in that Occasion: And therefore They were the more solicitous in undervaluing the Undertaking, and the Persons of the Undertakers, whom They mentioned under such Characters, and to whom They imputed such Weakness and Levities, as They had collected from the several Parts of their Lives, as might render them with much Disadvantage; and would by no Means admit, "that  
 "any of the Good that afterwards befell the King, resulted in any Degree from that rash Enterprize; but  
 "that thereby the King's Friends were so weakened, and  
 "more compleatly undone, that They were disabled to  
 "appear in that Conjunction when the Army was divided, and in which They might otherwise have been  
 "considerable enough to have given the Law to all  
 "Parties."

*And undervalue the more eminent Services of others.*

MR. *Mordaunt*, whom the King had created a Viscount before his Return into *England*, and had been most eminent in the other Contrivances, in a Time when a general Consternation had seized upon the Spirits of those who wished best to his Majesty; for when He resumed his former Resolutions, so soon after his Head was raised from the Block, and when the Blood of his Confederates watered so many Streets in the City and the Suburbs, the most trusted by the King had totally withdrawn their Correspondence, and desired that for some Time no Account or Information might be expected from them; and therefore it must not be denied, that his Vivacity, Courage and Industry, revived the Hearts which were so near broken, before *Cromwell's* Death, and afterwards prevailed with many to have more active Spirits, than They had before appeared to have: This Gentleman, I say, most unjustly underwent the heaviest Weight of all their Censures and Reproaches. He was the Butt at which all their Arrows of Envy, Malice and Jealousy, were aimed and shot; He was the Object and Subject of all their scurrilous  
 (21) Jest, and depraving Discourses and Relations; and They who

*Particularly of Mr. Mordaunt, who had most signally served the King.*



who agreed in Nothing else, were at Unity and of one Mind, in telling ridiculous Stories to the King himself of his Vanity and Behaviour, and laying those Aspersions upon him, as were most like to lessen the King's Opinion of him, and to persuade him that the Recompenses He had already received, were abundantly more than the Services He had performed: Which Kind of Insinuations from several Persons, who seemed not to do it by Concert, together with some Prejudice the noble Person did himself by some unseasonable Importunities, as if He thought He had deserved very much, did for some Time draw a more ungracious Countenance from the King towards him, than his own Nature disposed him to, or than the other's singular and useful Activity, though liable to some Levity or Vanity, did deserve; and which the same Persons, who procured it, made Use of against those who were in most Trust about the King, as Arguments of the little Esteem They had of those who had done the King most Service, when a Man of so eminent Merit, as Mr. *Mordaunt*, was so totally neglected; and did all They could to infuse the same Apprehensions into him. When the Truth is, most Men were affected, and more grieved and discontented, for any Honour and Preferment which They saw conferred upon another Man, than for being disappointed in their own particular Expectations; and looked upon every Obligation bestowed upon another Man, how meritorious soever, as upon a Reproach to them, and an Upbraiding of their Want of Merit.

*This perplexing State of the King's Friends much affects his Spirits.*

THIS unhappy Temper and Constitution of the Royal Party, with whom He had always intended to have made a firm Conjunction against all Accidents and Occurrences which might happen at home or from abroad, did wonderfully displease and trouble the King; and, with the other Perplexities which are mentioned before, did so break his Mind, and had that Operation upon his Spirits, that finding He could not propose any such Method to himself, by which He might extricate himself out of those many Difficulties and Labyrinths in which He was involved, nor expedite those important Matters which depended upon the Good-Will and Dispatch of the Parliament, which would proceed by its own Rules and with its accustomed Formalities, He grew more disposed to leave all Things to their natural Course, and God's Providence; and by Degrees unbent his Mind from the knot-

*He gives himself up to his Pleasures.*

ty and ungrateful Part of his Business, grew more remiss in his Application to it, and indulged to his Youth and Appetite that License and Satisfaction that it desired, and for which He had Opportunity enough, and could not be without Ministers abundant for any such Negotiations; the Time itself; and the young People thereof of either Sex having been educated in all the Liberty of Vice without Reprehension or Restraint. All Relations were con-<sup>Wickedness of</sup> founded by the several Sects in Religion, which discountenanced all Forms of Reverence and Respect, as Reliques and Marks of Superstition. Children asked not Blessing of their Parents; nor did They concern themselves in the Education of their Children, but were well content that They should take any Course to maintain themselves, that They might be free from that Expense. The young Women conversed without any Circumspection or Modesty, and frequently met at Taverns and common Eatinghouses; and They who were stricter and more severe in their Comportment, became the Wives of the seditious Preachers or of Officers of the Army. The Daughters of noble and illustrious Families bestowed themselves upon the Divines of the Time, or other low and unequal Matches. Parents had no Manner of Authority over their Children, nor Children any Obedience or Submission to their Parents;

(22) but *every one did that which was good in his own Eyes*. This unnatural Antipathy had its first Rise from the beginning of the Rebellion, when the Fathers and Sons engaged themselves in the contrary Parties, the one choosing to serve the King, and the other the Parliament; which Division and Contradiction of Affections was afterwards improved to mutual Animosities and direct Malice, by the Help of the Preachers and the several Factions in Religion, or by the Absence of all Religion: So that there were never such Examples of Impiety between such Relations in any Age of the World, Christian or Heathen, as that wicked Time from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the King's Return; of which the Families of *Hotbam* and *Vane* are sufficient Instances, though other more illustrious Houses may be named, where the same accursed Fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the World. The Relation between Masters and Servants had been long since dissolved by the Parliament, that their Army might be increased by the Prentices against their Masters Consent, and that They might have Intelligence of the secret Meet-

ings and Transactions in those Houses and Families which were not devoted to them ; from whence issued the foulest Treacheries and Perfidiousness that were ever practised : And the Blood of the Master was frequently the Price of the Servant's Villany.

CROMWELL had been most strict and severe in the forming the Manners of his Army, and in chastising all Irregularities ; inasmuch that sure there was never any such Body of Men, so without Rapine, Swearing, Drinking, or any other Debauchery, but the Wickedness of their Hearts : And all Persons cherished by him were of the same Leven, and to common Appearance without the Practice of any of those Vices, which were most infamous to the People, and which drew the publick Hatred upon those who were notoriously guilty of them. But then He was well pleased with the most scandalous Lives of those who pretended to be for the King, and wished that all his were such, and took all the Pains He could that They might be generally thought to be such ; whereas in Truth the greatest Part of those who were guilty of those Disorders, were young Men who had never seen the King, and had been born and bred in those corrupt Times *when there was no King in Israel*. He was equally delighted with the Luxury and Voluptuousness of the *Presbyterians*, who in Contempt of the Thrift, Sordidness and affected ill Breeding of the *Independents*, thought it became them to live more generously, and were not strict in restraining or mortifying the unruly and inordinate Appetite of Flesh and Blood, but indulged it with too much and too open Scandal, from which He reaped no small Advantage ; and wished all those who were not his Friends should not only be infected, but given over to the Practice of the most odious Vices and Wickedness.

IN a Word, the Nation was corrupted from that Integrity, good Nature and Generosity that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the World ; in the Room whereof the vilest Craft and Dissembling had succeeded. The Tenderness of the Bowels which is the Quintessence of Justice and Compassion, the very Mention of good Nature, was laughed at and looked upon as the Mark and Character of a Fool ; and a Roughness of Manners, or Hardheartedness and Cruelty was affected. In the Place of Generosity, a vile and sordid Love of Money was entertained as the truest Wis-

Wisdom, and any Thing lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total Decay, or rather a final Expiration, of all Friendship; and to dissuade a Man from any Thing He affected, or to reprove him for any Thing He had done amiss, or to advise him to do any Thing He had no Mind to do, was thought an Impertinence unworthy a wise Man, and received with Reproach and Contempt. These Dilapidations and Ruins of the ancient Candour and Discipline were not taken enough to Heart, and repaired with that early Care and Severity that they might have been, for they were not then incorrigible; but by the Remissness of applying Remedies to some, and the Unwariness in giving a Kind of Countenance to others, too much of that Poison insinuated itself into Minds not well fortified against such Infection: So that much of the Malignity was transplanted instead of being extinguished, to the Corruption of many wholesome Bodies, which, being corrupted, spread the Diseases more powerfully and more mischievously.

THAT the King might be the more vacant to those Thoughts and Divertisements which pleased him best, He appointed the Chancellor and some other, to have frequent Consultations with such Members of the Parliament, who were most able and willing to serve him; and to concert all the Ways and Means, by which the Transactions in the Houses might be carried with the more Expedition, and attended with the best Success. These daily Conferences proved very beneficial to his Majesty's Service; the Members of both Houses being very willing to receive Advice and Direction, and to pursue what They were directed; and all Things were done there in good Order, and succeeded well. All the Courts of Justice in *Westminster-Hall* were presently filled with grave and learned Judges, who had either deserted their Practice and Profession during all the rebellious Times, or had given full Evidence of their Affection to the King and the established Laws in many weighty Instances: And They were then quickly sent in their several Circuits, to administer Justice to the People according to the old Forms of Law, which was universally received and submitted to with all possible Joy and Satisfaction. All Commissions of the Peace were renewed, and the Names of those Persons inserted therein, who had been most eminent Sufferers for the King, and were known to have entire Affections for his Majesty and the

*The old Course  
of Justice re-  
stored.*

Laws; though it was not possible, but some would get and continue in, who were of more doubtful Inclinations, by their not being known to him whose Province it was to depute them. Denied it cannot be, that there appeared, sooner than was thought possible, a general Settlement in the civil Justice of the Kingdom; that no Man complained without Remedy, and *every Man dwelt again under the Shadow of his own Vine*, without any Complaint of Injustice and Oppression.

THE King exposed himself with more Condescension than was necessary to Persons of all Conditions, heard all that They had a Mind to say to him, and gave them such Answers as for the present seemed full of Grace. He was too well pleased to hear both the Men and the Women of all Factions and Fancies in Religion discourse in their own Method, and enlarged himself in Debate with them; which made every one believe that They were more favoured by him than They had Cause: Which Kind of Liberty, though at first it was accompanied with Acclamations and Acknowledgment of his being a Prince of rare Parts and Affability, yet it was attended afterwards with ill Consequences, and gave many Men Opportunity to declare and publish, that the King had said many Things to them which He had never said, and made many Concessions and Promises to them which He had never uttered or thought upon.

*The Chancellor  
was principally  
engaged in the  
publick Trans-  
actions.*

THE Chancellor was generally thought to have most Credit with his Master, and most Power in the Counsels, because the King referred all Matters of what Kind so-<sup>(24)</sup> ever to him. And whosoever repaired to him for his Direction in any Business was sent to the Chancellor, not only because He had a great Confidence in his Integrity, having been with him so many Years, and of whose indefatigable Industry He and all Men had great Experience; but because He saw those Men, whom He was as willing to trust, and who had at least an equal Share in his Affections, more inclined to Ease and Pleasure, and willing that the Weight of the Work should lie on the Chancellor's Shoulders, with whom They had an entire Friendship, and knew well that They should with more Ease be consulted by him in all Matters of Importance. Nor was it possible for him, at the first Coming, to avoid the being engaged in all the Counsels, of how distinct a Nature soever, because He had been best acquainted with all Transactions

Transactions whilst the King was abroad ; and therefore Communication with him in all Things was thought necessary by those, who were to have any Part in them: Besides that He continued still Chancellor of the Exchequer by Virtue of the Grant formerly made to him by the last King, during whose Time He executed that Office, but resolved to surrender it into the King's Hand as soon as his Majesty should resolve on whom to confer it; He proposing Nothing to himself, but to be left at Liberty to intend only the Discharge of his own Office, which He thought himself unequal to, and hoped only to improve his Talent that Way by a most diligent Application, well knowing the great Abilities of those who had formerly sat in that Office, and that They found it required their full Time and all their Faculties. And therefore He did most heartily desire to meddle with Nothing but that Province, which though in itself and the constant Perquisites of it is not sufficient to support the Dignity of it, yet was then, upon the King's Return; and, after it had been so many Years without a lawful Officer, would unquestionably bring in Money enough to be a Foundation to a future Fortune competent to his Ambition, and enough to provoke the Envy of many, who believed They deserved better than He. And that this was the Temper and Resolution He brought with him into *England*, and how unwillingly He departed from it, will evidently appear by two or three Instances which shall be given in their proper Place. However, He could not expect that Freedom, till the Council should be settled (into which the King admitted all who had been Counsellors to his Father and had not eminently forfeited that Promotion by their Revolt, and many of those who had been and still were recommended by the General, amongst whom there were some, who would not have been received upon any other Title) and until those Officers could be settled, who might take particular Care of their several Provinces.

THE King had upon great Deliberation whilst He was beyond the Seas, after his Return appeared in View, firmly resolved to reform those Excesses which were known to be in the great Offices, especially in those of his Household, whilst the Places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant Expenses there; and first himself to gratify those who had followed and served him, in settling them in such inferior Offices and Places, as Custom

*The General confirmed in the Offices assigned him by the Parliament.*

*Also sworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Horse.*

tom had put in the Disposal of the great Officers when they should become vacant after their Admission. And of this Kind He had made many Promises, and given many Warrants under his Sign Manual to Persons who to his own Knowledge had merited those Obligations. But most of those Predeterminations, and many other Resolutions of that Kind, vanished and expired in the Jollity of the Return, and new Inclinations and Affections seemed to be more seasonable. The General, who was the sole Pillar of the King's Confidence, had by the Parliament been invested (before the King's Return) in all the Offices and Commands which *Cromwell* had enjoyed. He was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and General of all the Armies and Forces raised, or to be raised, in the three Kingdoms; and it was not fit that He should be degraded from either upon his Majesty's Arrival: Therefore all Diligence was used in dispatching Grants of all those Commands to him under the Great Seal of *England*. And that He might be obliged to be always near his Majesty's Person, He was presently sworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber; and might choose what Office He liked best in the Court, whilst Titles of Honour were preparing by the Attorney, and Particulars of Lands enquired after by the Auditors and Receivers, which in all Respects might raise him to that Height which would most please him. He made Choice to be Master of the Horse, and was immediately gratified with it; and thereby all those poor Gentlemen, who had Promises and Warrants for several Places depending upon that great Officer, were disappointed, and offered the King's Sign Manual to no Purpose for their Admission. The General in his own Nature was an immoderate Lover of Money, and yet would have gratified some of the Pretenders upon his Majesty's Recommendation, if the vile good Huswifery of his Wife had not engrossed that Province, and preferred him who offered most Money before all other Considerations or Motives. And hereby not only many honest Men, who had several Ways served the King, and spent the Fortunes They had been Masters of, were denied the Rewards the King had designed to them; but such Men who had been most notorious in the Malice against the Crown from the Beginning of the Rebellion, or had been employed in all the active Offices to affront and oppress his Party, were for Money preferred and admitted into those

those Offices, and became the King's Servants very much against his Will, and with his manifest Regret on the Behalf of the honest Men who had been so unworthily rejected. And this occasioned the first Murmur and Discontent, which appeared after the King's Return, amongst those who were not inclined to it, yet found every Day fresh Occasions to nourish and improve it.

THE settling this great Officer in the Stables, made it necessary to appoint a Lord Steward of the Household, who was a necessary Officer for the Parliament, being by the Statute appointed to swear all the Members of the House of Commons; and to this Charge the Marquis of *Ormond* had been long designed, and was then sworn. And They had Both their Tables erected according to the old Models, and all those Excesses which the irregular Precedents of former Times had introduced, and which the King had so solemnly resolved to reform before it could be said to trench upon the Rights of particular Persons. But the good Humour the King was in, and the Plenty which generally appeared, how much soever without a Fund to support it, and especially the natural Desire his Majesty had to see every Body pleased, banished all Thoughts of such Providence; instead whereof He resolved forthwith to settle his House according to former Rules, or rather without any Rule, and to appoint the Officers who impatiently expected their Promotion. He directed his own Table to be more magnificently furnished than it had ever been in any Time of his Predecessors, which Example was easily followed in all Offices.

*The Marquis of Ormond made Lord Steward of the Household.*

THAT He might give a lively Instance of his Grace to those who had been of the Party which had been faulty, according to his Declaration from *Breda*, He made of his own free Inclination and Choice the Earl of *Manchester* (who was looked upon as one of the principal Heads of (26) the Presbyterian Party) Lord Chamberlain of his House; who, continuing still to perform all good Offices to his old Friends, complied very punctually with all the Obligations and Duties which his Place required, never failed being at Chapel and at all the King's Devotions with all imaginable Decency; and, by his extraordinary Civilities and Behaviour towards all Men, did not only appear the fittest Person the King could have chosen for that Office in that Time, but rendered himself so acceptable to all Degrees of Men, that none, but such who were implacable

*The Earl of Manchester Lord Chamberlain.*

ble



ble towards all who had ever diserved the King, were sorry to see him so promoted. And it must be confessed, that as He had expressed much Penitence for what He had done amiss, and was mortally hated and persecuted by *Cromwell*, even for his Life, and had done many Acts of Merit towards the King; so He was of all Men who had ever borne Arms against the King, both in the Gentleness and Justice of his Nature, in the Sweetness and Evenness of his Conversation, and in his real Principles for Monarchy, the most worthy to be received into the Trust and Confidence in which He was placed. With his, the two other white Staves were disposed to those to whom they were designed, when the King was Prince of *Wales*, by his Father: And all other inferiour Officers were made, who were to take Care of the Expenses of the House, and were a great Part of it.

AND thus the King's House quickly appeared in its full Lustre, the Eating and Drinking very grateful to all Men, and the Charge and Expense of it much exceeding the Precedents of the most luxurious Times; and all this before there was any Provision of ready Money, or any Assignment of a future Fund, to discharge or support it. All Men were ready to deliver their Goods upon Trust, the Officers too remiss in computing the Disbursements; insomuch as the Debts contracted by those Excesses in less than the first Year broke all the Measures in that Degree, that they could not suddenly be retrenched for the future; and the Debt itself was not discharged in many Years.

THE King had in his Purpose, long before his Return, to make the Earl of *Southampton* (who was the most valued and esteemed of all the Nobility, and generally thought worthy of any Honour or Office) Lord High Treasurer of *England*; but He desired first to see some Revenue settled by the Parliament, and that Part of the old, which had been sold and dispersed by extravagant Grants and Sales, reduced into the old Channel, and regularly to be received and paid, and the Customs to be put in such Order (which were not yet granted, and only continued by Orders as illegal as the late Times had been accustomed to, and to the Authority whereof He had no Mind to administer) before He was willing to receive the Staff. And so the Office of the Treasury was by Commission executed by several Lords of the Council, whereof the

the Chancellor, as well by the Dignity of his Place, as by his still being Chancellor of the Exchequer, was one, and so engaged in the putting the Customs likewise into Commissioners Hands, and settling all the other Branches of the Revenue in such Manner as was thought most reasonable; in all Debates whereof his Majesty himself was still present, and approved the Conclusion. But after a Month or two spent in this Method, in the Crowd of so much Business of several Natures, the King found so little Expedition that He thought it best to determine that Commission, and so gave the Staff to the Earl of Southampton, and made him Treasurer. And the Chancellor at the same Time surrendering his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer into the King's Hands, his Majesty upon the humble Desire of the Earl conferred that (27) Office upon Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, who had married his Niece, and whose Parts well enough qualified him for the Discharge thereof; though some other Qualities of his, as well known, brought no Advantage to his Majesty by that Promotion. And from this Time the Chancellor would never intermeddle in the Business of the Exchequer, nor admit any Applications to him in it: However, the Friendship was so great between the Treasurer and him, and so notorious from an ancient Date, and from a joint Confidence in each other in the Service of the last King, that neither of them concluded any Matter of Importance without consulting with the other. And so the Treasurer, Marquis of *Ormond*, the General, with the two Secretaries of State, were of that secret Committee with the Chancellor, which, under the Notion of foreign Affairs, were appointed by the King to consult all his Affairs before they came to a publick Debate; and in which there could not be a more united Concurrence of Judgments and Affections.

*The Earl of Southampton Lord High Treasurer.*

*And Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

YET it was the Chancellor's Misfortune to be thought to have the greatest Credit with the King, for the Reasons mentioned before, and which for some Time seemed to be without Envy, by Reason of his many Years Service of the Crown, and constant Fidelity to the same, and his long Attendance upon the Person of his Majesty, and the Friendship He had with the most eminent Persons who had adhered to that Interest. Yet He foresaw, and told many of his Friends, "that the Credit He was thought to have with the King, and which He knew  
" was

*The Chancellor  
foresees a  
Storm of En-  
vy arising  
against him.*

“was much less than it was thought to be, and his being  
“obliged by the King to conduct many Affairs, which  
“were foreign to those which principally concerned and  
“related to his Office, would in a short Time raise such  
“a Storm of Envy and Malice against him, that He  
“should not be able to stand the Shock.” All Mens  
Impatience to get, and Immodesty in asking, when the  
King had Nothing to give, with his Majesty’s Easiness  
of Access, and that *Imbecillitas Frontis* which kept him  
from denying, together with rescuing himself from the  
most troublesome Importunities by sending Men to the  
Chancellor, could not but in a short Time make him be  
looked upon as the Man that obstructed all their Pre-  
tences; in which They were confirmed by his own Car-  
riage towards them, which though They could not deny  
to be full of Civility, yet He always dissuaded them from  
pursuing the Suits They had made to the King, as unfit  
or unjust for his Majesty to grant, how inclinable soever  
He had seemed to them. And so, instead of promising  
to assist them, He positively denied so much as to endea-  
vour it, when the Matter would not bear it; but where  
He could do Courtesies, no Man proceeded more cheer-  
fully and more unasked, which very many of all Condi-  
tions knew to be true; nor did He ever receive Recom-  
pense or Reward for any such Offices. Of which Tem-  
per of his there will be Occasion to say more hereafter.

*A Discovery  
of the Duke of  
York’s Mar-  
riage with the  
Chancellor’s  
Daughter.*

THE first Matter of general and publick Importance,  
and which resulted not from any Debate in Parliament,  
was the Discovery of a great Affection that the Duke had  
for the Chancellor’s Daughter, who was a Maid of Ho-  
nour to the King’s Sister the Princess Royal of *Orange*,  
and of a Contract of Marriage between them: With  
which Nobody was so surpris’d and confounded as the  
Chancellor himself, who being of a Nature free from any  
Jealousy, and very confident of an entire Affection and  
Obedience from all his Children, and particularly from  
that Daughter, whom He had always loved dearly, never  
had in the least Degree suspected any such Thing;  
though He knew afterwards, that the Duke’s Affection  
and Kindness had been much spoken of beyond the  
Seas, but without the least Suspicion in any Body that it<sup>(23)</sup>  
could ever tend to Marriage. And therefore it was  
cherished and promoted in the Duke by those, and only  
by those, who were declared Enemies to the Chancellor,  
and

and who hoped from thence, that some signal Disgrace and Dishonour would befall the Chancellor and his Family; in which They were the more reasonably confirmed by the Manner of the Duke's living towards him, which had never any Thing of Grace in it, but very much of Disfavour, to which the Lord *Berkley*, and most of his other Servants to please the Lord *Berkley*, had contributed all They could; and the Queen's notorious Prejudice to him had made it Part of his Duty to her Majesty, which had been a very great Discomfort to the Chancellor in his whole Administration beyond the Seas. But now, upon this Discovery and the Consequence thereof, He looked upon himself as a ruined Person, and that the King's Indignation ought to fall upon him as the Contriver of that Indignity to the Crown, which as himself from his Soul abhorred, and would have had the Presumption of his Daughter to be punished with the utmost Severity, so He believed the whole Kingdom would be inflamed to the Punishment of it, and to prevent the Dishonour which might result from it. And the least Calamity that He expected upon himself and Family, how innocent soever, was an everlasting Banishment out of the Kingdom, and to end his Days in foreign Parts in Poverty and Misery. All which undoubtedly must have come to pass upon that Occasion, if the King had either had that Indignation, which had been just in him; or if He had withdrawn his Grace and Favour from him, and left him to be sacrificed by the Envy and Rage of others; though at this Time He was not thought to have many Enemies, nor indeed any who were Friends to any other honest Men. But the King's own Knowledge of his Innocence, and thereupon his gracious Condescension and Interposition, diverting any rough Proceeding, and so a contrary Effect to what hath been mentioned having been produced from thence; the Chancellor's Greatness seemed to be thereby confirmed, his Family established above the Reach of common Envy, and his Fortune to be in a growing and prosperous Condition not like to be shaken. Yet after many Years Possession of this Prosperity, an unexpected Gust of Displeasure took again its Rise from this Original, and overwhelmed him with Variety and Succession of Misfortunes.

THE Chancellor, as soon as the King was at *Whitehall*, had sent for his Daughter, having a Design presently to marry

*The Continuation of the Life of*

marry her; to which Purpose He had an Overture from a noble Family, on the Behalf of a well-bred hopeful young Gentleman, who was the Heir of it. His Daughter quickly arrived at her Father's House, to his great Joy, having always had a great Affection for her; and She being his eldest Child, He had more Acquaintance with her than with any of his Children; and being now of an Age fit for Marriage, He was well pleased that He had an Opportunity to place her in such a Condition, as with God's Blessing was like to yield her much Content. She had not been long in *England*, when the Duke informed the King "of the Affection and Engagement that had been long between them; that They had been long contracted, and that She was with Child:" And therefore with all imaginable Importunity He begged his Majesty's Leave and Permission upon his Knees "that He might publickly marry her, in such a Manner as his Majesty thought necessary for the Consequence thereof." The King was much troubled with it, and more with his Brother's Passion, which was expressed in a very wonderful Manner and with many Tears, protesting "that if his Majesty should not give his Consent, He would immediately leave the Kingdom, and must spend his Life in foreign Parts." His Majesty was very much perplexed to resolve what to do: He knew the Chancellor so well, that He concluded that He was not privy to it, nor would ever approve it; and yet that it might draw much Prejudice upon him, by the Jealousy of those who were not well acquainted with his Nature. He presently sent for the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who He well knew were his Bosom-Friends, and informed them at large and of all Particulars which had passed from the Duke to him, and commanded them presently to see for the Chancellor to come to his own Chamber at *Whitehall*, where They would meet him upon a Business of great Importance, which the King had commended to them for their joint Advice. They no sooner met, than the Marquis of *Ormond* told the Chancellor, "that He had a Matter to inform him of, that He doubted would give him much Trouble;" and therefore advised him to compose himself to hear it: And then told him, "that the Duke of *York* had owned a great Affection for his Daughter to the King, and that He much doubted that She was with Child by the Duke, and that the King

*The Duke's  
Declaration of  
it to the King.*

*The King  
sends two of  
the Chancellor's  
Bosom-Friends to  
open the Mat-  
ter to him.*

"King required the Advice of them and of him what He  
"was to do."

THE Manner of the Chancellor's receiving this Adver-  
tisement made it evident enough, that He was struck with  
it to the Heart, and had never had the least Jealousy or  
Apprehension of it. He broke out into a very immoderate  
Passion against the Wickedness of his Daughter, and  
said with all imaginable Earnestness, "that as soon as He  
"came Home, He would turn her out of his House, as  
"a Strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see  
"her again." They told him, "that his Passion was too  
"violent to administer good Counsel to him, that They  
"thought that the Duke was married to his Daughter,  
"and that there were other Measures to be taken, than  
"those which the Disorder He was in had suggested to  
"him." Whereupon He fell into new Commotions,  
and said, "if that were true, He was well prepared to  
"advise what was to be done: That He had much rather  
"his Daughter should be the Duke's Whore than his  
"Wife: In the former Case Nobody could blame him for  
"the Resolution He had taken, for He was not obliged  
"to keep a Whore for the greatest Prince alive; and the  
"Indignity to himself He would submit to the good Plea-  
"sure of God. But if there were any Reason to suspect  
"the other, He was ready to give a positive Judgment,  
"in which He hoped their Lordships would concur with  
"him; that the King should immediately cause the Wo-  
"man to be sent to the *Tower*, and to be cast into a Dun-  
"geon, under so strict a Guard, that no Person living  
"should be admitted to come to her; and then that an  
"Act of Parliament should be immediately passed for the  
"cutting off her Head, to which He would not only  
"give his Consent, but would very willingly be the first  
"Man that should propose it:" And whoever knew the  
Man, will believe that He said all this very heartily.

*The Chancel-  
lor struck  
with it to  
the Heart.*

*And breaks  
out into a vo-  
ry immoderate  
Passion.*

IN this Point of Time the King entered the Room,  
and sat down at the Table; and perceiving by his Coun-  
tenance the Agony the Chancellor was in, and his swollen  
Eyes from whence a Flood of Tears were fallen, He asked  
the other Lords, "what They had done, and whether  
"They had resolved on any Thing." The Earl of *South-*  
*ampton* said, "his Majesty must consult with soberer Men;  
"that He" (pointing to the Chancellor) "was mad, and  
"had proposed such extravagant Things, that He was no  
"more

"more to be consulted with." Whereupon his Majesty  
 looking upon him with a wonderful Benignity, said,  
 "Chancellor, I knew this Business would trouble you; (30)  
 "and therefore I appointed your two Friends to confer  
 "first with you upon it, before I would speak with you  
 "myself: But You must now lay aside all Passion that  
 "disturbs you, and consider that this Business will not do  
 "itself; that it will quickly take Air; and therefore it is  
 "fit that I first resolve what to do, before other Men un-  
 "called presume to give their Counsel: Tell me there-  
 "fore what You would have me do, and I will follow  
 "your Advice." Then his Majesty enlarged upon the  
 Passion of his Brother, and the Expressions He had often  
 used, "that He was not capable of having any other  
 "Wife, and the like." Upon which the Chancellor arose,  
 and with a little Composedness said, "Sir, I hope I need  
 "make no Apology to you for myself, and of my own  
 "in this Matter, upon which I look with so much De-  
 "testation, that though I could have wished, that your  
 "Brother had not thought it fit to have put this Disgrace  
 "upon me, I had much rather submit and bear it with  
 "all Humility, than that it should be repaired by making  
 "her his Wife; the Thought whereof I do so much abo-  
 "minate, that I had much rather see her dead, with all  
 "the Infamy that is due to her Presumption." And then  
 He repeated all that He had before said to the Lords;  
 of sending her presently to the *Tower*, and the rest; and  
 concluded, "Sir, I do upon all my Oaths which I have  
 "taken to you to give you faithful Counsels, and from  
 "all the sincere Gratitude I stand obliged to you for so  
 "many Obligations, renew this Counsel to you; and do  
 "beseech you to pursue it, as the only Expedient that  
 "can free you from the Evils that this Business will  
 "otherwise bring upon you." And observing by the  
 King's Countenance that He was not pleased with his  
 Advice, He continued and said, "I am the dullest Crea-  
 "ture alive, if, having been with your Majesty so many  
 "Years, I do not know your Infirmities better than other  
 "Men. You are of too easy and gentle a Nature to con-  
 "tend with those rough Affronts, which the Iniquity and  
 "License of the late Times is like to put upon you, be-  
 "fore it be subdued and reformed. The Presumption  
 "all Kind of Men have upon your Temper is too no-  
 "torious to all Men, and lamented by all who wish  
 "you

“you well: And, trust me, an Example of the highest  
 “Severity in a Case that so nearly concerns you, and that  
 “relates to the Person who is nearest to you, will be so  
 “seasonable, that your Reign, during the remaining Part  
 “of your Life, will be the easier to you, and all Men  
 “will take Heed, how They impudently offend you.”

HE had scarce done speaking, when the Duke of *York* came in; whereupon the King spake of some other Business, and shortly after went out of the Room with his Brother, whom (as was shortly known) He informed of all that the Chancellor had said, who, as soon as He came to his House, sent his Wife to command his Daughter to keep her Chamber, and not to admit any Visits; whereas before She had always been at Dinner and Supper, and had much Company resorting to her: Which was all that He thought fit to do, upon the first Assault, and till He had slept upon it, (which He did very unquietly) and reflected upon what was like to be the Effect of so extravagant a Cause. And this was quickly known to the Duke, who was exceedingly offended at it, and complained to the King, as of an Indignity offered to him. And the next Morning the King chid the Chancellor for proceeding with so much Precipitation, and required him “to take off that Restraint, and to leave her to the Liberty She had been accustomed to.” To which He replied, “that her having not discharged the Duty of a  
 (31) “Daughter ought not to deprive him of the Authority of  
 “a Father; and therefore He must humbly beg his Majesty not to interpose his Commands, against his doing  
 “any Thing that his own Dignity required: That He  
 “only expected what his Majesty would do upon the Advice He had humbly offered to him, and when He saw  
 “that, He would himself proceed as He was sure would  
 “become him:” Nor did He take off any of the Restraint He had imposed. Yet He discovered after, that even in that Time the Duke had found Ways to come to her, and to stay whole Nights with her, by the Administration of those who were not suspected by him, and who had the Excuse, “that They knew that They were  
 “married.”

THIS Subject was quickly the Matter of all Mens Discourse, and did not produce those Murmurs and discontented Reflections, which were expected. The Parliament was sitting, and took not the least Notice of it; *This Affair produces not those Murmurs and Discontents the Chancellor was nor pestered.*



nor could it be discerned, that many were scandalized at it. The Chancellor received the same Respects from all Men, which He had been accustomed to. And the Duke himself, in the House of Peers, frequently sat by him upon the Wool-Sack, that He might the more easily confer with him upon the Matters which were debated, and receive his Advice how to behave himself; which made all Men believe, that there had been a good Understanding between them. And yet it is very true, that, in all that Time, the Duke never spake one Word to him of that Affair. The King spake every Day about it, and told the Chancellor, "that He must behave himself wifely, for that the Thing was remediless; and, that his Majesty knew that They were married, which would quickly appear to all Men, who knew that Nothing could be done upon it." In this Time the Chancellor had conferred with his Daughter without any Thing of Indulgence, and not only discovered, that They were unquestionably married, but by whom, and who were present at it, who would be ready to avow it; which pleased him not, though it diverted him from using some of that Rigour, which He intended. And He saw no other Remedy could be applied, but that which He had proposed to the King, who thought of Nothing like it.

At this Time, there was News of the Princess Royal's Embarkation in *Holland*, which obliged the King and the Duke of *York* to make a Journey to *Dover* to receive her, who came for no other Reason, but to congratulate with the King, her Brother, and to have her Share in the publick Joy. The Morning that They began their Journey, the King and the Duke came to the Chancellor's House; and the King, after He had spoken to him of some Business that was to be done in his Absence, going out of the Room, the Duke stayed behind, and whispered the Chancellor in the Ear, because there were others at a little Distance, "that He knew that He had heard of the Business between him and his Daughter, and of which He confessed He ought to have spoken with him before; but that when He returned from *Dover*, He would give him full Satisfaction: In the mean Time" He desired him "not to be offended with his Daughter." To which the Chancellor made no other Answer, than "that it was a Matter too great for him to speak of."

WHEN

WHEN the Princess Royal came to the Town, there grew to be a great Silence in that Affair. The Duke said Nothing to the Chancellor, nor came nor sent to his Daughter, as He had constantly used to do. And it was industriously published about the Town, that that Business was broken off, and that the Duke was resolved never to think more of it. The Queen had before written a very (32) sharp Letter to the Duke, full of Indignation, that He should have so low Thoughts as to marry such a Woman; to whom He shewed the Letter, as not moved by it. And now She sent the King Word, "that She was "on the Way to *England*, to prevent, with her Authority, so great a Stain and Dishonour to the Crown;" and used many Threats and passionate Expressions upon the Subject. The Chancellor sate unconcerned in all the Rumours which were spread, "that the Queen was coming with a Purpose to complain to the Parliament against "the Chancellor, and to apply the highest Remedies to "prevent so great a Mischief."

*The Queen  
Mother greatly  
incensed at  
it.*

IN the mean Time it was reported abroad, that the Duke had discovered some Disloyalty in the Lady, which He had never suspected, but had now so full Evidence of it, that He was resolved never more to see her; and that He was not married. And all his Family, whereof the Lord *Berkley* and his Nephew were the chief, who had long hated the Chancellor, spake very loudly and scandalously of it. The King carried himself with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor, and was with him more, and spake upon all Occasions and before all Persons more graciously of him, than ever. He told him with much Trouble, "that his Brother was abused; and "that there was a wicked Conspiracy set on Foot by Villains, which, in the End, must prove of more Dishonour to the Duke, than to any Body else."

*The King carries himself  
with extraordinary  
Grace towards the  
Chancellor.*

THE Queen was now ready to embark, inflamed and hastened by this Occasion; and it was fit for the King and the Duke, to wait on her at the Shore. But before his Majesty's Going, He resolved of himself to do a Grace to the Chancellor, that should publish, how far He was from being shaken in his Favour towards him, and to do it with such Circumstances, as gave it great Lustre. From the Time of his Coming into *England*, He had often offered the Chancellor to make him a Baron, and told him, "that He was assured by many of

*Makes him a  
Present of  
20,000  
Pounds.*

“the Lords, that it was most necessary for his Service in  
“the Parliament.” But He had still refused it, and be-  
sought his Majesty “not to think of it; that it would in-  
crease the Envy against him, if He should confer that  
“Honour upon him so soon; but that hereafter, when  
“his Majesty’s Affairs should be settled, and He, out of  
“the extraordinary Perquisites of his Office, should be  
“able to make some Addition to his small Fortune, He  
“would with that Humility that became him, receive  
“that Honour from him.” The King, in few Days af-  
ter, coming to him, and being alone with him in his Ca-  
binet, at going away gave him a little Billet into his  
Hand, that contained a Warrant of his own Handwriting  
to Sir *Stephen Fox*, to pay to the Chancellor the Sum of  
twenty thousand Pounds; which was Part of the Money,  
which the Parliament had presented to the King at the  
*Hague*, and for which He had been compelled to take  
Bills of Exchange again from *Amsterdam* upon *London*;  
which was only known to the King, the Chancellor, and  
Sir *Stephen Fox*, who was intrusted to receive it, as He  
had done all the King’s Monies for many Years beyond  
the Seas. This Bounty flowing immediately from the  
King, at such a melancholick Conjunction, and of which  
Nobody could have Notice, could not but much raise the  
Spirits of the Chancellor. Nor did the King’s Goodness  
rest here, but the Night before He began his Journey to-  
wards the Queen, He sent for the Attorney General, whom  
He knew to be most devoted to the Chancellor, and told  
him, “that He must intrust him in an Affair, that He  
“must not impart to the Chancellor;” and then gave him  
a Warrant signed for the Creation of him a Baron, which  
He commanded “to be ready to pass the Seal, against  
“the Hour of his Majesty’s Return, and He would then<sup>(33)</sup>  
“see it sealed himself: But if the Chancellor came first to  
“know it, He would use great Importunity to stop it.”  
The Attorney said, “it would be impossible to conceal it  
“from him, because, without his Privy and Direction,  
“He knew not what Title to give him for his Barony.”  
The King replied with Warmth, “that He should confer  
“with some of his Friends of the Way; but that He  
“would take it ill of him, if there were any Delay in it,  
“and if it were not ready for the Seal at the Time of his  
“Return, which would be in few Days.” The Attor-  
ney came to the Chancellor and told him, “He would  
“break

“break a Trust to do him a Service; and therefore He  
 “presumed, that He would not be so unjust to let him  
 “suffer by it:” And then told him all that had passed be-  
 tween the King and him. And the Chancellor confessed,  
 “that the King’s obliging Manner of Proceeding, and  
 “the Conjuncture in which this Honour was given,”  
 though He had before refused it with Obstinacy, “made  
 “it now very grateful to him:” And so without Hesita-  
 tion He told him what Title He would assume. And all  
 was ready against the King’s Return, and signed by him,  
 and sealed the same Night.

*And creates  
 him a Baron.*

THE Queen had expressed her Indignation to the King  
 and Duke, with her natural Passion, from the Time of  
 their Meeting; and the Duke had asked her Pardon, “for  
 “having placed his Affection so unequally, of which He  
 “was sure there was now an End; that He was not mar-  
 “ried, and had now such Evidence of her Unworthiness,  
 “that He should no more think of her.” And it was now  
 avowedly said, that Sir Charles Berkley, who was Captain  
 of his Guard, and in much more Credit and Favour with  
 the Duke than his Uncle, (though a young Man of a dis-  
 solute Life, and prone to all Wickedness in the Judgment  
 of all sober Men) had informed the Duke; “that He was  
 “bound in Conscience, to preserve him from taking to  
 “Wife a Woman so wholly unworthy of him; that He  
 “himself had lain with her; and that for his Sake He  
 “would be content to marry her, though He knew well  
 “the Familiarity the Duke had with her.” This Evi-  
 dence, with so solemn Oaths presented by a Person so  
 much loved and trusted by him, made a wonderful Im-  
 pression in the Duke; and now confirmed by the Com-  
 mands of his Mother, as He had been before prevailed  
 upon by his Sister, He resolved to deny that He was mar-  
 ried, and never to see the Woman again, who had been  
 so false to him. And the Queen being satisfied with this  
 Resolution, They came all to *London*, with a full Hope  
 that They should prevail to the utter Overthrow of the  
 Chancellor; the King having, without any Reply or De-  
 bate, heard all They said of the other Affair, and his  
 Mother’s Bitterness against him. But when, the very next  
 Morning after their Arrival at *London*, They saw the  
 Chancellor (who had not seen the King) appear in the  
 Parliament in the Robes of a Peer; They thought it to  
 no Purpose to prosecute their Design against him, whom

*Sir Charles  
 Berkley in-  
 duces the Dut-  
 chess of  
 York’s Re-  
 putation.*

*Upon which  
 the Duke re-  
 solves to deny  
 his Marriage.*

his Majesty was resolved to protect from any unjust Persecution. But the other Resolution was pursued with Noise and much Defamation.

THE next Day after the Queen's Arrival, all the Privy Council in a Body waited upon the Queen, to congratulate her Return into *England*; and the Chancellor was obliged to go in the Head of them, and was received with the same Countenance that the rest were, which was very cheerful, and with many gracious Expressions. And from this Time He put not himself in her Majesty's Presence, nor appeared at all concerned at the scandalous Discourses against his Daughter. The Earl of *St. Albans* and all who were near the Queen in any Trust, and the Lord *Berkley* and his Faction about the Duke, lived in Defiance of the Chancellor, and so imprudently, that They did him no<sup>(34)</sup> Harm, but underwent the Reproach of most sober Men. The King continued his Grace towards him without the least Diminution, and not only to him, but to many others who were trusted by him; which made it evident, that He believed Nothing of what Sir *Charles Berkley* avowed, and looked on him as a Fellow of great Wick-edness: Which Opinion the King was long known to have of him, before his coming into *England*, and after.

IN the mean Time, the Season of his Daughter's Delivery was at Hand. And it was the King's Chance to be at his House with the Committee of Council, when She fell in Labour: Of which being advertised by her Father, the King directed him "to send for the Lady Marchioness of *Ormond*, the Countess of *Sunderland*, and other Ladies of known Honour and Fidelity to the Crown, "to be present with her:" Who all came, and were present till She was delivered of a Son. The Bishop of *Winchester*, in the Interval of her greatest Pangs, and sometimes when they were upon her, was present, and asked her such Questions as were thought fit for the Occasion; "whose the Child was of which She was in Labour," whom She averred, with all Protestations, to be the Duke's; "whether She had ever known any other Man," which She renounced with all Vehemence, saying, "that "She was confident the Duke did not think She had;" and being asked, "whether She was married to the Duke," She answered, "She was, and that there were Witnesses enough, who in due Time, She was confident, would "avow it." In a Word, her Behaviour was such as abundantly

*The Duke's  
deposed of a  
Son.*

abundantly satisfied the Ladies who were present, of her Innocence from the Reproach; and They were not reserved in the Declaration of it, even before the Persons who were least pleased with their Testimony. And the Lady Marchioness of *Ormond* took an Opportunity to declare it fully to the Duke himself, and perceived in him such a Kind of Tenderness, that persuaded her that He did not believe any Thing amiss. And the King enough published his Opinion and Judgment of the Scandal.

THE Chancellor's own Carriage, that is, his doing Nothing, nor saying any Thing from whence They might take Advantage, exceedingly vexed them. Yet They undertook to know, and informed the Duke confidently, "that the Chancellor had a great party in the Parliament; and that He was resolved within few Days to complain there, and to produce the Witnesses, who were present at the Marriage, to be examined, that their Testimony might remain there; which would be a great Affront to him;" with many other Particulars, which might incense his Highness. Whereupon the Duke, who had been observed never to have spoken to him in the House of Peers, or any where else, since the Time of his going to meet his Sister, finding the Chancellor one Day in the Privy Lodgings, whispered him in the Ear, "that He would be glad to confer with him in his Lodging," whither He was then going. The other immediately followed; and being come thither, the Duke sent all his Servants out of Distance; and then told him with much Warmth, "what He had been informed of his Purpose to complain to the Parliament against him, which He did not value or care for: However, if He should prosecute any such Course, it should be the worse for him;" implying some Threats, "what He would do, before He would bear such an Affront;" adding then, "that for his Daughter, She had behaved herself so foully (of which He had such Evidence as was as convincing as his own Eyes, and of which He could make no Doubt) that Nobody could blame him for his Behaviour towards her;" concluding with some other (35) Threats, "that He should repent it, if He pursued his Intention of appealing to the Parliament."

As soon as the Duke discontinued his Discourse, the Chancellor told him, "that He hoped He would discover the Untruth of other Reports which had been made to

"him by the Falsehood of this, which had been raised  
 "without the least Ground or Shadow of Truth. That  
 "though He did not pretend to much Wisdom, yet no  
 "Man took him to be such a Fool, as He must be, if He  
 "intended to do such an Act as He was informed. That  
 "if his Highness had done any Thing towards or against  
 "him which He ought not to have done, there was One  
 "who is as much above him, as his Highness was above  
 "him, and who could both censure and punish it. For  
 "his own Part, He knew too well whose Son He was,  
 "and whose Brother He is, to behave himself towards  
 "him with less Duty and Submission than was due to him,  
 "and should be always paid by him." He said, "He was  
 "not concerned to vindicate his Daughter from any the  
 "most improbable Scandals and Aspersions: She had  
 "disobliged and deceived him too much, for him to be  
 "over-confident, that She might not deceive any other  
 "Man: And therefore He would leave that likewise to  
 "God Almighty, upon whose Blessing He would always  
 "depend, whilst himself remained innocent, and no  
 "longer." The Duke replied not, nor from that Time  
 mentioned the Chancellor with any Displeasure; and re-  
 lated to the King, and some other Persons, the Discourse  
 that had passed, very exactly.

THERE did not after all this appear, in the Discourses  
 of Men, any of that Humour and Indignation which was  
 expected. On the contrary, Men of the greatest Name  
 and Reputation spake of the Foulness of the Proceeding  
 with great Freedom, and with all the Detestation imagin-  
 able against Sir *Charles Berkley*, whose Testimony No-  
 body believed; not without some Censure of the Chan-  
 cellor, for not enough appearing and prosecuting the In-  
 dignity: But He was not to be moved by any Instances,  
 which He never afterwards repented. The Queen's im-  
 placable Displeasure continued in the full Height, doing  
 all She could to keep the Duke firm to his Resolution,  
 and to give all Countenance to the Calumny. As before  
 the Discovery of this Engagement of the Duke's Affection,  
 the Duke of *Glocester* had died of the Smallpox, to the ex-  
 traordinary Grief of the King and the whole Kingdom;  
 so, at this Time, it pleased God to visit the Princess Royal  
 with the same Disease, and of which She died within few  
 Days; having in her last Agonies expressed a dislike of  
 the Proceedings in that Affair, to which She had contri-  
 buted

buted too much. The Duke himself grew melancholick The Duke  
grew melan-  
cholick. and dispirited, and cared not for Company, nor those Di-  
 vertisements in which He formerly delighted: Which was  
 observed by every Body, and which in the End wrought  
 so far upon the Conscience of the lewd Informer, that He,  
 Sir *Charles Berkley*, came to the Duke, and clearly de-  
 clared to him; "that the general Discourse of Men, of Sir Charles  
Berkley con-  
fesses the  
Falseness of  
his Charge a-  
gainst the  
Dutchess.  
 "what Inconvenience and Mischief, if not absolute Ruin,  
 "such a Marriage would be to his Royal Highness, had  
 "prevailed with him to use all the Power He had to dis-  
 "suade him from it; and when He found He could not  
 "prevail with him, He had formed that Accusation,  
 "which He presumed could not but produce the Effect  
 "He wished; which He now confessed to be false, and  
 "without the least Ground; and that He was very confi-  
 "dent of her Virtue:" And therefore besought his High-  
 ness "to pardon a Fault, that was committed out of pure  
 "Devotion to him; and that He would not suffer him to  
 (36) "be ruined by the Power of those, whom He had so un-  
 "worthily provoked; and of which He had so much  
 "Shame, that He had not Confidence to look upon  
 "them." The Duke found himself so much relieved in  
 that Part that most afflicted him, that He embraced him,  
 and made a solemn Promise, "that He should not suffer  
 "in the least Degree in his own Affection, for what had  
 "proceeded so absolutely from his Good-Will to him;  
 "and that He would take so much Care of him, that  
 "in the compounding that Affair He should be so com-  
 "prehended, that He should receive no Disadvantage."

AND now the Duke appeared with another Counte-  
 nance, writ to her whom He had injured "that He The Duke  
greatly pleased  
with this  
Confession.  
 "would speedily visit her," and gave her Charge "to  
 "have a Care of his Son." He gave the King a full Ac-  
 count of all, without concealing his Joy; and took most  
 Pleasure in conferring with them, who had seemed least  
 of his Mind when He had been most transported, and  
 who had always argued against the Probability of the  
 Testimony which had wrought upon him. The Queen  
 was not pleased with this Change, though the Duke did  
 not yet own to her, that He had altered his Resolution.  
 She was always very angry at the King's Coldness, who  
 had been so far from that Aversion which She expected,  
 that He found Excuses for the Duke, and endeavoured to  
 divert her Passions; and now pressed the Discovery of the  
 Truth



*The Queen  
highly offend-  
ed at this  
Change in the  
Duke.*

Truth by Sir *Charles Berkley's* Confession, as a Thing that pleased him. They about her who had most inflamed and provoked her to the sharpest Resentment, appeared more calm in their Discourses, and either kept Silence, or spake to another Tune than They had done formerly; and wished that the Business was well composed; all which mightily increased the Queen's Passion. And having come to know, that the Duke had made a Visit at the Place She most abhorred, She brake into great Passion, and publickly declared, "that whenever that Woman should be brought into *Whiteball* by one Door, her Majesty would go out of it by another Door, and never come into it again." And for several Days her Majesty would not suffer the Duke to be in her Presence; at least, if He came with the King, She forbore to speak to him, or to take any Notice of him. Nor could They, who had used to have most Credit with her, speak to her with any Acceptation; though They were all weary of the Distances They had kept, and discerned well enough where the Matter must end. And many desired to find some Expedient, how the Work might be facilitated, by some Application and Address from the Chancellor to the Queen: But He absolutely refused to make the least Advance towards it, or to contribute to her Indignation by putting himself into her Majesty's Presence. He declared, "that the Queen had great Reason for the Passion She expressed for the Indignity that had been done to her, and which He would never endeavour to excuse; and that as far as his low Quality was capable of receiving an Injury from so great a Prince, He had himself to complain of a Transgression, that exceeded the Limits of all Justice, divine and human."

THE Queen had made this Journey out of *France* into *England* much sooner than She intended, and only, upon this Occasion, to prevent a Mischief She had great Reason to deprecate. And so, upon her Arrival, She had declared, "that She would stay a very short Time, being obliged to return into *France* for her Health, and to use the Waters of *Bourbon*, which had already done her much Good, that the ensuing Season would with God's Blessing make perfect." And the Time was now come, that Orders were sent for the Ships to attend her Embarkation at *Portsmouth*; and the Day was appointed, for the beginning her Journey from *Whiteball*: So that the Duke's (37) Affair,

Affair, which He now took to Heart, was (as every Body thought) to be left in the State it was, at least under the Renunciation and Interdiction of a Mother. When on a sudden, of which Nobody then knew the Reason, her Majesty's Countenance and Discourse was changed; She treated the Duke with her usual Kindness, and confessed to him, "that the Business that had offended her so much" *Her Majesty suddenly alters her Behaviour.* "She perceived was proceeded so far, that no Remedy could be applied to it; and therefore that she would trouble herself no farther in it, but pray to God to bless him, and that He might be happy:" So that the Duke had now Nothing to wish, but that the Queen would be reconciled to his Wife, who remained still at her Father's, where the King had visited her often; to which the Queen was not averse, and spake graciously of the Chancellor, and said, "She would be good Friends with him." But Both these required some Formalities; and They, who had behaved themselves the most disobligingly, expected to be comprehended in any Atonement that should be made. And it was exceedingly laboured, that the Chancellor would make the first Approach, by visiting the Earl of *St. Albans*; which He absolutely refused to do: And very well acquainted with the Arts of that Court, whereof Diffimulation was the Soul, did not believe that those Changes, for which He saw no reasonable Motive, could be real; until Abbot *Mountague* (who had so far complied with the Faction of that Court, as not to converse with an Enemy) visited him with all Openness, and told him, "that this Change in the Queen had proceeded from a Letter She had newly received from the Cardinal, in which He had plainly told her, *that She would not receive a good Welcome in France, if She left her Sons in her Displeasure, and professed an Animosity against those Ministers, who were most trusted by the King.* He extolled the Services done by the Chancellor, and advised her to comply with what could not be avoided, and to be perfectly reconciled to her Children, and to those who were nearly related to them or were intrusted by them: And that He did this in so powerful a Style, and with such powerful Reasons, that her Majesty's Passions were totally subdued. And this," He said, "was the Reason of the sudden Change that every Body had observed; and therefore that He ought to believe the Sincerity of it, and to perform that Part which might be expected from him, in Compliance  
"with

*The Cause of this Change in the Queen.*

“with the Queen’s Inclinations to have a good Intelligence with him.

THE Chancellor had never looked upon the Abbot as his Enemy, and gave Credit to all He said, though He did little understand from what Fountain that Good-Will of the Cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all those Professions of Duty to the Queen that became him, and “how happy He should think himself in her Protection, which He had Need of, and did with all Humility implore; and that He would gladly cast himself at her Majesty’s Feet, when She would vouchsafe to admit it.” But for the adjusting this, there was to be more Formality; for it was necessary that the Earl of *St. Albans* (between whom and the Chancellor there had never been any Friendship) should have some Part in this Composition, and do many good Offices towards it, which were to precede the final Conclusion. The Duke had brought Sir *Charles Berkley* to the Dutches, at whose Feet He had cast himself, with all the Acknowledgment and Penitence He could express; and She, according to the Command of the Duke, accepted his Submission, and promised to forget the Offence. He came likewise to the Chancellor with those professions which He could easily make; and the other was<sup>(38)</sup> obliged to receive him civilly. And then his Uncle, the Lord *Berkley*, waited upon the Dutches; and afterwards visited her Father, like a Man (which He could not avoid) who had done very much towards the bringing so difficult a Matter to so good an End, and expected Thanks from all; having that Talent in some Perfection, that after He had crossed and puzzled any Business as much as was in his Power, He would be thought the only Man, who had untied all Knots, and made the Way smooth, and removed all Obstructions.

*The King and Duke greatly pleased with this Change in the Queen.*

THE Satisfaction the King and the Duke had in this Disposition of the Queen was visible to all Men. And They Both thought the Chancellor too reserved in contributing his Part towards, or in meeting the Queen’s Favour, which He could not but discern was approaching towards him; and that He did not entertain any Discourses, which had been by many entered upon to him upon that Subject, with that Cheerfulness and Serenity of Mind, that might justly be expected. And of this the Duke made an Observation, and a Kind of Complaint, to the

the King, who thereupon came one Day to the Chancellor's House; and being alone with him, his Majesty told him many Particulars which had passed between him and the Queen, and the good Humour her Majesty was in: "That the next Day the Earl of *St. Albans* would visit him, and offer him his Service in accompanying him to the Queen, which He conjured him to receive with all Civility, and Expressions of the Joy He took in it; in which," He told him, "He was observed to be too sul-  
len, and that when all other Mens Minds appeared to be cheerful, his alone appeared to be more cloudy than it had been, when that Affair seemed most desperate; which was the more taken Notice of, because it was not natural to him."

THE Chancellor answered, "that He did not know, that He had failed in any Thing, that in good Manners or Decency could be required from him: But He confessed, that lately his Thoughts were more perplexed, and troublesome to himself, than they had ever been before; and therefore it was no Wonder, if his Looks were not the same they had used to be. That though He had been surpris'd to Amazement, upon the first Notice of that Business; yet He had been shortly able to recollect himself, and, upon the Testimony of his own Conscience, to compose his Mind and Spirits, and without any Reluctancy to abandon any Thought of his Daughter, and to leave her to that Misery She had deserved and brought upon herself. Nor did the Vicissitudes which occurred after in that Transaction, or the Displeasure and Menaces of the Duke, make any other Impression upon him, than to know how unable He was to enter into any Contest in that Matter (which in all Respects was too difficult and superiour to his Understanding and Faculties) and to leave it entirely to the Direction and Disposal of God Almighty: And in this Acquiescence He had enjoyed a Repose with much Tranquillity of Mind, being prepared to undergo any Misfortune that might befall him from thence. But that now He was awakened by other Thoughts and Reflections, which He could less range and govern. He saw those Difficulties removed, which He had thought insuperable; that his own Condition must be thought exalted above what He thought possible; and that He was far less able to bear the Envy that was un-  
"avoidable,

“avoidable, than the Indignation and Contempt that  
 “alone had threatened him. That his Daughter was now  
 “received in the Royal Family, the Wife of the King’s  
 “only Brother and the Heir Apparent of the Crown,  
 “whilst his Majesty himself remained unmarried. The  
 “great Trust his Majesty reposed in him, infinitely above<sup>(39)</sup>  
 “and contrary to his Desire, was in itself liable to Envy;  
 “and how insupportable that Envy must be, upon this  
 “new Relation, He could not but foresee; together with  
 “the Jealousies, which artificial Men would be able to  
 “insinuate into his Majesty, even when They seemed to  
 “have all possible Confidence in the Integrity of the  
 “Chancellor, and when They extolled him most; and  
 “that how firm and constant soever his Majesty’s Grace  
 “and Favour was to him at present (of which He had  
 “lately given such lively Testimony) and how resolved  
 “soever He was to continue it, his Majesty himself could  
 “not know how far some Jealousies, cunningly suggested  
 “by some Men, might by Degrees be entertained by  
 “him. And therefore that, upon all the Revolvings He  
 “had with himself, He could not think of any Thing,  
 “that could contribute equally to his Majesty’s Service  
 “and his Quiet, and to the Happiness and Security of  
 “himself, as for him to retire from the active Station He  
 “was in, to an absolute Solitude, and visible Inactivity in  
 “all Matters relating to the State: And which He  
 “thought could not be so well, under any Retirement  
 “into the Country or any Part of the Kingdom, as by  
 “his leaving the Kingdom, and fixing himself in some  
 “Place beyond the Seas remote from any Court.” And  
 having said all this, or Words to the same Effect, He  
 fell on his Knees; and with all possible Earnestness de-  
 sired the King, “that He would consent to his Retire-  
 “ment as a Thing most necessary for his Service, and  
 “give his Pass to go and reside in any such Place, be-  
 “yond the Seas, as his Majesty would make Choice of.”

THE King heard him patiently, yet with Evidence  
 enough that He was not pleased with what He said; and  
 when He kneeled, took him up with some Passion; “He  
 “did not expect this from him, and that He had so lit-  
 “tle Kindness for him, as to leave him in a Time, when  
 “He could not but know that He was very necessary for  
 “his Service. That He had Reason to be very well af-  
 “fured, that it could never be in any Man’s Power to  
 “lessen

“lessen his Kindness towards him, or Confidence in him; and if any should presume to attempt it, They would find Cause to repent their Presumption.” He said, “there were many Reasons, why He could never have designed or advised his Brother to this Marriage; yet since it was past, and all Thing so well reconciled, He would not deny that He was glad of it, and promised himself much Benefit from it.” He told him, “his Daughter was a Woman of a great Wit and excellent Parts, and would have a great Power with his Brother; and that He knew that She had an entire Obedience for him, her Father, who He knew would always give her good Counsel, by which,” He said, “He was confident that naughty People which had too much Credit with his Brother, and which had so often misled him, would be no more able to corrupt him; but that She would prevent all ill and unreasonable Attempts: And therefore He again confessed that He was glad of it;” and so concluded with many gracious Expressions, and conjured the Chancellor “never more to think of those unreasonable Things, but to attend and prosecute his Business with his usual Alacrity, since his Kindness could never fail him.”

THE next Morning, which was of the last Day that the Queen was to stay, the Earl of *St. Albans* visited the Chancellor with all those Compliments, Professions and Protestations, which were natural, and which He did really believe every Body else thought to be very sincere; for He had that Kindness for himself, that He thought every Body did believe him. He expressed “a wonderful Joy, that the Queen would now leave the Court  
(40) “united, and all the King’s Affairs in a very hopeful Condition, in which the Queen confessed that the Chancellor’s Counsels had been very prosperous, and that She was resolved to part with great and a sincere Kindness towards him; and that He had Authority from her to assure him so much, which She would do herself when She saw him:” And so offered “to go with him to her Majesty, at such an Hour in the Afternoon as She should appoint.” The other made such Returns to all the Particulars as were fit, and “that He would be ready to attend the Queen, at the Time She should please to assign:” And in the Afternoon the Earl of *St. Albans* came again to him; and They went together to *White-ball*,

*ball*, where They found the Queen in her Bedchamber, where many Ladies were present, who came then to take their Leave of her Majesty, before She begun her Journey.

*The Queen  
reconciled to  
the Dutches  
of York.*

THE Duke of York had before presented his Wife to his Mother, who received her without the least Shew of Regret, or rather with the same Grace as if She had liked it from the Beginning, and made her sit down by her. When the Chancellor came in, the Queen rose from her Chair, and received him with a Countenance very serene. The Ladies, and others who were near, withdrawing, her Majesty told him, "that He could not wonder, much less take it ill, that She had been much offended with the Duke, and had no Inclination to give her Consent to his Marriage; and if She had, in the Passion that could not be condemned in her, spake any Thing of him that He had taken ill, He ought to impute it to the Provocation She had received, though not from him. She was now informed by the King, and well assured, that He had no Hand in contriving that Friendship, but was offended with that Passion that really was worthy of him. That She could not but confess, that his Fidelity to the King her Husband was very eminent, and that He had served the King her Son with equal Fidelity and extraordinary Success. And therefore as She had received his Daughter as her Daughter, and heartily forgave the Duke and her, and was resolved ever after to live with all the Affection of a Mother towards them; so She resolved to make a Friendship with him, and hereafter to expect all the Offices from him, which her Kindness should deserve." And when the Chancellor had made all those Acknowledgements which He ought to do, and commended her Wisdom and Indignation in a Business, "in which She could not shew too much Anger and Aversion, and had too much forgotten her own Honour and Dignity if She had been less offended," and magnified her Mercy and Generosity "in departing so soon from her necessary Severity, and pardoning a Crime in itself so unpardonable;" He made those Professions of Duty to her which were due to her, and "that He should always depend upon her Protection as his most gracious Mistress, and pay all Obedience to her Commands." The Queen appeared well pleased, and said "She should remain very  
"confident

*And to the  
Chancellor.*

"confident of his Affection," and so discoursed of some Particulars; and then opening a Paper that She had in her Hand, She recommended the Dispatch of some Things to him, which immediately related to her own Service and Interest, and then some Persons, who had either some Suits to the King, or some Controversies depending in Chancery. And the Evening drawing on, and very many Ladies and others waiting without to kiss her Majesty's Hand, He thought it Time to take his Leave; and after having repeated some short Professions of his Duty, He kissed her Majesty's Hand: And from that Time there did never appear any Want of Kindness (41) in the Queen towards him, whilst He stood in no Need of it, nor until it might have done him Good.

THUS an Intrigue, that without Doubt had been entered into and industriously contrived by those, who designed to affront and bring Dishonour upon the Chancellor and his Family, was, by God's good Pleasure, turned to their Shame and Reproach, and to the Increase of the Chancellor's Greatness and Prosperity. And so We return to the Time from whence this Digression led us, and shall take a particular View of all those Accidents, which had an Influence upon the Quiet of the Kingdom, or which were the Cause of all the Chancellor's Misfortunes; which, though the Effect of them did not appear in many Years, were discerned by himself as coming and unavoidable, and foretold by him to his two Bosom-Friends, the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who constantly adhered to him with all the Integrity of true Friendship.

THE Greatness and Power of the Chancellor, by this Marriage of his Daughter with all the Circumstances which had accompanied and attended it, seemed to all Men to have established his Fortune, and that of his Family: I say, to all Men but to himself, who was not in the least Degree exalted with it. He knew well upon how slippery Ground He stood, and how naturally averse the Nation was from approving an exorbitant Power in any Subject. He saw that the King grew every Day more inclined to his Pleasures, which involved him in Expense, and Company that did not desire that He should intend his Business or be conversant with sober Men. He knew well, that the Servants who were about the Duke were as much his Enemies as ever, and intended their own

*The Chancellor not pleased with this Marriage of his Daughter.*



Profit only, by what Means soever, without considering his Honour; that They formed his Houthold, Officers and Equipage, by the Model of *France*, and against all the Rules and Precedents of *England* for a Brother of the Crown; and every Day put into his Head, "that if He were not supplied for all those Expenses, it was the Chancellor's Fault, who could effect it if He would." Nor was He able to prevent those Infusions, nor the Effects of them, because they were so artificially administered, as if their End was to raise a Confidence in him of the Chancellor, not to weaken it; though He knew well, that their Design was to create by Degrees in him a Jealousy of his Power and Credit with the King, as if it eclipsed his. But this was only in their own dark Purposes, which had been all blasted if they had been apparent; for the Duke did not only profess a very great Affection for the Chancellor, but gave all the Demonstration of it that was possible, and desired Nothing more, than that it should be manifest to all Men, that He had an entire Trust from the King in all his Affairs, and that He would employ all his Interest to support that Trust: Whilst the Chancellor himself declined all the Occasions which were offered for the Advancement of his Fortune, and desired wholly to be left to the Discharge of his Office, and that all other Officers might diligently look to their own Provinces, and be accountable for them; and detested Nothing more than that Title and Appellation, which He saw He should not alway be able to avoid, of principal Minister or Favourite, and which was never cast on him by any Designation of the King, (who abhorred to be thought to be governed by any single Person) but by his preferring his Pleasures before his Business, and so sending all Men to the Chancellor to receive Advice. And hereby the Secretaries of State, not finding a present Access to him when the Occasions pressed, resorted to the Chancellor, with whom his Majesty spent most Time, to be resolved by him; which Method exceedingly grieved him, and to which He endeavoured to apply a Remedy, by putting all Things in their proper Channel, and by <sup>(42)</sup> prevailing with the King, when He should be a little satiated with the Divertisements He affected, to be vacant to so much of his Business, as could not be managed and conducted by any Body else.

AND

AND here it may be seasonable to insert at large some Instances, which I promised before, and by which it will be manifest, how far the Chancellor was from an immoderate Appetite to be rich, and to raise his Fortune, which He proposed only to do by the Perquisites of his Office which were considerable at the first, and by such Bounty of the King as might hereafter, without Noise or Scandal, be conferred on him in proper Seasons and Occurrences; and that He was as far from affecting such an unlimited Power as He was believed afterwards to be possessed of (and of which no Footsteps could ever be discovered in any of his Actions, or in any one Particular that was the Effect of such Power), or from desiring any other Extent of Power, than was agreeable to the great Office He held, and which had been enjoyed by most of those, who had been his Predecessors in that Trust.

THE King had not been many Weeks in *England*, when the Marquis of *Ormond* came to him with his usual Friendship, and asked him, "whether it would not be now Time to think of making a Fortune, that He might be able to leave to his Wife and Children, if He should die." And when He found that He was less sensible of what He proposed than He expected, and that He only answered, "that He knew not which Way to go about it;" the Marquis told him, "that He thought He could commend a proper Suit for him to make to the King; and if his Modesty would not permit him to move the King for himself, He would undertake to move it for him, and was confident that the King would willingly grant it." And thereupon shewed him a Paper, which contained the King's just Title to ten thousand Acres of Land in the *Great Level of the Fens*, which would be of a good yearly Value; or They, who were unjustly possessed of it, would be glad to purchase the King's Title with a very considerable Sum of Money. And, in the End, He frankly told him, "that He made this Overture to him with the King's Approbation, who had been moved in it, and thought at the first Sight, out of his own Goodness, that it might be fit for him, and wished the Marquis to propose it to him."

WHEN the Chancellor had extolled the King's Generosity, that He could, in so great Necessities of his own,

*Some Instances  
of his Disin-  
terestedness.*

*He refused a  
considerable  
Offer of  
Crown-  
Lands.*

think of dispensing so great a Bounty upon a poor Servant, who was already recompensed beyond what He could be ever able to deserve; He said, "that He knew very well the King's Title to that Land, of which He was in Possession before the Rebellion began, which the old and new *Adventurers* now claimed by a new Contract, confirmed by an Ordinance of Parliament, which could not deprive the Crown of its Right; which all the *Adventurers* (who for the greatest Part were worthy Men) well knew, and would for their own Sakes not dispute, since it would inevitably produce a new Inundation, which all their Unity and Consent in maintaining the Banks would and could with Difficulty enough but prevent. That He would advise his Majesty to give all the Countenance He could, to the carrying on and perfecting that great Work, which was of great Benefit as well as Honour to the Publick, at the Charge of private Gentlemen, who had paid dear for the Land They had recovered; but that He would never advise him, to begin his Reign with the Alienation of such a Parcel of Land from the Crown to any one particular Subject, who could never bear the Envy of it. That his Majesty ought to reserve that Revenue to himself, which was great, though less than it was generally reputed to be; at least, till the Value thereof should be clearly understood (and the detaining it in his own Hands for some Time, would be the best Expedient towards the finishing all the Banks, when the Season should be fit, which else would be neglected by the Discord among the *Adventurers*) and the King knew what He gave. He must remember, that He had two Brothers" (for the Duke of *Glocester* was yet alive) "who were without any Revenue, and towards whom his Bounty was to be first extended; and that this Land would be a good Ingredient towards an Appanage for them Both. And that till They were reasonably provided for, no private Man in his Wits would be the Object of any extraordinary Bounty from the King, which would unavoidably make him the Object of an universal Envy and Hatred. That, for his own Part, He held by the King's Favour the greatest Office of the Kingdom in Place; and though it was not near the Value it was esteemed to be, and that many other Offices were more profitable, yet it was enough for him, and

" would

“would be a good Foundation to improve his Fortune: So that,” He said, “He had made a Resolution to himself, which He thought He should not alter, not to *make Haste to be rich*. That it was the principal Part or Obligation of his Office, to dissuade the King from making any Grants of such a Nature (except where the Necessity or Convenience was very notorious) and even to stop those which should be made of that Kind, and not to suffer them to pass the Seal, till He had again waited upon the King, and informed him of the evil Consequence of those Grants; which Discharge of his Duty could not but raise him many Enemies, who should not have that Advantage, to say that He obstructed the King’s Bounty towards other Men, when He made it very profuse towards himself. And therefore, that He would never receive any Crown-Land from the King’s Gift, and did not wish to have other Honour or any Advantage, but what his Office brought him, till seven Years should pass; in which all the Distractions of the Kingdom might be composed, and the Necessities thereof so provided for, that the King might be able, without hurting himself, to exercise some Liberality towards his Servants who had served him well.” How He seemed to part from this Resolution in some Particulars afterwards, and why He did so, may be collected out of what hath been truly set down before.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* had given the King a large Account of the Conference between him and the Chancellor, and “that He absolutely refused to receive that Grant;” his Majesty said, “He was a Fool for his Labour, and that He would be much better in being envied than in being pitied.” And though the Inheritance of those Lands was afterwards given to the Duke, yet there were such Estates granted for Years to many particular Persons, most whereof had never merited by any Service, that Half the Value thereof never came to his Highness.

As soon as the King and Duke returned from *Portsmouth*, where They had seen the Queen embarked for *France*, the King had appointed a Chapter, for the electing some Knights of the *Garter* into the Places vacant. Upon which the Duke desired him “to nominate the Chancellor,” which his Majesty said “He would willingly do, but He knew not whether it would be grateful to him;”

*He declined being made Knight of the Garter.*

“for He had refused so many Things, that He knew not “what He would take;” and therefore wished him “to “take a Boat to *Worcester-House*, and propose it to him, “and He would not go to the Chapter till his Highness<sup>(44)</sup> “returned.” The Duke told the Chancellor what had passed between the King and him, and, “that He was come “only to know his Mind, and could not imagine but “that such an Honour would please him.” The Chancellor, after a Million of humble Acknowledgments of the Duke’s Grace and of the King’s Condescension, said, “that the Honour was indeed too great by much for him “to sustain; that there were very many worthy Men, who “well remembered him of their own Condition when “He first entered into his Father’s Service, and believed “that He was advanced too much before them.” He besought his Highness, “that his Favours and Protection “might not expose him to Envy that would break him to “Pieces.” He asked “what Knights the King meant to “make;” the Duke named them, all Persons very eminent: The Chancellor said, “no Man could except “against the King’s Choice; many would justly, if He “were added to the Number.” He desired his Highness “to put the King in Mind of the Earl of *Lindsey*, “Lord High Chamberlain of *England*” (with whom He was known to have no Friendship, on the contrary, that there had been Disgusts between them in the last King’s Time); “that his Father had lost his Life with the *Gar- “ter* about his Neck, when this Gentleman his Son, endeavouring to relieve him, was taken Prisoner; that “He had served the King to the End of the War with “Courage and Fidelity, being an excellent Officer: For “all which, the King his Father had admitted him a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, which Office He was now “without: And not to have the *Garter* now upon his Majesty’s Return, would in all Men’s Eyes look like a Degradation, and an Instance of his Majesty’s Disesteem; “especially if the Chancellor should supply the Place, “who was not thought his Friend.” And, upon the whole Matter, entreated the Duke “to eserve his Favour towards him for some other Occasion, and excuse “him to the King for the declining this Honour, which “He could not support.” The Duke replied with an offended Countenance, “that He saw He would not accept any Honour from the King that proceeded by his “Mediation;”

“Mediation;” and so left him in apparent Displeasure. However, at that Chapter the Earl of *Lindsey* was created Knight of the *Garter*, with the rest; and coming afterwards to hear by what Chance it was, He ever lived with great Civility towards the Chancellor to his Death.

AND when the Chancellor afterwards complained to his Majesty “of his Want of Care of him, in his so easily “gratifying his Brother in a Particular that would be of “so much Prejudice to him,” and so enlarged upon the Subject, and put his Majesty in Mind of *Solomon’s* Interrogation, “*who can stand against Envy?*” The King said no more, than “that He did really believe when He sent “his Brother, that He would refuse it;” and added, “I “tell you, Chancellor, that You are too strict and apprehensive in those Things, and trust me, it is better to “be envied than pitied.” The Duke did not dissemble his Resentment, and told his Wife, “that He took it “very ill; that He desired that the World might take “Notice of his Friendship to her Father, and that, after “former Unkindness, He was heartily reconciled to him; “but that her Father cared not to have that believed, “nor would have it believed that his Interest in the King “was not enough, to have no Need of good Offices from “the Duke:” Which Discourse He used likewise to the Marquis of *Ormond* and others, who He thought would inform the Chancellor of it. And the Dutchess was much troubled at it, and took it unkindly of her Father, who thought himself obliged to wait upon his Royal Highness, (45) and to vindicate himself from that Folly He was charged with; in which He protested to him, “that He so absolutely and entirely depended upon his Protection, that “He would never receive any Favour from the King, but “by his Mediation and Interposition:” To which the Duke answered, “that He should see whether He would “have that Deference to him shortly.”

AND it was not long before the Day for the Coronation was appointed, when the King had appointed to make some Barons, and to raise some who were Barons to higher Degrees of Honour; most of whom were Men not very grateful, because They had been faulty, though They had afterwards redeemed what was past, by having performed very signal Services to his Majesty, and were able to do him more: Upon which the King had re-

*He refused to be made an Earl.*

solved to confer those Honours upon them, and in Truth had promised it to them, or to some of their Friends, before He came from beyond the Seas. At this Time the Duke came to the Chancellor, and said, He should now "discover whether He would be as good as his Word;" and so gave him a Paper, which was a Warrant under the King's Sign Manual to the Attorney General, to prepare a Grant, by which the Chancellor should be created an Earl. To which, upon the Reading, He began to make Objections; when the Duke said, "my Lord, I have thought fit to give you this Earnest of my Friendship, you may reject it if You think fit;" and departed. And the Chancellor, upon Recollection, and Conference with his two Friends, the Treasurer and the Marquis of Ormond, found He could not prudently refuse it. And so, the Day or two before the Coronation, He was with the others created an Earl by the King in the *Banqueting-House*; and, in the very Minute of his Creation, had an Earnest of the Envy that would ensue, in the Murmurs of some, who were ancienter Barons, at the Precedence given to him before them; of which He was totally ignorant, it being resolved by the King upon the Place, and the View of the Precedents of all Times when any Officers of State were created with others. Yet one of the Lords concerned swore in the Ears of two or three of his Friends, at the same Time, "that He would be revenged for that Affront;" which related not to the Chancellor's Precedence, for the other was no Baron, but for the Precedence given to another, whom He thought his Inferiour, and imputed the Partiality to his Power, who had not the least Hand in it, nor knew it before it was determined. Yet the other was as good as his Word, and took the very first Opportunity that was offered for his Revenge.

*But at length  
unwillingly  
consented.*

I will add one Instance more, sufficient, if the other were away, to convince all Men, how far He was from being transported with that Ambition, of which He was accused, and for which He was condemned. After the firm Conjunction in the Royal Family was notorious, and all the neighbour Princes had sent their splendid Embassies of Congratulation to the King, and desired to renew all Treaties with this Crown, and the Parliament proceeded, how slowly soever, with great Duty and Reverence towards the King; the Marquis of Ormond (whom the

the King had by this Time made Duke of *Ormond*) came one Day to him, and being in private, said, "He came  
 "to speak to him of himself, and to let him know not  
 "only his own Opinion, but the Opinion of his best  
 "Friends, with whom He had often conferred upon the  
 "Argument: And that They all wondered, that He so  
 "much affected the Post He was in, as to continue in the  
 "Office of Chancellor, which took up most of his Time,  
 "especially all the Mornings, in Business that many o-  
 "ther Men could discharge as well as He. Whereas He  
 "ought to leave that to such a Man as He thought fit for  
 (46) "it, and to betake himself to that Province, which No-  
 "body knew so well how to discharge. That the Credit  
 "He had with the King was known to all Men, and that  
 "He did in Truth remit that Province to him, which He  
 "would not own, and could not discharge by the Multi-  
 "plicity of the Business of his Office, which was not of  
 "that Moment. That the King every Day took less Care  
 "of his Affairs, and affected those Pleasures most which  
 "made him averse from the other. That He spent most  
 "of his Time with confident young Men, who abhorred  
 "all Discourse that was serious, and, in the Liberty They  
 "assumed in Drollery and Raillery, preserved no Reve-  
 "rence towards God or Man, but laughed at all sober  
 "Men, and even at Religion itself; and that the Custom  
 "of this License, that did yet only make the King merry  
 "for the present, by Degrees would grow acceptable to  
 "him; and that these Men would by Degrees have the  
 "Presumption (which yet They had not, nor would He  
 "in Truth then suffer it) to enter into his Business, and  
 "by administering to those Excesses, to which his Nature  
 "and Constitution most inclined him, would not only  
 "powerfully foment those Inclinations, but intermeddle  
 "and obstruct his most weighty Counsels. That, for the  
 "Prevention of all this Mischief, and the preserving the  
 "excellent Nature and Understanding of the King from  
 "being corrupted by such lewd Instruments, who had  
 "only a scurrilous Kind of Wit to procure Laughter, but  
 "had no Sense of Religion, or Reverence for the Laws;  
 "there was no Remedy in View, but his giving up his  
 "Office, and betaking himself wholly to wait upon the  
 "Person of the King, and to be with him in those Seasons,  
 "when that loose People would either abstain from com-  
 "ing, or, if They were present, would not have the

*He was  
 strongly urg-  
 ed to resign  
 his Office of  
 Chancellor.*

*And to assume  
 the Character  
 of Prime Mi-  
 nister.*

"Con-



"Confidence to say or do those Things which They had  
 "been accustomed to do before the King. By this Means,  
 "He would find frequent Opportunities to inform the  
 "King of the true State of his Affairs, and the Danger  
 "He incurred by not thoroughly understanding them,  
 "and by being thought to be negligent in the Duties of  
 "Religion and settling the Distractions in the Church ; at  
 "least, He would do some Good in all these Particulars,  
 "or keep the License from spreading farther, which in  
 "Time it would do, to the robbing him of the Hearts of  
 "his People. That the King, from the long Knowledge  
 "of his Fidelity; and the Esteem He had of his Virtue,  
 "received any Advertisements and Animadversions, and  
 "even suffered Reprehensions, from him, better than  
 "from any other Man ; therefore He would be able to  
 "do much Good, and to deserve more than ever He had  
 "done from the whole Kingdom. And He did verily be-  
 "lieve, that this would be acceptable to the King him-  
 "self, who knew He could not enough attend to the  
 "many Things, which, being left undone, must much  
 "disorder the whole Machine of his Government, or,  
 "being ill done, would in Time dissolve it ; and that his  
 "Majesty would assign such a liberal Allowance for this  
 "Service, that He should find himself well rewarded, and  
 "a great Gainer by accepting it and putting off his Of-  
 "fice."

*Which would  
 be more bene-  
 ficial to him.*

He concluded, "That was the Desire and Advice of  
 "all his Friends ; and that the Duke was so far of the  
 "same Judgment, that He resolved to be very instant  
 "with him upon it, and only wished, that He should first  
 "break the Matter to him, that He might not be surpris'd  
 "when his Royal Highness entered upon the Discourse."  
 And he added, "that this Province must inevitably at last  
 "be committed to some one Man, who probably would  
 "be without that Affection to the King's Person, that Ex-  
 "perience in Affairs, and that Knowledge of the Laws  
 "and Constitution of the Kingdom, as all Men knew to  
 "be in the Chancellor."

WHEN the Marquis had ended, with the Warmth of (471)  
 Friendship which was superiour to any Temptation, and in  
 which no Man ever excelled him, nor delivered what He  
 had a Mind to say more clearly, or with a greater Weight  
 of Words ; the Chancellor said, "that He did not much  
 "wonder that many of his Friends, who had not the Op-  
 "portunity

opportunity to know him enough, and who might propose  
 to themselves some Benefit from his unlimited Great-  
 ness, might in Truth out of their Partiality to him, and  
 by their not knowing the King's Nature, believe, that  
 his Wariness and Integrity, and his Knowledge of the  
 Constitution of the Government and the Nature of the  
 People, would conduct the King's Counsels in such a  
 Way, as would lead best to his Power and Greatness,  
 and to the Good and Happiness of the Nation, which  
 would be the only secure Support of his Power and Au-  
 thority: But that He, who knew both the King and  
 him so well, that no Man living knew either of them  
 so well, should be of that Opinion He had expressed,  
 was Matter of Admiration and Surprisa! to him." He  
 appealed to him, "how often He had heard him say to  
 the King in *France, Germany, and Flanders*, when They  
 two took all the Pains They could to fix the King's  
 Mind to a lively Sense of his Condition; *That He must*  
*not think now to recover his three Kingdoms by the dead Title*  
*of his Descent and Right, which had been so notoriously*  
*baffled and dishonoured, but by the Reputation of his Vir-*  
*tue, Courage, Piety, and Industry; that all these Virtues*  
*must center in himself, for that his Fate depended upon his*  
*Person; and that the English Nation would sooner submit*  
*to the Government of Cromwell, than to any other Subject*  
*who should be thought to govern the King. That England*  
*would not bear a Favourite, nor any one Man, who should*  
*out of his Ambition engross to himself the Disposal of the*  
*publick Affairs.*

He said, "He was more now of the same Mind, and  
 was confident that no honest Man, of a competent  
 Understanding, would undertake that Province; and  
 that for his own Part, if a Gallows were erected, and  
 if He had only the Choice to be hanged or to execute  
 that Office, He would rather submit to the first than  
 the last. In the one, He should end his Life with the  
 Reputation of an honest Man; in the other, He should  
 die with Disgrace and Infamy, let his Innocence be  
 what it would." He put the Marquis in Mind, "how  
 far the King was from observing the Rules He had  
 prescribed to himself before He came from beyond the  
 Seas, and was so totally unbent from his Business, and  
 addicted to Pleasures, that the People generally began  
 to take Notice of it; that there was little Care taken  
 to

*But this He*  
*absolutely re-*  
*sisted.*

“to regulate Expenses, even when He was absolutely  
 “without Supply; that He would on a sudden be over-  
 “whelmed with such Debts, as would disquiet him, and  
 “dishonour his Counsels;” of which the Lord Treas-  
 “urer was so sensible, that He was already weary of his  
 “Staff, before it had been in his Hands three Months.  
 “That the Confidence the King had in him, besides the  
 “Assurance He had of his Integrity and Industry, pro-  
 “ceeded more from his Aversion to be troubled with  
 “the Intricacies of his Affairs, than from any Violence  
 “of Affection, which was not so fixed in his Nature as  
 “to be like to transport him to any one Person: And  
 “that as He could not, in so short a Time, be acquaint-  
 “ed with many Men, whom in his Judgment He could  
 “prefer before the Chancellor for the Managery of his  
 “Business, who had been so long acquainted with it; so  
 “He would, in a short Time, be acquainted with many,  
 “who would by finding Fault with all that was done be  
 “thought much wiser Men; it being one of his Ma-<sup>(43)</sup>  
 “jesty’s greatest Infirmities, that He was apt to think too  
 “well of Men at the first or second Sight.”

He said, “Whilst He kept the Office He had  
 “(which could better bear the Envy of the Bulk of the  
 “Affairs, than any other Qualification could) and that  
 “it supported him in the Execution of it, the King felt  
 “not the Burden of it; because little of the Profit of it  
 “proceeded out of his own Purse, and, if He were dead  
 “Tomorrow, the Place still must be conferred upon an-  
 “other. Whereas, if He gave over that Administration,  
 “and had Nothing to rely upon for the Support of him-  
 “self and Family, but an Extraordinary Pension out of  
 “the Exchequer, under no other Title or Pretence but  
 “of being First Minister (a Title so newly translated out  
 “of *French* into *English*, that it was not enough under-  
 “stood to be liked, and every Man would detest it for  
 “the Burden it was attended with); the King himself,  
 “who was not by Nature immoderately inclined to give,  
 “would be quickly weary of so chargeable an Officer,  
 “and be very willing to be freed from the Reproach of  
 “being governed by any (the very Suspicion whereof  
 “He doth exceedingly abhor) at the Price and Charge  
 “of the Man, who had been raised by him to that in-  
 “convenient Height above other Men. That whilst He  
 “had that Seal, He could have Admission to his Ma-  
 “jesty

“jesty as often as He desired, because it was more Eafe  
“to receive an Account of his Business from him, than  
“to be present at the whole Debate of it; And He well  
“knew, the Chancellor had too much Business to desire  
“Audiences from his Majesty without necessary Reason.  
“But if the Office were in another Hand, and He should  
“haunt his Presence with the same Importunity as a Spy  
“upon his Pleasures, and a Disturber of the Jollities of  
“his Meetings; his Majesty would quickly be nau-  
“seated with his Company, which for the present He  
“liked in some Seasons; and They, who for the present  
“had submitted to some Constraint by the Gravity of  
“his Countenance, would quickly discover that their  
“Talents were more acceptable, and by Degrees make  
“him appear grievous to his Majesty, and soon after ri-  
“diculous. That all his Hope was, that the King would  
“shortly find some Lady fit to be his Wife, which all  
“honest Men ought to persuade him to, and that being  
“married, He made no Doubt, He would decline many  
“of those Delights to which He was yet exposed, and  
“which exposed him too much; and till that Time He  
“could not think that his best Servants could enjoy any  
“pleasant Lives. That He presumed the Parliament  
“would, after They had raised Money enough to dis-  
“band the Armies, and to pay off the Seamen” (to-  
wards Both which somewhat was every Day done, and  
Both which amounted to an incredible and insupportable  
Charge) “settle such a Revenue upon the Crown, as the  
“King might conform his Expense to; and that it should  
“not be in any Body’s Power, to make that Revenue  
“be esteemed by him to be greater, than in Truth it  
“would be. That when these two Things should be  
“brought to pass, He did hope, that the King would  
“take Pleasure in making himself Master of every Part  
“of his Business, and not charge any one Man with a  
“greater Share of it than He can discharge, or than  
“will agree with his own Dignity and Honour. In the  
“mean Time,” He besought the Marquis, “that He  
“would convert the Duke of *York* and all other Persons  
“from that Opinion, which could not but appear erro-  
“neous to himself by the Reasons He had heard; and  
“that if He could be brought to consent to what had  
“been proposed to him (and which rather than He  
“would do, He would suffer a thousand Deaths), as it  
“would

"would inevitably prove his own Ruin and Destruction, "so it would bring an irreparable Damage to the King." (49) And therefore He conjured him "to invite the King by "his own Example, and by assuming his own Share of "the Work," which for some Time He had declined since the Return into *England*; "and by being himself "constantly with his Majesty, to whom He was acceptable at all Hours, He would obstruct the Operation of "that ill Company, which neither knew how to behave "themselves, nor could reasonably propose so much Benefit to themselves, as by the Propagation of their "Follies and Villanies; and by Degrees induce his Majesty more proportionably to mingle his Business with "his Pleasures, which He could not yet totally abandon."

THE Marquis could not deny, but that many of the Reasons alleged by the Chancellor were of that Weight as ought to prevail with him; and therefore forbore ever after to press him upon the same Particular. And the Duke of *York* shortly undertook a Conference with him upon the same Argument, upon which the other durst not enlarge with the same Freedom as He had done to the Marquis; both because his Eyes could not bear the Prospect of so many Things at once, as likewise that He knew He communicated with some Persons, who, whatever They pretended, had Nothing like good Affection for him: So that He rather pacified his Royal Highness upon that Subject, and diverted him from urging it, than satisfied him with his Grounds. And others who wished well to him, and better to the Publick, acquiesced with his peremptory Resolution, without believing that He resolved well either for his own Particular, or the King's Affairs; and did always think that He might have prevented his own Fate, if He had at that Time submitted to the Judgment of his best Friends; though himself remained so positive to the contrary, that He often said, "that He would not have redeemed himself "by that Expedient, and that He could never have "borne that Fate with that Tranquillity of Mind, which "God enabled him to do, if He had passed to it through "that Province."

WHILST the general Affairs of *England*, by the long Debates in Parliament, remained thus unsettled, the King was no less troubled and perplexed how to compose his two other Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; from

from Both which there were several Persons of the best Condition of either Kingdom sent, with the Tender and Presentation of their Allegiance to his Majesty, and expected his immediate Direction to free them from the Distractions They were in; and, by taking the Government upon himself into his own Hands, to be freed from those extraordinary Commissions, under which they had been Both governed with a Rod of Iron by the late Powers; the shifting of which from one Faction to another had administered no Kind of Variety to them, but they had remained still under the same full Extent of Tyranny.

*Commissioners  
sent to the  
King from  
Scotland and  
Ireland.*

THE whole Frame of the ancient Government of *Scotland* had been so entirely confounded by *Cromwell*, and new-modelled by the Laws and Customs of *England*, that is, those Laws and Customs which the Commonwealth had established; that He had hardly left Footsteps by which the old might be traced out again. The Power of the Nobility was so totally suppressed and extinguished, that their Persons found no more Respect or Distinction from the common People, than the Acceptation They found from *Cromwell*, and the Credit He gave them by some particular Trust, drew to them. Their beloved Presbytery was become a Term of Reproach, and ridiculous; the Pride and Activity of their Preachers subdued, and reduced to the lowest Contempt; and the Standard of their Religion remitted to the sole Order and Direction of their Commander in chief. All criminal Cases (except where the General thought it more expedient to proceed (50) by martial Law) were tried and punished before Judges sent from *England*, and by the Laws of *England*; and Matters of civil Interest before itinerant Judges, who went twice a Year in Circuits through the Kingdom, and determined all Matters of Right by the Rules and Customs which were observed in *England*. They had Liberty to send a particular Number that was assigned to them to sit in the Parliament of *England*, and to vote there with all Liberty; which They had done. And in Recompense thereof, all such Monies were levied in *Scotland*, as were given by the Parliament of *England*, by which such Contributions were raised, as were proportionable to the Expence, which the Army and Garrisons which subdued them put the Kingdom of *England* to. Nor was there any other Authority to raise Money in *Scotland*,

*The State of  
Scotland at  
that Time.*

*Scotland*, but what was derived from the Parliament of General of *England*.

AND all this prodigious Mutation and Transformation had been submitted to with the same Resignation and Obedience, as if the same had been transmitted by an interrupted Succession from King *Fergus*: And it might well be a Question, whether the Generality of the Nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old Road of Subjection. But the King would not build according to *Cromwell's* Models, and had many Reasons to continue *Scotland* within its own Limits and Bounds, and sole Dependance upon himself, rather than unite it to *England* with so many Hazards and Dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any Government less tyrannical than that of *Cromwell*. And the resettling that Kingdom was to be done with much less Difficulty than the other of *Ireland*, by Reason that all who appeared concerned in it or for it, as a Committee for that Kingdom, were united between themselves, and did, or did pretend to, desire the same Things. They all appeared under the Protection and Recommendation of the General; and their Dependance was the more upon him, because He still commanded those Garrisons and Forces in *Scotland*, which kept them to their Obedience. And He was the more willing to give them a Testimony of their Affection to the King, and that without their Help He could not have been able to have marched into *England* against *Lambert*, that They might speak the more confidently, "that They gave him that Assistance, because They were well assured that his Intention was to "serve the King:" Whereas They did indeed give him only what They could not keep from him; nor did They know any of his Intentions, or himself at that Time intend any Thing for the King. But it is very true, They were all either Men who had merited best from the King, or had suffered most for him, or at least had acted least against him, and (which They looked upon as the most valuable Qualification) They were all, or pretended to be, the most implacable Enemies to the Marquis of *Argyle*, which was the *Skibboleth* by which the Affections of that whole Nation were best distinguished.

*Some Account  
of the Scotch  
Commissioners.*

THE Chief of the Commissioners was the Lord *Selkirk*, a younger Son of the Marquis of *Douglafs*, who had been known to the King in *France*, where He had been bred

a Ro-

a *Roman Catholick*, which was the Religion of his Family, <sup>Of the Earl of Selkirk.</sup> but had returned into *Scotland* after it had been subdued by *Cromwell*; and being a very handsome young Man, was easily converted from the Religion of his Father, in which He had been bred, to that of his elder Brother the Earl of *Angus*, that He might marry the Daughter and Heir of *James Duke Hamilton*, who from the Battle of *Worcester*, where her Uncle Duke *William* was killed, had inherited the Title of *Dutchess*, with the fair Seat of *Hamilton*, and all the Lands which belonged to her Father.

(51) And her Husband now, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, assumed the same Title with her, and appeared in the Head of the Commissioners under the Style of Duke *Hamilton*, with the Merit of having never disserved the King, and with the Advantage of whatsoever his Wife could claim by the Death of her Father, which deserved to wipe out the Memory of whatever had been done amiss in his Life.

THE Earl of *Glencarne* was another of the Commis- <sup>Of the Earl of Glencarne.</sup> sioners, a Man very well born and bred, and of very good Parts. As He had rendered himself very acceptable to the King, during his being in *Scotland*, by his very good Behaviour towards him, so even after that fatal Blow at *Worcester* He did not dissemble his Affection to his Majesty; but withdrawing himself into the *Highlands*, during the Time that *Cromwell* remained in *Scotland*, He sent over an Express to assure the King of his Fidelity, and that He would take the first Opportunity to serve him. And when upon his Desire *Middleton* was designed to command there, He first retired into the *Highlands*, and drew a Body of Men together to receive him. He was a Man of Honour, and good Principles as well with Reference to the Church as to the State, which few others, even of those which now appeared most devoted to the King, avowed to be; for the Presbytery was yet their Idol. From the Time that He had received a Protection and Safeguard from General *Monk*, after there was little Hope of doing Good by Force, He lived quietly at his House, and was more favoured by the General than any of those who spoke most loudly against the King, and was most trusted by him when He was at *Berwick* upon his March into *England*; and was now presented by him to the King, as a Man worthy of his Trust in an eminent Post of that Kingdom.



*Of the Earl of  
Lautherdale.*

WITH these there were others of less Name, but of good Affections and Abilities, who came together from *Scotland* as Commissioners; but They found others in *London* as well qualified to do their Country Service, and whose Names were wisely inserted in their Commission by those who assumed the Authority to send the other. The Earl of *Lautherdale*, who had been very eminent in contriving and carrying on the King's Service when his Majesty was crowned in *Scotland*, and thereby had wrought himself into a very particular Esteem with the King, had marched with him into *England*, and behaved himself well at *Worcester*, where He was taken Prisoner; had, besides that Merit, the suffering an Imprisonment from that very Time with some Circumstances of extreme Rigour, being a Man against whom *Cromwell* had always professed a more than ordinary Animosity. And though the Scene of his Imprisonment had been altered according to the Alteration of the Governments which succeeded, yet He never found himself in complete Liberty till the King was proclaimed by the Parliament, and then He thought it not necessary to repair into *Scotland* for Authority or Recommendation; but sending his Advice thither to his Friends, He made Haste to transport himself with the Parliament Commissioners to the *Hague*, where He was very well received by the King, and left Nothing undone on his Part that might cultivate those old Inclinations, being a Man of as much Address and Insinuation, in which that Nation excels, as was then amongst them. He applied himself to those who were most trusted by the King with a marvellous Importunity, and especially to the Chancellor, with whom, as often as They had ever been together, He had had a perpetual War. He now magnified his Constancy with loud Elogiums, as well to his Face as behind his Back; remembered "many sharp Expressions<sup>(52)</sup> formerly used by the Chancellor, which He confessed had then made him mad, though upon Recollection afterwards He had found them to be very reasonable." He was very polite in all his Discourses, called himself and his Nation "a thousand Traitors and Rebels," and in his Discourses frequently said, "when I was a Traitor," or, "when I was in Rebellion," and seemed not equally delighted with any Argument, as when He scornfully spake of the *Covenant*, upon which He brake a hundred Jest. In Sum, all his Discourses were such as pleased all the

the Company, who commonly believed all He said, and concurred with him. He renewed his old Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Middleton* by all the Proteftations of Friendship, affured him "of the unanimous Desire of *Scotland* to be under his Command," and declared to the King, "that He could not fend any Man into *Scotland*, who would be able to do him fo much Service in the Place of Commissioner as *Middleton*, and that it was in his Majesty's Power to unite that whole Kingdom to his Service as one Man." All which pleased the King well: So that, by the Time that the Commissioners appeared at *London*, upon some old Promise in *Scotland*, or new Inclination upon his long Sufferings, which He magnified enough, the King gave him the Signet, and declared him to be Secretary of State of that Kingdom; and at the same Time declared that *Middleton* should be his Commissioner; the Earl of *Glencarne* his Chancellor; the Earl *Rothes*, who was likewise one of the Commissioners, and his Person very agreeable to the King, President of the Council; and conferred all other inferiour Offices upon Men most notable for their Affection to the old Government of Church and State.

*Many of the great Offices of that Kingdom disposed of.*

AND the first Proposition that the Commissioners made after their Meeting together, and before They entered upon Debate of the Publick, was, "that his Majesty would add to the Council of *Scotland*, which should reside near his Person, the Chancellor and Treasurer of *England*, the General, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who should be always present when any Thing should be debated and resolved concerning that Kingdom:" Which Desire, so different from any that had been in Times past, persuaded the King that their Intentions were very sincere. Whatever Appearance there was of Unity amongst them, for there was Nothing like Contradiction, there was a general Dislike by them all of the Power *Lautberdale* had with the King, who They knew pressed many Things without Communication with them, as He had prevailed that the Earl of *Crawford* should continue in the Office He formerly had of being High Treasurer of that Kingdom, though He was known to be a Man incorrigible in his Zeal for the Presbytery, and all the Madneffes of Kirk, and not firm to other Principles upon which the Authority of the Crown must be established: so that They could not so much as

*Of the Earl of Crawford Lindsey.*

consult in his Presence of many Particulars of the highest Moment and Importance to the publick Settlement. Yet his having behaved himself well towards the King, whilst He was in that Kingdom, and his having undergone great Persecution under *Cromwell*, and professing now all Obedience to his Majesty, prevailed that He should not be displaced upon his Majesty's first Entrance upon his Government, but that a new Occasion should be attended to, which was in View, and when the King resolved, without communicating his Purpose to *Lautherdale*, to confer that Office upon *Middleton*, when He should have proceeded the first Stage in his Commission; and of this his Resolution He was graciously pleased to inform him.

*The Marquis  
of Argyle  
sent to the  
Tower.*

THE Marquis of *Argyle* (without mentioning of whom (53) there can hardly be any Mention of *Scotland*) though He was not of this Fraternity, yet thought He could tell as fair a Story for himself as any of the rest, and contribute as much to the King's absolute Power in *Scotland*. And therefore He had no sooner unquestionable Notice of the King's being in *London*, but He made Haste thither with as much Confidence as the rest. But the Commissioners who were before him wrought so far with the King, that in the very Minute of his Arrival He was arrested by a Warrant under the King's Hand, and carried to the *Tower*, upon a Charge of High Treason.

He was a Man like *Drances* in *Virgil*,

*His Character.*

*Largus Opum, et Linguâ melior, sed frigida Bello  
Dextera, Consiliis habitus non futilis Auctor,  
Seditione potens.*

Without Doubt He was a Person of extraordinary Cunning, well bred; and though, by the Ill-Placing of his Eyes, He did not appear with any great Advantage at first Sight, yet He reconciled even those who had Aversion to him very strangely by a little Conversation: Inasmuch as after so many repeated Indignities (to say no worse) which He had put upon the late King, and when He had continued the same Affronts to the present King, by hindering the *Scots* from inviting him, and as long as was possible kept him from being received by them; when there was no Remedy, and that He was actually landed, no Man paid him so much Reverence and outward Respect, and gave so good an Example to all others, with what Veneration their King ought to be treated, as the Marquis of *Argyle* did, and in a very short Time made himself agreeable and

and acceptable to him. His Wit was pregnant, and his Humour gay and pleasant, except when He liked not the Company or the Argument. And though He never consented to any one Thing of Moment, which the King asked of him, and even in those Seasons in which He was used with most Rudeness by the Clergy, and with some Barbarity by his Son the Lord *Lorne*, whom He had made Captain of his Majesty's Guard, to guard him from his Friends and from all who He desired should have Access to him; the Marquis still had that Address, that He persuaded him all was for the best. When the other Faction prevailed, in which there were likewise crafty Managers, and that his Counsels were commonly rejected, He carried himself so, that They who hated him most were willing to compound with him, and that his Majesty should not withdraw his Countenance from him. But He continued in all his Charges, and had a very great Party in that Parliament that was most devoted to serve the King; so that his Majesty was often put to desire his Help to compass what He desired. He did heartily oppose the King's marching with his Army into *England*, the ill Success whereof made many Men believe afterwards, that He had more Reasons for the Counsels He gave, than They had who were of another Opinion. And the King was so far from thinking him his Enemy, that when it was privately proposed to him by those He trusted most, that He might be secured from doing Hurt when the King was marched into *England*, since He was so much against it; his Majesty would by no Means consent to it, but parted with him very graciously, as with One He expected good Service from. All which the Commissioners well remembered, and were very unwilling that He should be again admitted into his Presence, to make his own Excuses for any Thing He could be charged with. And (54) his Behaviour afterwards, and the good Correspondence He had kept with *Cromwell*, but especially some confident Averments of some particular Words or Actions which related to the Murder of his Father, prevailed with his Majesty not to speak with him, which He laboured by many Addresses, in Petitions to the King and Letters to some of those who were trusted by him, which were often presented by his Wife and his Son, and in which He only desired "to speak with the King or with some of those "Lords," pretending "that He should inform and com-

**Sent into  
Scotland to  
be tried.**

“municate somewhat that would highly concern his Majesty’s Service.” But the King not vouchsafing to admit him to his Presence, the *English* Lords had no Mind to have any Conference with a Man who had so dark a Character, or to meddle in an Affair that must be examined and judged by the Laws of *Scotland*: And so it was resolved, that the Marquis of *Argyle* should be sent by Sea into *Scotland*, to be tried before the Parliament there when the Commissioner should arrive, who was dispatched thither with the rest of the Lords, as soon as the Seals and other Badges of their several Offices could be prepared. And what afterwards became of the Marquis is known to all Men; as it grew quickly to appear, that what Bitterness soever the Earl of *Lauderdale* had expressed towards him in his general Discourses, He had in Truth a great Mind to have preserved him, and so kept such a Pillar of Presbytery against a good Occasion, which was not then suspected by the rest of the Commissioners.

*The Earl of  
Middleton  
proposes the  
Reestablish-  
ment of Epis-  
copacy in  
Scotland.*

*In which all  
the Commis-  
sioners concur  
except Lau-  
ghdale.*

THE Lords of the *English* Council, who were appointed to sit with the *Scots*, met with them to consult upon the Instructions which were to be given to the King's Commissioner, who was now created Earl of *Middleton*. The *Scots* seemed all resolute and impatient to vindicate their Country from the Infamy of delivering up the last King (for all Things relating to the former Rebellion had been put in Oblivion by his late Majesty's *Act of Indemnity* at his last being in *Scotland*) and strictly to examine who of that Nation had contributed to his Murder, of which They were confident *Argyle* would be found very guilty, *Middleton* was very earnest, "that He might for the Humiliation of the Preachers, and to prevent any unruly Proceeding of theirs in their Assembly, begin with rescinding the *Act of the Covenant*, and all other Acts which had invaded the King's Power Ecclesiastical, and then proceed to the erecting of Bishops in that Kingdom, according to the ancient Institution:" And with him *Glencarne*, *Rothes*, and all the rest (*Lautherdale* only excepted) concurred; and averred, "that it would be very easily brought to pass, because the tyrannical Proceedings of the Assemblies and their several Presbyteries had so far incensed Persons of all Degrees, that not only the Nobility, Gentry, and common People would be glad to be freed from them, but that the most learned and best Part of the Ministers desired the same, and to be  
"subject

“subject again to the Bishops; and that there would be  
 “enough found of the *Scots* Clergy, very worthy and very  
 “willing to supply those Charges.”

LAUTHERDALE, with a Passion superiour to the  
 rest, inveighed against the *Covenant*, called “it a wicked;  
 “traiterous Combination of Rebels against their lawful  
 “Sovereign, and expressly against the Laws of their own  
 “Country; protested his own hearty Repentance for the  
 “Part He had acted in the Promotion thereof, and that  
 “He was confident that God, who was Witness of his  
 “Repentance, had forgiven him that foul Sin: That no  
 “Man there had a greater Reverence for the Government  
 “by Bishops than He himself had; and that He was most  
 “confident, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* could never be  
 “happy in itself, nor ever be reduced to a perfect Sub-  
 “mission and Obedience to the King, till the Episcopal  
 (55) “Government was again established there. The Scruple  
 “that only remained with him, and which made him dis-  
 “fer with his Brethren, was, of the Manner how it should  
 “be attempted, and of the Time when it should be en-  
 “deavoured to be brought to pass.” And then with his  
 usual Warmth when He thought it necessary to be warm  
 (for at other Times He could be as calm as any Man,  
 though not so naturally) He desired “that the Commis-  
 “sioner might have no Instruction for the present to make  
 “any Approach towards either; on the contrary, that He  
 “might be restrained from it by his Majesty’s special Di-  
 “rection: For though his own Prudence, upon the Ob-  
 “servation He should quickly make when He came thi-  
 “ther, would restrain him from doing any Thing which  
 “might be inconvenient to his Majesty’s Service; yet  
 “without that He would hardly be able to restrain others,  
 “who for Want of Understanding, or out of Ill-Will to  
 “particular Men, might be too forward to set such a De-  
 “sign on Foot.”

*Who artfully  
 attempts to get  
 it delayed.*

He desired “that in the first Session of Parliament no  
 “farther Attempt might be made, than in Pursuance of  
 “what had been first mentioned, the vindicating their  
 “Country from all Things which related to the Murder  
 “of the late King, which would comprehend the Deli-  
 “very up of his Person, the asserting the King’s Royal  
 “Power, by which all future Attempts towards Rebel-  
 “lion would be prevented, and the Trial of the Marquis  
 “of *Argyle*; all which would take up more Time than  
 “Parlia-

“Parliaments in that Kingdom, till the late ill Times, had  
 “used to continue together. That after the Expiration  
 “of the first Session, in which a good Judgment might  
 “be made of the Temper of that Kingdom, and the  
 “Commissioner’s Prudence might have an Influence upon  
 “many leading Men to change their present Temper,  
 “such farther Advance might be made for the Reforma-  
 “tion of the Kirk as his Majesty should judge best; and  
 “then He made no Doubt, but all would by Degrees be  
 “compassed in that Particular which could be desired,  
 “and which was the more resolutely to be desired, be-  
 “cause He still confessed that the King could not be se-  
 “cure nor the Kingdom happy, till the Episcopal Go-  
 “vernment could be restored, But He undertook to  
 “know so well the Nature of that People” (though He  
 had not been in that Kingdom since his Majesty left it)  
 “that if it were undertaken presently, or without due  
 “Circumstances in preparing more Men than could in a  
 “short Time be done, it would not only miscarry, but  
 “with it his Majesty be disappointed of many of the  
 “other Particulars, which He would otherwise be sure to  
 “obtain.”

HE named many of the Nobility and leading Men,  
 who, He said, “were still so infatuated with the *Covenant*,  
 “that They would with equal Patience hear of the Re-  
 “jection of the four Evangelists, who yet, by Conver-  
 “sation and other Information and Application, might in  
 “Time be wrought upon,” He frequently appealed to  
 the King’s own Memory, and Observation when He was  
 in that Kingdom, “how superstitious They, who were  
 “most devoted to do him Service, and were at his Dis-  
 “posal in all Things, were towards the *Covenant*: That  
 “all They did for him, which was all that He desired  
 “them to do, was looked upon as the Effects of those Obli-  
 “gations which the *Covenant* had laid upon them.” He  
 appealed to the General (“who,” He said, “knew *Scotland*  
 “better than any one Man of that Nation could pretend  
 “to do) whether He thought this a proper Season to  
 “attempt so great a Change in that Kingdom, before  
 “other more pressing Acts were compassed; and whether  
 “He did not know, that the very pressing the Obliga-  
 “tions in the *Covenant* lately in *England* had not con-  
 “tributed very much to the Restoration of the King,  
 “which the *London* Ministers confidently urged at pre-<sup>(56)</sup>  
 “sent

“sent as an Argument for his Indulgence towards them. “And,” He said, “though He well knew, that his Majesty was fully resolved to maintain the Government of “the Church of *England* in its full Lustre, which He “thanked God for, being in his Judgment the best Government Ecclesiastical in the World; yet He could not “but observe, that the King’s Prudence had yet forborne “to make any new Bishops, and had upon the Matter “suspended the *English Liturgy* by not enjoining it, out “of Indulgence to Dissenters, and to allow them Time “to consider and to be well informed and instructed in “those Forms, which had been for so many Years rejected or discontinued, that the People in general and “many Ministers had never seen or heard it used: So “that the *Presbyterians* here remained still in Hope of his “Majesty’s Favour and Condescension, that They should “be permitted to continue their own Forms, or no “Forms, in their Devotions and publick Worship of “God. In Condescension of all which, He thought it “very incongruous, and somewhat against his Majesty’s “Dignity, suddenly and with Precipitation to begin and “attempt such an Alteration in *Scotland*, against a Government that had more Antiquity there, and was more “generally submitted to and accepted, than it had been “in *England*, before He himself had declared his own “Judgment against it in this Kingdom; which He presumed He would shortly do, and which would be the “best Introduction to the same in *Scotland*, where all the “King’s Actions and Determinations would be looked “upon with the highest Veneration.”

He concluded, “that if the other more vigorous Course “should be resolved upon, the Marquis of *Argyle* would be “very glad of it; for though He was generally odious “to all Degrees of Men, yet He was not so much hated “as the *Covenant* was beloved and worshipped: And that “when They should discern that They must be deprived “of that, They would rather desire to preserve Both. “And therefore,” He said, “his Advice still was, that “He should be first out of the Way, who was looked “upon as the Upholder of the *Covenant* and the chief “Pillar of the Kirk, before any visible Attempt should be “made against the other, which would assuredly be done “by Degrees.”

MANY



*His Discourse  
makes some  
Impression on  
the King.*

MANY Particulars in this Discourse confidently urged, and with more Advantage of Elocution than the Fatness of his Tongue, that ever filled his Mouth, usually was attended with, seemed reasonable to many, and worthy to be answered; and his frequent Appeals to the King, in which there were always some ridiculous Instances of the Use made of the *Covenant*, with Reference to the Power of the Preachers in the domestick Affairs of other Men, and the like, (which though it made it the more odious, was still Argument of the Reverence that was generally paid to it, all which Instances were well remembered by the King, who commonly added others of the same Standard from his own Memory) made his Majesty in Suspense, or rather inclined that Nothing should be attempted that concerned the Kirk till the next Session of Parliament, when *Lautberdale* himself confessed it might be securely effected. To this the General seemed to incline, not a little moved by what had been said of *Argyle* to whom He was no Friend, but much more by the Disadvantage which might arise, by a precipitate Proceeding in *Scotland*, to the Presbyterian Party here, and especially to the Preachers, to whom He wished well for his Wife's Sake, or rather for his own Peace with his Wife, who was deeply engaged to that People for their reasonable Determination of some nice Cases of Conscience, whereby He had been induced to repair a Trespass He<sup>(57)</sup> had committed, by marrying her; which was an Obligation never to be forgotten.

*Middleton  
and the other  
Lords discover  
Lautber-  
dale's Design.*

MIDDLETON, and most of the *Scots* Lords, were highly offended by the Presumption of *Lautberdale*, in undertaking to know the Spirit and Disposition of a Kingdom which He had not seen in ten Years; and easily discerned that his affected Raillery and Railing against the *Covenant*, and his magnifying Episcopal Government, were but Varnish to cover the Rottenness of his Intentions, till He might more securely and efficaciously manifest his Affection to the one, and his Malignity to the other. They contradicted positively all that He had said of the Temper and Affections of *Scotland*, and named many of those Lords, who had been mentioned by him as the most zealous Asserters of the *Covenant*, "who," They undertook, "should upon the first Opportunity declare their Abomination of it to the World; whereof They knew there "were some who had written against it, and were resolved "to

“to publish it as soon as They might do it with Safety.” They advised his Majesty, “that He would not choose to do his Business by Halves, when He might with more Security do it all together, and the dividing it would make Both the more difficult. However,” They besought him, “to put no such Restraint, as had been so much pressed, upon his Commissioner, that though He should find the Parliament most inclined to do that now, which every Body confessed necessary to be done at some Time, He should not accept their Good-Will, but hinder them from pursuing it, as very ungrateful to the King; which,” They said, “would be a greater Countenance to and Confirmation of the *Covenant* than it had ever yet received, and a greater Wound to Episcopacy.” And that indeed was consented to by all. And thereupon the King resolved to put Nothing like Restraint upon his Commissioner from effecting that He wished might be done Tomorrow if it could be, but to leave it entirely to his Prudence to judge of the Conjunction, with Caution “not to permit it to be attempted, if He saw it would be attended with any ill Consequence or Hazard to his Service.” And so the Commissioner, with the other Officers for *Scotland*, were dismissed to their full Content; and therewith the King was at present eased, by having separated one very important Affair from the Crowd of the rest, which remained to perplex him.

*And prevents it.*

THAT in *Ireland* was much more intricate, and the Intricacy in many Respects so involved, that Nobody had a Mind to meddle with it. The Chancellor had made it his humble Suit to the King, “that no Part of it might ever be referred to him;” and the Duke of *Ormond* (who was most concerned in his own Interest that all Mens Interests in that Kingdom might be adjusted, that He might enjoy his, which was the greatest of all the rest) could not see any Light in so much Darkness, that might lead him to any Beginning. The King’s Interest had been so totally extinguished in that Kingdom for many Years past, that there was no Person of any Consideration there, who pretended to wish that it were revived. At *Cromwell’s* Death, and at the Deposition of *Richard*, his younger Son *Harry* was invested in the full Authority, by being Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The two Presidents of the two Provinces, were the Lord *Bragbill* in that of *Munster*,

*The State of Ireland at that Time.*

ter, and Sir Charles Coote in that of *Conaught*; Both equally depending upon the Lieutenant: And They more depended upon him and courted his Protection, by their not loving one another, and being of several Complexions and Constitutions, and Both of a long Aver-  
 sion to the King by Multiplications of Guilt. When *Richard* was thrown out, the supreme Power of the Militia was vested in *Ludlow*, and all the civil Jurisdiction in Persons who had been Judges of the King, and possessed am-<sup>(58)</sup>  
 ple Fortunes, which They could no longer hold than their Authority should be maintained. But the two Presidents remained in their several Provinces with their full Power, either because They had not deserved to be suspected, or because They could not easily be removed, being still subject to the Commissioners at *Dublin*. The next Change of Government removed *Ludlow* and the rest of that desperate Crew, and committed the Government to others of more moderate Principles, yet far enough from wishing well to the King. In those Revolutions Sir Charles Coote took an Opportunity to send an Express to the King, who was then at *Brussels*, with the Tender of his Obedience, with great Cautions as to the Time of appearing; only desired "to have such Commissions in his Hands as might be applied to his Majesty's Service in "a proper Conjunction," which were sent to him, and never made Use of by him. He expressed great Jealousy of *Brogbill*, and an Unwillingness that He should know of his Engagement. And the Alterations succeeded so fast one upon another, that They Both chose rather to depend upon General *Monk* than upon the King, imagining, as They said afterwards, "that He intended Nothing but the King's Restoration, and best knew how "to effect it." And by some private Letter, for there was no Order sent, to Coote and some other Officers there, "that They would adhere to his Army for the Service of "the Parliament against *Lambert*," Coote found Assistance to seize upon the Castle of *Dublin*, and the Persons of those who were in Authority, who were imprisoned by them, and the Government settled in that Manner as They thought most agreeable to the Presbyterian Humour, until the General was declared Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who sent Commissions to the same Persons, who, as soon as the King was proclaimed, sent their Commissioners to the King, who were called Commissioners from  
 the

the State, and brought a Present of Money to the King from the same, with all Professions of Duty which could be expected from the best Subjects.

THESE were the Lord *Brogbill*, Sir *Audley Mervin*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and several other Persons of Quality, much the greater Number whereof had been always notorious for the Disservice They had done the King; but upon the Advantage of having been discountenanced, and suffered long Imprisonment and other Damages, under *Cromwell*, They called themselves the King's Party, and brought Expectations with them to be looked upon and treated as such. Amongst them was a Brother, and other Friends, made Choice of and more immediately trusted by Sir *Charles Coote*, who remained in the Castle of *Dublin*, and presided in that Council that supplied the Government, and was thought to have the best Interest in the Army as well as in his own Province. "And these Men," He said, "had been privy to the Service He meant to have done the King, and expected the Performance of several Promises He had then made them by Virtue of some Authority had been sent to him to assure those, who should join with him to do his Majesty Service." All these Commissioners from the State had Instructions, to which They were to conform in desiring Nothing from the King, but "the settling his own Authority amongst them, the ordering the Army, the reviving the Execution of the Laws, and settling the Courts of Justice" (all which had been dissolved in the late Usurpation), "and such other Particulars as purely related to the Publick." And their publick Addresses were to this and no other Purpose. But then to their private Friends, and such as They desired to make their Friends, most of them had many Pretences of Merit, and many  
 (59) Expedients by which the King might reward them, and out of which They would be able liberally to gratify their Patrons. And by this Means all who served the King were furnished with Suits enough to make their Fortunes, in which They presently engaged themselves with very troublesome Importunity to the King himself, and to all others who They thought had Credit or Power to advance their Desires. Nor was there any other Art so much used by the Commissioners in their secret Conferences, as to deprave one another, and to discover the ill Actions They had been guilty of, and how little They deserved to be  
 trusted,

trusted, or had Interest to accomplish. The Lord *Brog-bill* was the Man of the best Parts, and had most Friends by his great Alliance to promise for him. And He appeared very generous, and to be without the least Pretence to any Advantage for himself, and to be so wholly devoted to the King's Interest and to the establishing of the Government of the Church, that He quickly got himself believed. And having free Access to the King, by mingling Apologies for what He had done with Promises of what He would do, and utterly renouncing all those Principles as to the Church or State (as He might with a good Conscience do) which made Men unfit for Trust, He made himself so acceptable to his Majesty, that He heard him willingly, because He made all Things easy to be done and compassed; and gave such Assurances to the Bedchamber Men, to help them to good Fortunes in *Ireland*, which They had Reason to despair of in *England*, that He wanted not their Testimony upon all Occasions, nor their Defence and Vindication, when any Thing was reflected upon to his Disadvantage or Reproach.

2. *Deputies from the Bishops and Clergy.*

2. THERE were many other Deputies of several Classes in *Ireland*, who thought their Pretences to be as well grounded, as theirs who came from the State. There were yet some Bishops alive of that Kingdom, and other grave Divines, all stripped of their Dignities and Estates, which had been disposed of by the usurping Power to their Creatures. And all They (some whereof had spent Time in Banishment near the King, and others more miserably in their own Country and in *England*, under the Charity of those who for the most Part lived by the Charity of others) expected, as They well might, to be restored to what in Right belonged to them; and besought his Majesty "to use all possible Expedition to establish the Government of that Church as it had always been, by supplying the empty Sees with new Prelates in the Place of those who were dead, that all the Schisms and wild Factions in Religion, which were spread over that whole Kingdom, might be extirpated and rooted out." All which Desires were grateful to the King, and according to his Royal Intentions, and were not opposed by the Commissioners from the State, who all pretended to be Wellwishers to the old Government of the Church, and the more by the Experience They had of the Distractions which

which were introduced by that which had succeeded it, and by the Confusion They were now in without any. Only Sir *John Clotworthy* (who, by the Exercise of very ordinary Faculties in several Employments, whilst the Parliament retained the supreme Power in their Hands, had exceedingly improved himself in Understanding and Ability of Negotiation) dissembled not his old Animosity against the Bishops, the Cross and the Surplice, and wished that all might be abolished; though He knew well that his Vote would signify Nothing towards it. And that Spirit of his had been so long known, that it was now imputed to Sincerity and Plaindealing, and that He would not dissemble (which many others were known to do, who had the same Malignity with him); and was (60) the less ill thought of, because in all other Respects He was of a generous and a jovial Nature, and complied in all Designs which might advance the King's Interest or Service.

3. THERE appeared likewise a Committee deputed by the *Adventurers* to solicit their Right, which was the more numerous by the Company of many Aldermen and Citizens of the best Quality, and many honest Gentlemen of the Country; who all desired "that their Right might not be disturbed, which had been settled by an Act of Parliament ratified by the last King before the Troubles; and that if it should be thought just, that any of the Lands of which They stood possessed should be taken from them, upon what Title soever, They might first be put into the Possession of other Lands of equal Value before They should be dispossessed of what They had already." All that They made Claim to seemed to be confirmed by an Act of Parliament. The Case was this: When the Rebellion first brake out in *Ireland*, the Parliament then sitting, and there being so much Money to be raised and already raised for the Payment of and disbanding two Armies, and for the composing or compounding the Rebellion of *Scotland*, where the King was at that Time; it had been propounded, "that the War of *Ireland* might be carried on at the Charges of particular Men, and so all Imposition upon the People might be prevented, if an Act of Parliament were passed for the Satisfaction of all those who would advance Monies for the War, out of the Lands which should become forfeited."

3. A Committee deputed by the *Adventurers*.

An Account of these *Adventurers*.

*The Continuation of the Life of*

AND this Proposition being embraced, an Act was prepared to that Purpose; in which it was provided, "that the forfeited Lands in *Leinster, Munster, Connaught* and *Ulster*, should be valued at such several Rates by the Acre, and how many Acres in either should be assigned for the Satisfaction of one hundred Pounds, and so proportionally for greater Sums. That for all Monies which should be subscribed within so many Days (beyond which Time there should be no more Subscriptions) for that Service, one Moiety thereof should be paid to the Treasurer appointed, within few Days, for the present Preparations; and the other Moiety be paid within six Months, upon the Penalty of losing all Benefit from the first Payment. That when God should so bless their Armies (which They doubted not of) that the Rebels should be so near reduced, that They should be without any Army or visible Power to support their Rebellion; there should a Commission issue out, under the Great Seal of *England*, to such Persons as should be nominated by the Parliament, who should take the best Way They could in their Discretion think fit, to be informed whether the Rebels were totally subdued, and so the Rebellion at an End. And upon their Declaration that the Work was fully done, and the War finished, other Commissions should likewise issue out, in the same Manner, for the convicting and attainting all those who were guilty of the Treason and Rebellion by which their Estates were become forfeited; and then other Commissions, for the Distribution of the forfeited Lands to the several *Adventurers*, according to the Sums of Money advanced by them. The King was to be restrained from making any Peace with the *Irish* Rebels, or Cessation, or from granting Pardon to any of them; but such Peace, Cessation, or Pardon should be looked upon as void and null."

THIS Act the King had consented to and confirmed in the Year 1641, and in the Agony of many Troubles which that Rebellion had brought upon him, thinking it the only Means to put a speedy End to that accursed Rebellion, the Suppression whereof would free him from many Difficulties. And upon the Security of this Act, very many Persons of all Qualities and Affections subscribed and brought in the first Moiety of their Money, and were very properly styled *Adventurers*. Great Sums of

of Money were daily brought in, and Preparations and Provisions and new Levies of Men were made for *Ireland*. But the Rebellion in *England* being shortly after fomented by the Parliament, They applied very much of that Money brought in by the *Adventurers*, and many of the Troops which had been raised for that Service, immediately against the King: Which being notoriously known, and his Majesty complaining of it, many honest Gentlemen who had subscribed and paid one Moiety, refused to pay in the other Moiety at the Time, and so were liable to lose the Benefit of their Adventure; which They preferred before suffering their Money to be applied to the carrying on the Rebellion against the King, which They abhorred. And by this Means *Ireland* was unsupplied; and the Rebellion spread and prospered with little Opposition for some Time. And the Parliament, though the Time for subscribing was expired, enlarged it by Ordinances of their own to a longer Day, and easily prevailed with many of their own Party, principally Officers and Citizens, to subscribe and bring in their Money; to which it was no small Encouragement, that so many had lost the Benefit of their whole Adventure by not paying in the second Payment, which would make the Conditions of the new *Adventurers* the less hazardous.

WHEN the Success of the Parliament had totally subdued the King's Arms, and himself was so inhumanly murdered, neither the Forces in *Ireland* under the King's Authority, or the *Irish*, who had too late promised to submit to it, could make any long Resistance; so that *Cromwell* quickly dispersed them by his own Expedition thither: And by licensing as many as desired it to transport as many from thence, for the Service of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, as They would contract for, quickly made a Disappearance of any Army in that Kingdom to oppose his Conquests. And after the Defeat of the King at *Worcester*, He seemed to all Men to be in as quiet a Possession of *Ireland* as of *England*, and to be as much without Enemies in the one as the other Kingdom; as in a short Time He had reduced *Scotland* to the same Exigent.

SHORTLY after that Time, when *Cromwell* was invested with the Office of Protector, all those Commissions were issued out, and all the Formality was used that was prescribed by that Act for the *Adventurers*. Not only all



the *Irish* Nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the Rebellion, and so to have forfeited all their Estates; but the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchiquin*, and all the *English Catholics*, and whosoever had served the King, were declared to be under the same Guilt; and the Lands seized upon for the Benefit of the State. There were very vast Arrears of Pay due to the Army, a great Part of which (now the War was ended) must be disbanded; for the doing whereof no Money was to be expected out of *England*, but They must be satisfied out of the Forfeitures of the other Kingdoms. The whole Kingdom was admeasured; the Accounts of the Money paid by the *Adventurers* within the Time limited, and what was due to the Army for their Pay, were stated; and such Proportions of Acres in the several Provinces were assigned to the *Adventurers* and Officers and Soldiers, as were agreeable to the Act of Parliament, by Admeasurement. Where an Officer of Name had been likewise an *Adventurer*, his Adventure and Pay amounted to the more. And sometimes the whole Company and Regiment contracted for Money with their Captains or Colonels, and assigned their Interest in Land to them; and Possession was accordingly delivered without any Respect to any Titles by Law to former Settlements, or Descents of any Persons soever, Wives or Children; except in some very few Cases, where the Wives had been great Heirs and could not be charged with any Crime, such Proportions were assigned as were rather agreeable to their own Conveniences, than to Justice and the Right of the Claimers.

AND that every Body might with the more Security enjoy that which was assigned to him, They had found a Way to have the Consent of many to their own Undoing. They found the utter Extirpation of the Nation (which They had intended) to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of Horror, that made some Impression upon the Stone-Hardness of their own Hearts. After so many Thousands destroyed by the Plague which raged over the Kingdom, by Fire, Sword, and Famine; and after so many Thousands transported into foreign Parts; there remained still such a numerous People, that They knew not how to dispose of: And though They were declared to be all forfeited, and so to have no Title to any Thing, yet They must remain somewhere. They therefore found this Expedient, which They called an

*Act of Grace.* There was a large Tract of Land, even to the Half of the Province of *Conaught*, that was separated from the rest by a long and a large River, and which by the Plague and many Massacres remained almost desolate. Into this Space and Circuit of Land They required all the *Irish* to retire by such a Day, under the Penalty of Death; and all who should after that Time be found in any other Part of the Kingdom, Man, Woman, or Child, should be killed by any Body who saw or met them. The Land within this Circuit, the most barren in the Kingdom, was out of the Grace and Mercy of the Conquerors assigned to those of the Nation who were enclosed, in such Proportions as might with great Industry preserve their Lives. And to those Persons, from whom They had taken great Quantities of Land in other Provinces, They assigned the greater Proportions within this Precinct; so that it fell to some Mens Lot, especially when They were accommodated with Houses, to have a competent Livelihood, though never to the fifth Part of what had been taken from them in a much better Province. And that They might not be exalted with this merciful Donative, it was a Condition that accompanied this their Accommodation, that They should all give Releases of their former Rights and Titles to the Land that was taken from them, in Consideration of what was now assigned to them; and so They should for ever bar themselves and their Heirs from ever laying Claim to their old Inheritance. What should They do? They could not be permitted to go out of this Precinct to shift for themselves elsewhere; and without this Assignment They must starve here, as many did die every Day of Famine. In this deplorable Condition, and under this Consternation, They found themselves obliged to accept or submit to the hardest Conditions of their Conquerors, and so signed such Conveyances and Releases as were prepared for them, that They might enjoy those Lands which belonged to other Men.

AND by this Means the Plantation (as They called it) of *Conaught* was finished, and all the *Irish* Nation enclosed within that Circuit; the rest of *Ireland* being left to the *English*; some to the old Lords and just Proprietors, who being all *Protestants* (for no *Roman Catholick* was admitted) had either never offended them, or had served them, or had made Composition for their Delinquencies by the Benefit of some Articles; and some to the

*The Continuation of the Life of*

*Adventurers* and Soldiers. And a good and great Part (as I remember, the whole Province of *Tipperary*) *Cromwell* had reserved to himself, as a Demefne (as He called it) for the State, and in which no *Adventurer* or Soldier should demand his Lot to be assigned, and no Doubt intended both the State and it for the making great his own Family. It cannot be imagined in how easy a Method, and with what peaceable Formality, this whole great Kingdom was taken from the just Lords and Proprietors, and divided and given amongst those, who had no other Right to it but that They had Power to keep it; no Men having so great Shares as They who had been Instruments to murder the King, and were not like willingly to part with it to his Successor. Where any great Sums of Money for Arms, Ammunition, or any Merchandise, had been so long due that they were looked upon as desperate, the Creditors subscribed all those Sums as lent upon Adventure, and had their Satisfaction assigned to them as *Adventurers*. *Ireland* was the great Capital, out of which all Debts were paid, all Services rewarded, and all Acts of Bounty performed. And which is more wonderful, all this was done and settled, within little more than two Years, to that Degree of Perfection, that there were many Buildings raised for Beauty as well as Use, orderly and regular Plantations of Trees, and Fences and Enclosures raised throughout the Kingdom, Purchases made by one from the other at very valuable Rates, and Jointures made upon Marriages, and all other Conveyances and Settlements executed, as in a Kingdom at Peace within itself, and where no Doubt could be made of the Validity of Titles. And yet in all this Quiet, there were very few Persons pleased or contented.

AND these Deputies for the *Adventurers*, and for those who called themselves *Adventurers*, came not only to ask the King's Consent and Approbation of what had been done (which They thought in Justice He could not deny, because all had been done upon the Warrant of a legal Act of Parliament) but to complain "that Justice had not been equally done in the Distributions; that this Man had received much less than was his Due, and others as much more than was their Due; that one had had great Quantities of Bogs and waste Land assigned to him as tenantable, and another as much allowed as Bogs and Waste, which in Truth were very tenantable Lands."

And

And upon the whole Matter, They all desired "a Review" might be made, that Justice might be done to all;" every Man expecting an Addition to what He had already, not suspecting that any Thing would be taken from him to be restored to the true Owner.

AND this Agitation raised another Party of *Adventurers*, who thought They had at least as good a Right as any of the other; and that was, They, or the Heirs and Executors of them, who upon the first making of the Act of Parliament, had subscribed several good Sums of Money, and paid in their first Moieties; but the Rebellion coming on, and the Monies already paid in being notoriously and visibly employed contrary to the Act, and against the Person of the King himself, They had out of Conscience forborne to pay the second Moiety, lest it might also be so employed; whereby, according to the Rigour of the Law, They lost the Benefit of the first Payment. And They had hitherto sustained that Loss, with many other, without having ever applied themselves for Relief. "But now when it had pleased God to restore the King, and so many who had not deserved very well desired Help from the King upon the Equity of that Act of Parliament, where the Letter of the Law would do them no Good, They presumed to think, that by the Equity of the Law They ought to be satisfied for the Money They did really pay; and that They should not undergo any Damage for not paying the other Moiety, which out of Conscience and for his Majesty's Service They had forborne to do." No Man will doubt but that the King was very well inclined to gratify this

(64) *Classis of Adventurers*, when He should find it in his Power. But it is Time to return to the Committee and Deputies of the other Parties in that distracted Kingdom.

4. THERE was a Committee sent from the Army that was in present Pay in *Ireland* "for the Arrears due to them," which was for above a Year's Pay; most of those who had received Satisfaction in Land for what was then due to them, as well Officers as Soldiers, being then disbanded, that They might attend their Plantations and Husbandry, but in Truth because They were for the most Part of the Presbyterian Faction, and so suspected by *Cromwell* not to be enough inclined to him. The Army now on Foot, and to whom so great Arrears were due,

*Another Class of Adventurers appears.*

*4. A Committee from the Army.*

confisted for the greatest Part of *Independents, Anabaptists, and Levellers*, who had corresponded with and been directed by the General, when He marched from *Scotland* against *Lambert*: And therefore He had advised the King to declare, “that He would pay all Arrears due to the Army “in *Ireland*, and ratify the Satisfaction that had been “given to *Adventurers, Officers and Soldiers* there;” which his Majesty had accordingly signified by his Declaration from *Breda*. And whoever considers the Temper and Constitution of that Army then on Foot in that Kingdom, and the Body of *Presbyterians* that had been disbanded, and remained still there in their Habitations, together with the Body of *Adventurers*, all *Presbyterians* or *Anabaptists*; and at the same Time remembers the Disposition and general Affection of the Army in *England*, severed from their Obedience to the General and the good Affection of some few superiour Officers; will not wonder that the King endeavoured, if it had been possible, rather to please all, than by any unseasonable Discovery of a Resolution, how just soever, to make any Party desperate; there being none so inconsiderable, as not to have been able to do much Mischief.

5. A Committee from the Officers who had served the King.

5. THE Satisfaction that the Officers and Soldiers had received in Land, and the Demand of the present Army, had caused another Committee to be sent and employed by those reformed Officers, who had served the King under the Command of the Marquis of *Ormond*, from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the End thereof, with Courage and Fidelity; and had since shifted beyond the Seas, and some of them in his Majesty's Service, or suffered patiently in that Kingdom under the Insolence of their Oppressors; who, because They had always fought against the *Irish*, were by Articles, upon their laying down their Arms when They could no longer hold them in their Hands, permitted to remain in their own Houses, or such as They could get within that Kingdom. These Gentlemen thought it a very incongruous Thing, “that They, “who had constantly fought against the King's Father “and himself, should receive their Pay and Reward by “his Majesty's Care, Bounty and Assignment; and that “They, who had as constantly fought for Both, should “be left to undergo all Want and Misery now his Majesty was restored to his own.” And They believed their Suit to be the more reasonable, at least the easier to be

be granted, by having brought an Expedient with them to facilitate their Satisfaction. There had been some old Order or Ordinance that was looked upon as a Law, whereby it was provided, that all Houses within Cities or Corporate Towns, which were forfeited, should be reserved to be specially disposed of by the State, or in such a Manner as it should direct, to the End that all Care might be taken what Manner of Men should be the Inhabitants of such important Places: And therefore such Houses had not been, nor were to be, promiscuously assigned to *Adventurers*, Officers, or Soldiers, and so remained hitherto (65) undisposed of. And these reformed Officers of the King made it their Suit, that those Houses might be assigned to them in Proportions, according to what might appear to be due to their several Conditions and Degrees in Command. And to this Petition, which might seem equitable in itself, the Commissioners from the State gave their full Approbation and Consent, being ready to take all the Opportunities to ingratiate themselves towards those whom They had oppressed as long as They were able, and to be reputed to love the King's Party.

6. LASTLY, there was a Committee for, or rather the whole Body of the *Irish Catholics*, who, with less Modesty than was suitable to their Condition, demanded in Justice to be restored to all the Lands that had been taken from them; alleging "that They were all at least as innocent as any of them were, to whom their Lands had been assigned." They urged "their early Submission to the King, and the Peace They had first made with the Marquis of *Ormond*, by which an Act of Indemnity had been granted for what Offences soever had been committed, except such in which none of them were concerned." They urged "the Peace They had made with the Marquis of *Ormond* upon this King's first coming to the Crown, wherein a Grant of Indemnity was again renewed to them;" and confidently, though very unskilfully, pressed "that the Benefit of all those Articles, which were contained in that Peace, might still be granted and observed to them, since They had done Nothing to infringe or forfeit them, but had been oppressed and broken as all his Majesty's other Forces had been." They urged "the Service They had done to the King beyond the Seas, having been always ready to obey his Commands, and stayed in or left *France* or

6. A Committee for the Roman Catholics.

"Spain as his Majesty had commanded them, and were  
 "for the last two Years received and listed as his own  
 "Troops, and in his own actual Service, under the Duke  
 "of York." They pressed "the intolerable Tyranny They  
 "had suffered under, now almost twenty Years; the Mas-  
 "sacres and Servitude They had undergone, such De-  
 "vastation and laying waste their Country, such bloody  
 "Cruelty and Executions inflicted on them, as had never  
 "been known nor could be paralleled amongst Christi-  
 "ans: That their Nation almost was become desolated,  
 "and their Sufferings of all Kind had been to such an Ex-  
 "tent, that They hoped had satiated their most impla-  
 "cable Enemies." And therefore They humbly besought  
 his Majesty, "that in this general Joy for his Majesty's  
 "blessed Restoration, and in which Nobody could rejoice  
 "more than They, when all his Majesty's Subjects of his  
 "two other Kingdoms (whereof many were not more in-  
 "nocent than themselves) had *their Mouths filled with*  
 "*Laughter*, and had all their Hearts could desire, the  
 "poor *Irish* alone might not be condemned to perpetual  
 "Weeping and Misery by his Majesty's own immediate  
 "Act." Amongst these, with the same Confidence, They  
 who had been transplanted into *Conaught* appeared, related  
 the Circumstances of the Persecution They had under-  
 gone, and "how impossible it had been for them to re-  
 "fuse their Submission to that They had no Power to re-  
 "sist; and therefore that it would be against all Consci-  
 "ence to allege their own Consent, and their Releases and  
 "other Grants, which had They not consented to in that  
 "Point of Time, They, their Wives and Children, could  
 "not have lived four and twenty Hours." All these Par-  
 ticulars were great Motives to Compassion, and disposed  
 his Majesty's Heart to wish that any Expedient might be  
 found, which might consist with Justice and necessary  
 Policy, that though it might not make them very hap-  
 py, yet might preserve them from Misery, until He  
 should hereafter find some Opportunity to repair their<sup>(66)</sup>  
 Condition according to their several Degrees and Merit.

*The King  
 greatly per-  
 plexed with  
 their contra-  
 dictory Ad-  
 dresses.*

THESE several Addresses being presented to his Ma-  
 jesty together, before any Thing was yet settled in *Eng-  
 land*, and every Party of them finding some Friends, who  
 filled the King's Ears with specious Discourses on their  
 Behalf for whom They spake, and with bitter Invectives  
 against all the rest; He was almost confounded how to  
 begin,

begin, and in what Method to put the Examination of all their Pretences, that he might be able to take such a View of them, as to be able to apply some Remedy, that might keep the Disease from increasing and growing worse, until He could find some Cure. He had no Mind the Parliament should interpose and meddle in it, which would have been grateful to no Party; and by good Fortune They were so full of Business that They thought concerned them nearer, that They had no Mind to examine or take Cognizance of this of *Ireland*, which They well knew properly depended upon the King's own Royal Pleasure and Commands. But these Addressess were all of so contradictory a Nature, so inconsistent with each other, and so impossible to be reconciled, that if all *Ireland* could be sold at its full Value (that is, if Kingdoms could be valued at a just Rate) and find a fit Chapman or Purchaser to disburse the Sum, it could not yield Half enough to satisfy Half their Demands; and yet the King was not in a Condition positively to deny any one Party that which They desired.

THE Commissioners from the State, in Respect of their Quality, Parts and Interest, and in Regard of their Mission and Authority, seemed the most proper Persons to be treated with, and the most like to be prevailed upon not to insist upon any Thing that was most profoundly unreasonable. They had all their own just Fears, if the King should be severe; and there would have been a general Concurrence in all the rest, that He should have taken a full Vengeance upon them: But then They who had most Cause to fear, thought They might raise their Hopes highest from that Power that sent them, and which had yet Interest enough to do Good and Hurt; and They thought themselves secure in the King's Declaration from *Breda*, and his Offer of Indemnity, which comprehended them. Then They were all desirous to merit from the King; and their not loving one another disposed them the more to do any Thing that might be grateful to his Majesty. But They were all united and agreed in one unhappy Extreme, that made all their other Devotion less applicable to the publick Peace, that is, their implacable Malice to the *Irish*: Insomuch as They concurred in their Desire, that They might gain Nothing by the King's Return, but be kept with the same Rigour, and under the same Incapacity to do Hurt, which They  
were



were till then. For which Instance They were not totally without Reason, from their barbarous Behaviour in the first Beginning of the Rebellion, which could not be denied, and from their having been compelled to submit to and undergo the most barbarous Servitude, that could not be forgotten. And though Eradication was too foul a Word to be uttered in the Ears of a Christian Prince, yet it was little less or better that They proposed in other Words, and hoped to obtain : Whereas the King thought that miserable People to be as worthy of his Favour, as most of the other Parties ; and that his Honour, Justice and Policy, as far as they were unrestrained by Laws and Contracts, obliged him more to preserve them, at least as much as He could. And yet it can hardly be believed, how few Men, in all other Points very reasonable, and who were far from Cruelty in their Nature, cherished that Inclination in the King ; but thought it in him, and more<sup>(67)</sup> in his Brother, to proceed from other Reasons than They published : Whilst others, who pretended to be only moved by Christian Charity and Compassion, were more cruel towards them, and made them more miserable, by extorting great Engagements from them for their Protection and Intercession, which being performed would leave them in as forlorn a Condition as They were found.

In this Intricacy and Perplexity, the King thought it necessary to begin with settling his own Authority in one Person over that Kingdom, who should make Haste thither, and establish such a Council there, and all Courts of Justice, and other civil Officers, as might best contribute towards bringing the rest in Order. And to this Purpose He made Choice of several Persons of the Robe, who had been known by or recommended to the Marquis of *Ormond*, but of more by the Advice and Promotion of *Daniel O Neile* of his Bedchamber, who preferred a Friend of his and an *Irishman* to the Office of Attorney General, a Place in that Conjuncture of vast Importance to the Settlement, and many other to be Judges. And all this List was made and settled without the least Communication with the Chancellor, who might have been presumed to be easily informed of that Rank of Men. But to find a Person fit to send thither in the supreme Authority, was long deliberated by the King, and with Difficulty to be resolved. The General continued Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*,

land, which He had no Mind to quit, for He had a great Estate there, having for some Time been General of that Army, and received for the Arrears of his Pay, and by *Cromwell's* Bounty, and by some Purchases He made of the Soldiers, an Estate of at least four thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which He thought He could best preserve in the Supreme Government; though He was willing to have it believed in the City and the Army, that He retained it only for the Good of the *Adventurers*, and that the Soldiers might be justly dealt with for their Arrears. Whatsoever his Reason was, as Profit was the highest Reason always with him, whoever was to be Deputy must be subordinate to him, which no Man of the greatest Quality would be, though He was to have his Commission from the King, and the same Jurisdiction in the Absence of the Lieutenant. There were some few fit for the Employment, who were not willing to undertake it; and many who were willing to undertake it, but were not fit.

UPON the View of those of all Sorts, the King most inclined to the Lord *Roberts*, who was a Man of more than ordinary Parts, well versed in the Knowledge of the Laws, and esteemed of Integrity not to be corrupted by Money. But then He was a fullen morose Man, intolerably proud, and had some Humours as inconvenient as small Vices, which made him hard to live with, and which were afterwards more discovered than at that Time foreseen. He had been in the Beginning of the Rebellion a leading Man in their Councils, and a great Officer in their Army, wherein He expressed no Want of Courage. But after the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* his Army in *Cornwall*, which was imputed to his Positiveness and Undertaking for his County, the Friendship between him and that Earl was broken. And from that Time He did not only quit his Command in the Army, but declined their Councils, and remained for the most Part in the Country; where He censured their Proceedings, and had his Conversation most with those who were known to wish well to the King, and who gave him a great Testimony, as if He would be glad to serve his Majesty upon the first Opportunity. The Truth is, the Wickedness of the succeeding Time was so much superiour and overshadowed all that had been done before, that They who had only been in Rebellion with the Earl of *Essex*, looked upon them-

themselves as innocent, and justified their own Allegiance, by loading the Memory of *Cromwell* with all the Reproaches and Maledictions imaginable. The greatest Exception that the King had to the Lord *Roberts*, who was already of the Privy Council by the Recommendation and Instance of the General, was, that He was generally esteemed a *Presbyterian*, which would make him unfit for that Trust for many Reasons; besides that He would not cheerfully act the King's Part in restoring and advancing the Government of the Church, which the King was resolved to settle with all the Advantages which He could contribute towards it. Nor did the Lord *Roberts* profess to be an Enemy to Episcopacy.

BEFORE the King would make any publick Declaration of his Purpose, He sent the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor, who were most acquainted with him, to confer freely with him, and to let him know the good Esteem his Majesty had of him, and of his Abilities to serve him. "That the Government of *Ireland* would require a "very steady and a prudent Man: That the General did "not intend to go into that Kingdom, and yet would remain Lieutenant thereof, from which Office his Majesty "knew not how nor thought it seasonable to remove him, "and therefore that the Place must be supplied by a Deputy; for which Office the King thought him the most "fit, if it were not for one Objection, which He had "given them Leave to inform him of particularly, there "being but one Person more privy to his Majesty's Purpose, who was the Marquis of *Ormond*; and that He "might conclude, that the King was desirous to receive "Satisfaction to his Objection, by the Way He took to "communicate it to him." And then They told him, "that He had the Reputation of being a *Presbyterian*, "and that his Majesty would take his own Word, whether He was or was not one."

He answered without any Kind of Ceremony, to which He was not devoted, or so much as acknowledging the King's Favour in his Enquiry, "That no *Presbyterian* "thought him to be a *Presbyterian*, or that He loved "their Party. He knew them too well. That there could "be no Reason to suspect him to be such, but that which "might rather induce Men to believe him to be a good "Protestant, that He went constantly to Church as well "in the Afternoons as Forenoons on the *Sundays*, and on "those

“those Days forbore to use those Exercises and Recreations, which He used to do all the Week beside.” He desired them “to assure the King, that He was so far from a *Presbyterian*, that He believed Episcopacy to be the best Government the Church could be subject to.” They asked him then, “whether He would be willing to receive that Government of Deputy of *Ireland*, if the King were willing to confer it upon him.” There He let himself to fall to an Acknowledgment of the King’s Goodness, “that He thought him worthy of so great an Honour:” But He could not conceal the Disdain He had of the General’s Person, nor how unwilling He was to receive Orders from him, or to be an Officer under his Command. They told him, “that there would be a Necessity of a good Correspondence between them, both whilst They stayed together in *England*, and when He should be in *Ireland*; but beyond that there would be no Obligation upon him, for that He was to receive his Commission immediately from the King, containing as ample Powers as were in the Lieutenant’s own Commission: That He was not the Lieutenant’s Deputy, but the King’s; only that his Commission ceased when the Lieutenant should be upon the Place, which He  
 (69) “was never like to be,” Upon the whole Matter, though it appeared that the Superiority was a great Mortification to him, He said, “that He referred himself wholly to the King to be disposed of as He thought best for his Service, and that He would behave himself with all possible Fidelity to him.”

UPON this Report made to the King, shortly after, his Majesty in Council declared, “that He had made the Lord Roberts Deputy of *Ireland*,” and then charged him, “that He would prepare as soon as was possible for his Journey thither, when those Officers, who were designed by him for the civil Justice of the Kingdom, should be ready to attend upon him; and in the mean Time that He would send the Commissioners, and all others who solicited any Thing that had Reference to *Ireland*, to wait upon him, to the End, that He being well informed of the Nature and Consistency of the several Pretences, and of the general State of the Kingdom, might be the better able to advise his Majesty upon the whole Matter, and to prescribe, for the entering upon it by Parts, such a Method, that his Majesty

*Lord Roberts  
made Deputy  
of Ireland.*

“jesty might with less Perplexity give his own Determination in those Particulars, which must chiefly depend upon himself and his Direction.” Thus the King gave himself a little Ease, by referring the Gross to the Lord Deputy, in whose Hands We shall for the present leave it, that We may take a View of the other Particulars that more immediately related to *England*; though We shall be shortly called back again to *Ireland*, which enjoyed little Repose in the Hands in which it was put.

*Transactions  
in Parliament  
concerning the  
Act of In-  
demnity.*

THE Parliament spent most of the Time upon the *Act of Indemnity*, in which private Passions and Antipathies prevailed very far; one Man contending to preserve this Man, who, though amongst the foulest Offenders, had done him some Courtesy in the Time of his Power; and another with as much Passion and Bitterness endeavouring to have another condemned, who could not be distinguished from the whole Herd by any infamous Guilt, and who had disoblged him, or refused to oblige him, when it was in his Power to have done it. The King had positively excepted none from Pardon, because He was to refer the Whole to them; but had clearly enough expressed, that He presumed that They would not suffer any of those who had sat as Judges upon his Father, and condemned him to be murdered, to remain alive. And the guilty Persons themselves made so little Doubt of it, that They made what Shift They could to make their Escape into the Parts beyond the Seas, and many of them had transported themselves; whilst others lay concealed for other Opportunities; and some were apprehended when They endeavoured to fly, and so were imprisoned.

THE Parliament published a Proclamation, “that all who did not render themselves by a Day named, should be judged as guilty, and attainted of Treason;” which many consented to, conceiving it to amount to no more than a common Process at Law to bring Men to Justice. But it was no sooner out, than all They who had concealed themselves in Order to be transported, rendered themselves to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and were by him committed to the *Tower*. And the House conceived itself engaged to save those Mens Lives, who had put themselves into their Power upon that Presumption. The House of Peers insisted upon it in many Conferences, that the Proclamation could bear no such Interpretation;

pretation; but as it condemned all who by flying declined the Justice of the Kingdom, so it admitted as many as would appear to plead their own Innocence, which if They could prove They would be safe. But the guilty, and with them the House of Commons, declared, "that  
 (70) "They could not but understand, that They who rendered themselves should be in a better Condition than  
 "They who fled beyond the Seas, which They were not  
 "in any Degree, if They were put upon their Trial; for  
 "to be tried and to be condemned was the same Thing,  
 "since the Guilt of all was equally notorious and manifest." And this Kind of Reasoning prevailed upon the Judgments and Understandings of many, who had all Manner of Detestation for the Persons of the Men. In the End, the House of Peers after long Contests was obliged to consent, "that all the Persons who were fled,  
 "and those who had not rendered themselves, should be  
 "brought to a Trial and attainted according to Law, together with those who were or should be taken;" whereby They would forfeit all their Estates to the King: "But for those who had rendered themselves upon the  
 "Faith of the Parliament," as They called it, "They  
 "should remain in such Prisons as his Majesty thought fit  
 "during their Lives, and neither of them be put to Death  
 "without Consent of Parliament."

BUT then as by this Means too many of those impious Persons remained alive, and some others who were as bad as any, were upon some Testimony of the General, and by other Interpositions of Friends upon the Allegation of Merit and Services, preserved, with the King's Consent too easily obtained, so much as from Attainder; so to make some Kind of Amends for this unhappy Lenity, They resolved to except a Multitude of those They were most angry with from Pardon as to their Estates, and to fine others in great Sums of Money; when worse Men, at least as bad, of either *Classis* were exempted, as included, by the Power of their Friends who were present in the Debate. And this Contradiction and Faction brought such a Spirit into the House, as disturbed all other Counsels; whilst Men, who wished well enough to the Matter proposed, opposed the passing it, to cross other Men who had refused to agree with them in the pardoning or not pardoning of Persons: Which Dissention divided the House into great Animosities. And without Doubt, the King's  
 Credit

Credit and Authority was at that Time so great in the House of Commons, that He could have taken full Vengeance upon many of those with whom He had Reason to be offended, by causing them to be exempted from Pardon, or exposed to some Damage of Estate. And there wanted not many, who used all the Credit They had, to inflame the King to that Retaliation and Revenge.

AND it was then and more afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, that there were no more Exceptions in the *Act of Indemnity*, and that He laboured for Expedition of passing it, and for excluding any extraordinary Exceptions; which Reproach He neither then, or ever after, was solicitous to throw off. But his Authority and Credit, though He at that Time was generally esteemed, could not have prevailed in that Particular (wherein there were few Men without some Temptation to Anger and Indignation, and none more than He, who had undergone Injuries and Indignities from many Men then alive) but that it was very evident to the King himself, and to all dispassioned Men, that no Person was so much concerned, though all were enough, that there should be no longer Delay in passing the *Act of Indemnity*, as the King himself was; there being no Progress made in any other Business, by the Disorder and ill Humour that grew out of that. There was no Attempt to be made towards disbanding the Army, until the *Act of Indemnity* should be first passed; nor could They begin to pay off the Navy, till They were ready to pay off the Arrears of the Army. This was the *Remora* in all the Counsels; whilst there wanted not those, who infused Jealousies into the Minds of the Soldiers, and into the City, "that the King had no Purpose ever to consent to the *Act of Indemnity*," which was looked upon as the only universal Security for the Peace of the Nation: And till that was done, no Man could say that He dwelt at Home, nor the King think himself in any good Posture of Security. And therefore no Man was more impatient, and more instant in Council and Parliament, to remove all Causes which obstructed that Work, than the Chancellor. And He put the King in Mind, "how much He had opposed some Clauses and Expressions which were in the Declaration and Letters from *Breda*," which notwithstanding were inserted, as most agreeable to the General's Advice; and that He then said

to

*The King concerned at the Delays in passing it.*

to his Majesty, in the Presence of those who were consulted with, "that it would come to his Turn to insist upon the Performance of those Concessions, which He was against the making of, when many others would oppose them, which may-be at that present would advise much larger." Which his Majesty acknowledged to be true, and confessed upon many Occasions. And the Chancellor did in Truth conceive, that the King's taking Advantage of the good Inclinations of the House to him, to dispose them to fall upon many Persons, who were Men of another *Classis* to those He desired might be excepted (and of which Prospect there could be no End, every Man having Cause to fear his own Security by what He saw his Neighbour suffer who was as innocent) was directly contrary to the Sense and Integrity of his Declaration, and therefore to be avoided; and that all Things were to be done by him that might facilitate and advance the disbanding, that so the Peace of the Kingdom might again depend upon the civil Justice and Magistrates thereof. And all Men who understood in how ticklish a Condition it then stood, concurred in that Advice.

AND this was the Reason that the King used his Authority, and They who were trusted by him their Credit and Interest, for the suppressing those Animosities, which had irreconciled many Persons between themselves who were of publick Affections, by the Nomination of particular Persons whose Estates should be made liable to Penalties, the imposing of which must again depend upon the Parliament; which, besides the Consumption of Time which was very precious, would renew and continue the same Spirit of Division, which already had done too much Mischief, and would inevitably have done much more. But by this Temper and Composition the *Act of Indemnity* was finished, passed the House of Peers, and received the Royal Assent, to the wonderful Joy of the People. And present Orders were given for the disbanding the Army and Payment of the Navy, as fast as Money came in, for which several Acts of Parliament were formerly passed. And by the former Delays, the intolerable Burden both of Army and Navy lay upon the Kingdom near six Months after the King's Return, and amounted not to so little as one hundred thousand Pounds by the Month; which raised a vast Debt that was called the King's, who had

*He int. resolves  
with the Par-  
liament.*

*And gets it  
passed.*



incessantly desired to have it prevented from the first Hour of his Arrival.

AFTER the *Bill of Indemnity* was passed, with some other as important Acts for the publick Peace, (as the preserving those Proceedings, which had been in Courts of Justice for near twenty Years, from being ravelled into again as void or invalid, because they had been before Judges not legally qualified, which would have brought an intolerable Burden upon the Subject; and some other Acts) the Parliament was willing to adjourn for some Time; that their Members, who were appointed to attend the disbanding the Army in several Places, and the Payment of the Navy, might be absent with less Inconvenience: And the King was as willing to have some Ease. And so it was adjourned for a Month or six Weeks; in which Time, and even in the Middle of the disbanding, (72) there happened a very strange Accident, that was Evidence enough of the Temper or Distemper of the Time.

*The Parliament adjourned.*

THE Trial of those infamous Persons who were in Prison for the Murder of the King (and who were appointed by the *Act of Indemnity* to be proceeded against with Rigour, and who could not be tried till that Vote was passed) was no sooner over; and the Persons executed with some of the same Crew, who being in *Holland* and *Flanders* were, by the Permission and Connivance of the Magistrates, taken by the King's Minister there, and brought into *England*, and put to Death with their Companions; but the People of that *Classis* who were called *Fanatics*, discovered a wonderful Malignity in their Discourses, and Vows of Revenge for their innocent Friends. They caused the Speeches They had made at their Deaths to be printed, in which there was Nothing of Repentance or Sorrow for their Wickedness, but a Justification of what They had done for the Cause of God; and had several Meetings to consult of the best Way to attempt their Revenge, and of bringing themselves into the same Posture of Authority and Power, which They formerly had. The disbanding the Army seemed a good Expedient to contribute to their Ends: And They doubted not, but as fast as They disbanded They would repair to them, which They could not so well do till then, because of the many new Officers who had been lately put over them; and to that Purpose They had their Agents in several Regiments to appoint Rendezvous. They had Conference

ference of assassinating the General, "who," They said, "had betrayed them, and was the only Person who kept the Army together."

MATTERS being in this State, and some of their Companions every Day taken and imprisoned upon Discovery of their Purposes, the King being gone to *Portsmouth*, and the Parliament adjourned, They appointed a Rendezvous in several Places of *London* at twelve of the Clock in the Night; the same being assigned to their Friends in the Country. They had not Patience to make Use of the Silence of the Night, till They could draw their several Bodies together. But their several Rendezvous no sooner met, than They fell into Noise and Exclamation, "that all Men should take Arms to assist the LORD JESUS CHRIST;" and when the Watch came towards them, They resolutely defended themselves, and killed many of those who came to assault them: So that the Alarum was in a short Time spread over the City, and from thence was carried to *Whitehall*, where the Duke of York was and the General, with a Regiment of Guards and some Horse, which were quickly drawn together.

*Venerable  
an Injur-  
tion of the  
Fanatics in  
London.*

SIR Richard Browne was then Lord Mayor of *London*, a very stout and vigilant Magistrate, who was equally feared and hated by all the seditious Party, for his extraordinary Zeal and Resolution in the King's Service. Nor was there any Man in *England*, who did raze out the Memory of what He had formerly done amiss, with a more signal Acknowledgment, or a more frank and generous Engagement against all Manner of Factions, which opposed or obstructed his Majesty's Service; which made him terrible and odious to all, and to none more than to the *Presbyterians*, who had formerly seduced him. Upon the Alarum, which of itself had scattered many of the Conspirators as They were going to or were upon the Places to which They were assigned, He was quickly upon his Horse, accompanied with as many Soldiers, Officers and Friends as He could speedily draw together; and with those marched towards that Place where the most Noise was made, and in his Way met many who ran from the Fury of those, "who," They said, "were in Arms," and reported "their Numbers to be very great, and that They killed all who opposed them." And true it was They had killed some, and charged a Body of the Trainbands with so much Courage, that it

retired with Disorder. Yet when the Mayor came, He found the Number so small, not above thirty Men, that He commanded them to lay down their Arms; which when They refused to do, He charged them briskly. And They defended themselves with that Courage and Despair, that They killed and wounded many of his Men; and very few of them yielded or would receive Quarter, till They were overborne with Numbers or fainted with Wounds, and so were taken and laid Hands on.

THEIR Captain, who was to command the whole Party in London, and had for his Device in his Ensign these Words, THE LORD GOD AND GIDEON, was a Wine-Cooper of a competent Estate, a very strong Man, who defended himself with his Sword, and killed some of those who assaulted him, till He fell with his Wounds, as some other about him did; all whom He had persuaded, that They should be able to do as much upon their Enemies, as *Jonathan* and his Armour Bearer did upon the *Philistines*, or any others in the Old Testament had upon those whom the Lord delivered into their Hands. Nor could it be found upon all his Examinations, that there was any other formed Design, than what must probably attend the Declaration of the Army, of which He was assured. He and the other hurt Men were committed to the Goal, and to the special Charge of the Surgeons, that They might be preserved for a Trial.

THE next Morning the Council met early, and having received an Account of all that had passed, They could not but conclude, that this so extravagant an Attempt could not be founded upon the Rashness of one Man, who had been always looked upon as a Man of Sense and Reason. And thereupon They thought it necessary to suspend the disbanding the General's Regiment of Foot, which had the Guard of *Whitehall*, and was by the Order of Parliament to have been disbanded the next Day; and writ to the King "to approve of what They had done, "and to appoint it to be continued till farther Order," which his Majesty consented to. And this was the true Ground and Occasion of the continuing and increasing the Guard for his Majesty's Person, which no Man at that Time thought to be more than was necessary. Order was given for the speedy Trial of *Venner* and his Accomplices; many whereof with himself would have died of their Wounds, if their Trial had been deferred for many Days:

But

But the Surgeons Skill preserved them till then, where They made no other Defence for themselves than what is before mentioned; nor did then, or at their Deaths (there being ten or a dozen executed) make the least Shew of Sorrow for what They had attempted.

*For which He  
and several of  
his Associates  
are executed.*

THERE is no Occasion of mentioning more of the particular Proceedings of this Parliament, which though it met afterwards at the Time appointed, and proceeded with all Duty to the King, in raising great Sums of Money for the Army and the Navy, and for the Payment of other great Debts, which They thought themselves concerned to discharge, and which had never been incurred by the King; and likewise passed many good Acts for the settling a future Revenue for the Crown, and a Vote that They would raise that Revenue to twelve hundred thousand Pounds yearly: Yet They gave not any Thing to the King himself (all the rest was received and paid by those who were deputed by them to that Purpose) but seventy thousand Pounds towards the Discharge of his Coronation, which He had appointed to be in the Beginning of *May* following. And this seventy thousand Pounds was all the Money the King received or could dispose of, (74) in a full Year after his Coming to *London*; so that there could not but be a very great Debt contracted in that Time, for the Payment whereof He must afterwards provide as well as He could. I say, I shall not mention more of the Particulars of that Parliament, because it was foreseen by all, that though their Meeting had produced all those good Effects, in the restoring the King, disbanding the Army, and many other Things, which could be wished; yet that the lasting Validity of all They had done, would depend upon another Parliament to be legally summoned by the King with all those Formalities which this wanted; and the Confirmation of that Parliament would be necessary for the People's Security, that They should enjoy all that this had granted: So that when I shall speak again of the Proceedings of Parliament, it will be of that Parliament which will be called by his Majesty's Writ.

ONLY before We dissolve this, and because there hath been so little said of the License and Distemper in Religion, which his Majesty exceedingly apprehended would have received some Countenance from the Parliament; We shall remember, that the King having by his Decla-

ration

ration from *Breda* referred the composing and settling all that related to the Government of the Church to the Parliament, He could do Nothing towards it himself: But by his gracious Reception of the old Bishops who were still alive, and his own Practice in his Devotions and the Government of his Royal Chapel, He declared sufficiently what should be done in other Places. The Party of the *Presbyterians* was very numerous in the House of Commons, and had before the King's Return made a Committee to devise such a Government for the Church, as might either totally exclude Bishops, or make them little superiour to the rest of the Clergy. But the Spirit of the Time had of itself elected many Members, notwithstanding the Injunctions sent out with the Writs, and expressly contrary to such Injunctions, of a very different Allay; who together with such as were chosen after his Majesty's Return, were numerous enough to obstruct and check any Prevalence of that Party, though not of Power enough to compel them to consent to sober Counsels. And so the Business was kept still at the Committee, now and then getting Ground, and then cast back again, as the sober Members attended; so that no Report was brought to the House from thence, which might have given the King some Trouble. And by Degrees the Heads of that Party grew weary of the Warmth of their Prosecution, which They saw not like to produce any notable Fruit that They cared for. The King desired no more than that They should do Nothing, being sure that in a little Time He should himself do the Work best. And so in *September* when He adjourned them, He took Notice "that They had offered him no Advice towards  
 "the composing the Dissentions in Religion, and there-  
 "fore He would try in that short Adjournment of the  
 "Parliament, what He could do towards it himself."

AND thereupon He was himself present many Days, and for many Hours each Day, at a Conference between many of the *London* Ministers, who were the Heads of the Presbyterian Party, with an equal Number of the Orthodox Clergy, who had been for so many Years deprived of all that They had: Which Conference was held at *Worcester-House* in the Chancellor's Lodgings, to consider what Ceremonies should be retained in the Church, and what Alterations should be made in the Liturgy that had been formerly used; and the Substance of this Conference was afterwards  
 published

published in Print. The King upon this published a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, wherein He took Notice "of the Conference that had been in his own Presence, and that He had commanded the Clergy of  
 (75) "Both Sides to meet together at the *Savoy* in the Master's Lodgings, and if it were possible, to agree upon such "an *Act of Uniformity*, that might be confirmed in Parliament." And in the mean Time He signified his Pleasure, "that Nobody should be punished for not using "*The Book of Common Prayer* which had been formally established, or for discontinuing the Surplice, and the Sign "of the Cross; and that all who desired to conform to "the old Practice in the using them all, should be at the "same Liberty." Which Declaration was read to, and put into the Hands of the Divines of Both Sides for some Days; and then They were again heard before his Majesty at *Worcester-House*. And though it cannot be denied, that either Party did desire that somewhat might be put in, and somewhat left out, in neither of which They were gratified; yet it is most true, They were Both well content with it, or seemed so. And the Declaration was published in his Majesty's Name before the Return of the Parliament.

*The King publishes a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

HERE I cannot but instance two Acts of the *Presbyterians*, by which, if their Humour and Spirit were not enough discovered and known, their Want of Ingenuity and Integrity would be manifest, and how impossible it is for Men who would not be deceived to depend on either. When the Declaration had been delivered to the Ministers, there was a Clause in it, in which the King declared "his "own constant Practice of *The Common Prayer*, and that "He would take it well from those who used it in their "Churches, that the common People might be again acquainted with the Piety, Gravity and Devotion of it, "and which He thought would facilitate their living in a "good Neighbourhood together;" or Words to that Effect. When They had considered the Whole some Days, Mr. *Calamy* and some other Ministers deputed by the rest, came to the Chancellor to redeliver it to his Hands. They acknowledged "the King had been very gracious to them "in his Concessions; though He had not granted all that "some of their Brethren wished, yet They were contented:" Only desired him, "that He would prevail "with the King, that the Clause mentioned before might

*Two Instances of the Disingenuity of the Presbyterian Ministers.*

“be left out; which,” They protested, “was moved by them for the King’s own End, and that They might shew their Obedience to him, and Resolution to do him Service. For They were resolved themselves to do what the King wished, and first to reconcile the People, who for near twenty Years had not been acquainted with that Form, by informing them that it contained much Piety and Devotion, and might be lawfully used; and then that They would begin to use it themselves, and by Degrees accustom the People to it: Which,” They said, “would have a better Effect, than if the Clause were in the Declaration; for They should be thought in their Persuasions to comply only with the King’s Recommendation, and to merit from his Majesty, and not to be moved from the Conscience of the Duty; and so They should take that Occasion to manifest their Zeal to please the King. And They feared there would be other ill Consequences from it, by the Waywardness of the common People, who were to be treated with Skill, and would not be prevailed upon all at once.” The King was to be present the next Morning, to hear the Declaration read the last Time before Both Parties; and then the Chancellor told him, in the Presence of all the rest, what the Ministers had desired; which They again enlarged upon with the same Protestations of their Resolutions, in such a Manner, that his Majesty believed They meant honestly; and the Clause was left out. But the Declaration was no sooner published, than observing that the People were generally satisfied with it, They sent their Emissaries abroad: and many of their Letters were intercepted, and particularly a Letter from Mr. *Calamy* to (76) a leading Minister in *Somersetshire*, whereby He advised and entreated him, “that He and his Friends would continue and persist in the Use of *The Directory*, and by no Means admit *The Common Prayer* in their Churches; for that He made no Question but that They should prevail farther with the King, than He had yet consented to in his Declaration.”

THE other Instance was, that as soon as the Declaration was printed, the King received a Petition in the Name of the Ministers of *London* and many others of the same Opinion with them, who had subscribed that Petition; amongst whom none of those who had attended the King in those Conferences had their Names. They gave  
his

his Majesty humble Thanks "for the Grace He had  
 "vouchsafed to shew in his Declaration, which They re-  
 "ceived as an Earnest of his future Goodness and Conde-  
 "scension in granting all those other Concessions, which  
 "were absolutely necessary for the Liberty of their Con-  
 "science;" and desired with much Importunity and ill  
 Manners, "that the wearing the Surplice, and the using  
 "the Cross in Baptism, might be absolutely abolished out  
 "of the Church, as being scandalous to all Men of ten-  
 "der Consciences." From those two Instances all Men  
 may conclude, that Nothing but a severe Execution of  
 the Law can ever prevail upon that *Classis* of Men to con-  
 form to Government.

WHEN the Parliament came together again after their  
 Adjournment, They gave the King publick Thanks for  
 his Declaration, and never proceeded farther in the Mat-  
 ter of Religion, of which the King was very glad: Only  
 some of the Leaders brought a Bill into the House "for  
 "the making that Declaration a Law," which was suitable  
 to their other Acts of Ingenuity, to keep the Church  
 for ever under the same Indulgence and without any Set-  
 tlement; which being quickly perceived, there was no  
 farther Progress in it. And the King upon the nine and  
 twentieth of *December*, after having given them an ample  
 Testimony of their Kindness towards him, which He  
 magnified with many gracious Expressions, and his Royal  
 Thanks for the settling his Revenue and Payment of the  
 publick Debts, promised "to send out Writs for the call-  
 "ing another Parliament, which He doubted not would  
 "confirm all that They had done, and in which He hoped  
 "many of them would be elected again to serve:" And  
 so dissolved the present Parliament with as general an Ap-  
 plause as hath been known; though it was quickly  
 known, that the Revenue They had settled was not in  
 Value equal to what They had computed. Nor did the  
 Monies They granted in any Degree arise to enough to  
 pay either the Arrears to the Army, or the Debts to the  
 Navy; Both which must be the Work of the ensuing Par-  
 liament, which was directed to meet upon the eighth of  
*May* following: Before which Time, the King made  
 Choice of worthy and learned Men to supply the vacant  
 Sees of Bishops, which had been void so many Years,  
 and who were consecrated accordingly before the Parlia-  
 ment met. And before We come to that Time, some  
 parti-

*The Parlia-  
ment meets  
again, and is  
dissolved.*

*A new Par-  
liament sum-  
moned to meet.*



particular Occurrences of Moment must be first inserted.

WHEN the King arrived in *England*, *Monsieur Bordeaux* was there Ambassadour from the King of *France*, and had resided Ambassadour there about three Years in *Cromwell's* Time, and lived in marvellous Lustre, very acceptable and dear to *Cromwell*, having treated all the secret Alliance between the Cardinal and him ; and was even trusted by the Protector in many of his Counsels, especially to discover any Conspiracy against him ; for He lived jovially, made great Entertainments to Lords and Ladies without Distinction, and amongst them would frequently let fall some Expressions of Compassion and Respect to-<sup>(77)</sup> wards the King. After *Cromwell's* Death his Credentials were quickly renewed to *Richard* his Successour, with whom all the former Treaties were again established. And when He was put down, He was not long without fresh Credit to the Commonwealth that succeeded : And so upon all Vicissitudes was supplied with Authority to endear his Master's Affection to the present Powers, and to let them know, "how well the Cardinal was disposed to "join the Power of *France* to their Interest." And his Dexterity had been such towards all, that the Cardinal thought fit to send him new Credentials against the Time of the King's Coming to *London*. And within few Days after, when He had provided a new Equipage to appear in more Glory than He had ever yet done, He sent to desire an Audience from the King.

THE Earl of *St. Albans* was newly come from *France* ; and to him *Bordeaux* had applied himself, who was always very ready to promote any Thing that might be grateful to that Crown. But the King would not resolve any Thing in the Point, till He had conferred upon it with the Council : Where it being debated, there was an unanimous Consent (the Earl of *St. Albans* only excepted, who exceedingly laboured the contrary), "that it could "not stand with his Majesty's Honour to receive him "as Ambassadour, who had transacted so many Things "to his Disadvantage, and shifted his Face so often, al- "ways in Conjunction with his greatest Enemies ; and "that it was a great Disrespect in the Crown of *France* to- "wards his Majesty in sending such a Person, who They "could not believe (without great undervaluing the King) "could be acceptable to him." The King himself was of that

that Opinion; and instead of assigning him a Day for his Audience, as was desired, He sent him an express Command to depart the Kingdom. And when He afterwards, with much Importunity, desired only to be admitted as a Stranger to see his Majesty, and to speak with him; his Majesty as positively refused to admit him to his Presence. All which was imputed principally to the Chancellor, who had with some Warmth opposed his being received as Ambassadour; and when He sent by a Person well enough esteemed by the Chancellor, "that He would receive a Visit from him," He expressly refused to see him. Whoever gave the Advice, the King had great Honour by it in *France* itself, which declared no Kind of Resentment of it, and gave poor *Bordeaux* such a Reception, after having served them five Years with notable Success, and spent his whole Estate in the Service, that in a short Time He died heart-broken in Misery and unrequited after. And forthwith that King sent the Count of *Soissons*, the most illustrious Person in *France*, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his Ambassadour, to congratulate his Majesty's happy Restoration, with all the Compliments of Friendship and Esteem that can be imagined.

THERE was another Ambassadour at the same Time in *London*, who might be thought to stand in the same Predicament with *Bordeaux*, though in Truth their Cases were very different, and who received a very different Treatment. That was the Ambassadour of *Portugal*, who had been sent by that Crown to finish a Treaty that had been begun by another Ambassadour with *Cromwell*; who had been so ill used, that They had put his Brother publicly to Death for a rash Action in which a Gentleman had been killed; upon which He had got Leave from his Master to quit the Kingdom. And this other Ambassadour had been sent in his Room; and was forced to consent and submit to very hard Conditions, as a Ransom for that King's Generosity in assisting the King in his lowest Condition, by receiving Prince *Rupert* with his (78) Majesty's Fleet in *Lisbon*, and so preserving them from a Fleet much superiour in Number and Goodness of the Ships, that pursued him by Commission from *Cromwell*: Who took that Action so to Heart, that He made War upon that Kingdom, took their Ships, obstructed their Trade, and blocked up all their Ports; whilst the *Spanish Army*

*The Ambassadour from France to the late Powers commanded to quit the Kingdom.*

*The Ambassadour from Portugal to the late Powers kindly received.*

Army invaded them at Land, and took their Towns in the very Heart of the Kingdom. And to redeem that poor King from that terrible Persecution, that Treaty had been submitted to; in which, besides the yearly Payment of a great Sum of Money from *Portugal*, which was to continue for many Years, other great Advantages in Trade had been granted to *England*. The King made no Scruple of receiving this Ambassadour with a very good Countenance; and as soon as He got his Credentials, gave him a publick Audience, with all the Formality and Ceremony that in those Cases are usual and necessary.

*An Account  
of the Treaty  
of Marriage  
with Portu-  
gal.*

AND because in some Time after a Negotiation was set on Foot of the highest Importance, and had its Effect in the King's Marriage with the Queen; and because, how acceptable soever both that Treaty and Conclusion of it was then to the whole Kingdom, that Affair was afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, and in the Opinion of many proved to be the Cause and Ground of all his Misfortunes: I shall here set down all the Particulars that introduced and attended that Negotiation and Treaty, with all the Circumstances, some whereof may appear too light, and yet are not without Weight, to make it appear to all the World, how far the Chancellor was from being the Author of that Counsel (and if He had been, there was no Reason to be ashamed of it) and that He did Nothing before, in, or after that Treaty, but what was necessary for a Man in his Condition, and what very well became a Person of that Trust and Confidence He was in with his Master.

It hath been remembered before, that upon the Publication of the Duke's Marriage, and the Reconciliation upon that Affair, the Chancellor was very solicitous that the King himself would marry; that He desired the Marquis of *Ormond* very earnestly to advise him to it: And himself often put his Majesty in Mind of what He had said to him in *France*, when the Duke was persuaded to treat about a Marriage with *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, "that his Majesty was by no Means to consent, that his Heir Apparent should marry before himself were married," for which He had given some Reasons; for which at that Time He underwent great Displeasures. And this Discourse He had held often with the King: And sure no Man in *England* more impatiently desired to see him married than He did. Indeed it was no easy Matter  
to

to find a Person in all Respects so fit, that a Man would take upon him to propose in particular; nor did He think himself in many Respects, and with Reference to the Accidents which might probably or possibly fall out, fit, if He could have thought of One, to be the Author of the Proposition.

ONE Day the King came to the Chancellor's House in the Afternoon; and being alone with him, his Majesty told him, "that He was come to confer with him upon  
 "an Argument that He would well like, which was  
 "about his own Marriage." He said, "the Lord Cham-  
 "berlain" (who was then Earl of *Manchester*) "had held a  
 "Discourse with him some Days past, that seemed to have  
 "somewhat in it that was worth the thinking of. That  
 "He had told him, *the Portugal Ambassadors had made*  
 "him a Visit, and having some Conference with him concern-  
 "ing the King, towards whose Person He professed a profound  
 "Respect, He said it was Time for his Majesty to think of  
 "Marriage; which Nothing could keep him from, but the  
 (79) "Difficulty of finding a fit Consort for him. That there was in  
 "Portugal a Princess in her Beauty, Person and Age, very  
 "fit for him, and who would have a Portion suitable to her  
 "Birth and Quality. That it is true She was a Catholick,  
 "and would never depart from her Religion; but was totally  
 "without that Meddling and Activity in her Nature, which  
 "many Times made those of that Religion troublesome and rest-  
 "less, when They came into a Country where another Religion  
 "was practised. That She had been bred under a wise Mother,  
 "who was still Regent in that Kingdom, who had carefully in-  
 "fused another Spirit into her, and kept her from affecting to  
 "have any Hand in Business, and which She had never been  
 "acquainted with; so that She would look only to enjoy her  
 "own Religion, and not at all concern herself in what others  
 "professed. That He had Authority to make the Proposition to  
 "the King, with such Particularities as included many Advan-  
 "tages above any, He thought, which could accompany any Over-  
 "ture of that Kind from another Prince. To which the  
 "Chamberlain had added, that there could be no Question,  
 "but that a Protestant Queen would in all Respects be looked  
 "upon as the greatest Blessing to the Kingdom: But if such a  
 "one could not be found, He did really believe, that a Princess  
 "of this Temper and Spirit would be the best of all Catholicks.  
 "That the Trade of Portugal was great here, and that Eng-  
 "land had a more beneficial Commerce with that Crown than  
 "with

*The Portu-  
guese Am-  
bassadors  
propose the  
Marriage.*

*"with any other : Which had induced Cromwell to make that Peace, when He had upon the Matter forsworn it ; and the making it had been the most popular Action He had ever performed."*

His Majesty said, "that He had only answered the Chamberlain, that He would think of it. But that the very Morning of this Day, the Ambassadour of Portugal had been with him, and without any Formality had entered into the same Discourse, and said all that the Lord Chamberlain had mentioned : To which He added, that He had Authority to offer to his Majesty five hundred thousand Pounds Sterling in ready Money, as a Portion with the Infanta ; and likewise to assign over, and for ever to annex to the Crown of England, the Possession of Tangier upon the African Shore in the Mediterranean Sea, a Place of that Strength and Importance, as would be of infinite Benefit and Security to the Trade of England ; and likewise to grant to the English Nation a free Trade in Brasil and in the East-Indies, which They had hitherto denied to all Nations but themselves. And for their Security to enjoy that Privilege, They would put into his Majesty's Hands and Possession, and for ever annex to the Crown of England, the Island of Bombayne (with the Towns and Castles therein, which are within a very little Distance from Bombayne) ; which hath within itself a very good and spacious Harbour, and would be a vast Improvement to the East-India Trade. And those two Places, He said, of Tangier and Bombayne, might reasonably be valued above the Portion in Money." The King mentioned all the Discourse as a Matter that pleased him, and might prove of notable Advantage to the Kingdom ; and said "that He had wished the Ambassadour to confer with him (the Chancellor) upon it ;" and then asked him "what He thought of it : " To which He answered, "that He had not heard of it enough to think of it" (for He had never heard or thought of it before that Moment) ; "and therefore He should not be able to do more when the Ambassadour came to him, than to hear what He said, and report it to his Majesty." For the present He only asked, "whether his Majesty had given over all Thoughts of a Protestant Wife : " To which He answered, "He could find none such, except amongst his own Subjects ; and amongst them He had seen none that pleased him enough to that End." And observing the Chancellor to look<sup>(80)</sup> fixedly

*The King  
approves the  
Proposal.*

fixedly upon him, He said, "that He would never think  
 "more of the Princess of *Orange's* Daughter, her Mother  
 "having used him so ill when He proposed it; and if He  
 "should now think of it, He knew his Mother would ne-  
 "ver consent to it, and that it would break his Sister's  
 "Heart: Therefore He had resolved never to entertain  
 "that Thought again. And that He saw no Objection  
 "against this Overture from *Portugal*, that would not oc-  
 "cur in any other, where the Advantages would not be  
 "so many or so great."

WHAT could the Chancellor say? What Objection  
 could He make, why this Overture should not be heark-  
 ened to? And what would the King have thought, or  
 what might He not have thought, if He had advised him  
 to reject this Motion? He gave him no other Answer for  
 the present, than "that He desired Nothing more in  
 "this World, than to see his Majesty well married; and  
 "He was very confident that all his good Subjects were  
 "of the same Mind: And therefore there must be some  
 "very visible Inconvenience in it, when He should dis-  
 "suade him not to embrace such an Opportunity. That  
 "He would be ready to confer with the *Portugal* Amba-  
 "sador when He came, and then He should entertain  
 "his Majesty farther upon that Subject." The Amba-  
 sadour came to him, repeated what He said and proposed  
 to the King, with little other Enlargement, than concern-  
 ing the Benefit *England* would receive by the two Places of  
*Tangier* and *Bombayne*, and the Description of their Si-  
 tuation and Strength; of all which the Chancellor gave  
 his Majesty a faithful Account, without presuming to  
 mingle with it a Word of his own Advice. The King ap-  
 peared abundantly pleased, and willing to proceed far-  
 ther; and asked "what was next to be done:" To  
 which He answered, "that it was a Matter of too great  
 "Importance for him to deliver any Opinion upon; in-  
 "deed too great for his Majesty himself to resolve, upon  
 "the private Advice of any one Man, how agreeable so-  
 "ever it should be to his own Inclination and Judgment."  
 And therefore He desired him "that He would call to  
 "him four or five Persons, whom He thought to be the  
 "most competent Considerers of such an Affair, and con-  
 "sult it very maturely with them, before He entertained  
 "any more Conference with the Ambassadour. For what-  
 "soever

“foever He should resolve upon it, it ought yet to be kept  
 “in all possible Secrecy: If it should be thought fit to be  
 “rejected, it ought to be without the least Noise, and the  
 “least Reflection upon the Overture, which had been  
 “made with all the possible Demonstration of Esteem: If  
 “it should appear worthy of Entertainment and Accepta-  
 “tion, it would still require the same Secrecy; till the  
 “Value and Consequence of all the Particulars proposed  
 “by the Ambassadour might be fully examined and  
 “weighed, and a more particular and substantial Assu-  
 “rance given for the Accomplishment, than the bare  
 “Word of the Ambassadour.

*He appoints a  
 Committee to  
 enter into a  
 Treaty with  
 the Ambassa-  
 dour.*

THE King appointed that the Lord Treasurer, the Mar-  
 quis of *Ormond*, the Lord Chamberlain, and Secretary *Ni-*  
*colas*, should be together at the Chancellor’s House,  
 where his Majesty would likewise be and propose the Bu-  
 siness to them. And accordingly He did relate to them  
 the whole Series of what had passed, and required them  
 “with all possible Freedom to deliver their Opinions, and  
 “to consider whether there was any other Princess or  
 “Lady in their View, with whom He might marry more  
 “advantageously.” He added, “that He had spoken both  
 “with the Earl of *Sandwich* and Sir *John Lawson* occa-  
 “sionally and merely as loose Discourse, *what Place Tan-*  
*gier was*, which He pointed to in the Map, and *where*  
*it was well known to them*; and They Both said  
 “*They knew it well from Sea*. But that Sir *John Lawson* had<sup>(81)</sup>  
 “been in it, and said, *it was a Place of that Importance, that*  
 “*if it were in the Hands of the Hollanders, They would*  
 “*quickly make a Mole, which They might easily do; that now*  
 “*Ships could not ride there in such a Wind*,” which his Ma-  
 jesty named; “*but if there were a Mole, they would ride se-*  
 “*curely in all Weather*; and *They would keep the Place against*  
 “*all the World, and give the Law to all the Trade of the*  
 “*Mediterranean*.” With which Discourse his Majesty  
 seemed very much affected. After many Questions and  
 much Debate, and some of the Lords wishing that it  
 were possible to get a Queen that was a *Protestant*, and  
 One of them naming the Daughter of *Harry Prince of*  
*Orange*, of whom They had heard some Mention when  
 his Majesty was beyond the Seas, and of whose elder Sister  
 (then married to the Elector of *Brandenburg*) there had  
 been some Discourse in the Life of the late King; (but his  
 Majesty quickly declared, “that He had very unanswer-  
 able

“able Reasons why He could not entertain that Alliance”): All the Lords unanimously agreed, “that there was no Catholick Princess in *Europe*, whom his Majesty could with so much Reason and Advantage marry, as the *Infanta of Portugal*. That the Portion proposed in Money, setting aside the Places, was much greater, almost double to what any King had ever received in Money by any Marriage. And the Places seemed to be situated very usefully for Trade, the increase whereof his Majesty was to endeavour with all possible Solicitude; which could only make this Nation flourish, and recover the Interest They had lost, especially in the *Indies* and in the *Mediterranean*, by the late Troubles and Distractions, and the Advantage the *Dutch* had thereby gotten over the *English* in those Trades, as well as in other.” The King approved all that had been said, and thereupon appointed all those Lords with the same Secrecy to enter into a Treaty with the Ambassadour; which was begun between them accordingly.

THE Treaty neither was nor could be a Secret; nor was there any Thing more generally desired, than that a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce should be made with *Portugal*, that the Trade might continue with Security: And it was very grateful to every Body to know, that there was a Committee appointed to that Purpose. But the Proposition towards a Marriage was still a Secret, not communicated to any, nor so much as suspected by the *Spanish* Ambassadour, who did all He could to obstruct the very Treaty of Alliance; of whose Proceedings there will be Occasion to make Mention anon by itself. The Ambassadour offered “to renew the Treaty (if that of the Marriage was consented to) *in Terminis*, that had been made with *Cromwell*, without being so much as exempted from that yearly Payment, which had been imposed upon them for assisting Prince *Rupert*,” and had been assigned to the Merchants to satisfy the Damages They had sustained by Prince *Rupert*; and the Release whereof must have obliged the King to pay it himself: And therefore that Offer was looked upon as a generous Thing. And the whole Treaty, which They had not yet perused, was generally looked upon and believed to be the most advantageous to *England*, that had been ever entered into with any Crown.



It had been foreseen from the first Motion towards this Marriage, that it would be a very hard Matter with such Alliance, to avoid such a Conjunction with *Portugal* as would produce a War with *Spain*; which the King had no Mind to be engaged in. For besides that He had received some Civilities from that King after a World of Disobligations, his Resident at *Madrid*, Sir Harry Bennet, had consented in his Majesty's Name, that the old Treaty which had been made between the two Crowns in the Year 1630, should be again observed; of which more<sup>(82)</sup> anon. But his Majesty's firm Resolution at that Time was, wholly to intend the composing or subduing the Distempers and ill Humours in his three Kingdoms and all his other Dominions; and till that should be fully done, He would have no Difference with any of his Neighbours, nor be engaged in any War which He could avoid: A Resolution very prudently made; and if it had been adhered to, much Evil which succeeded the Departure from it, might have been prevented.

BUT the Lords found, upon Perusal of the Treaty, one Article (which was indeed the only Article that made any Shew of Benefit and Advantage to *Portugal*) by which *Cromwell* was obliged to assist *Portugal* when They should require it, with six thousand Foot, to be levied in *England* at their Charge. And now the Ambassadour urged, "that in Consideration of the Marriage, the Portion, the Delivery of those Places, and his Majesty's own Interest by that Marriage in *Portugal*, which upon the Death of the King and his Brother must devolve to his Majesty; He would take upon him the Protection of that Kingdom, and denounce War with *Spain*:" To which his Majesty warmly and positively answered, "that He would admit no such Engagement; that He was not in a Condition to make a War till He could not avoid it. He would do what was lawful for him to do; He could choose a Wife for himself, and He could help a Brother and Ally with a Levy of Men at their Charge, without entering into a War with any other Prince. And if *Spain* should, either upon his Marriage or such Supply, declare a War against him, He would defend himself as well as He could, and do as much Damage as He could to *Spain*; and then that He would apply such Assistance to *Portugal*, as should be most advantageous."

“tageous to it: And that He should not be willing to see  
 “it reduced under the Obedience of *Spain* for many Rea-  
 “sons. That in the mean Time He would assist them  
 “with the same Number as *Cromwel.* had promised, and  
 “transport them at his own Charge thither; provided  
 “that as soon as They were landed, They should be re-  
 “ceived in the King of *Portugal’s* Pay:” Which Offer  
 the King made upon a Reason not then communicated,  
 and which will be mentioned hereafter; besides that He  
 had such a Body of Men ready for such a Service, and  
 which could with much more Security and little more  
 Charge be transported to *Portugal*, than be disbanded in  
 the Place where They were.

WHEN the Ambassadour found that the King would  
 not be persuaded to enter directly into a War with *Spain*,  
 though He offered “to put *Barcelona* into his Hands, of  
 which *Don Joseph Margarita*” (a Person who had con-  
 ducted the Revolt of that City, and all the Rebellion  
 which had been lately in *Catalonia*) “then in *Paris* should  
 “come over and give unquestionable Assurance,” (all  
 which, with many other Propositions of the same Nature,  
 his Majesty totally rejected); He concluded, that the Al-  
 liance and Marriage would give a present Reputation to  
*Portugal*, and make Impression upon the Spirits of *Spain*,  
 and that a War would hereafter fall out unavoidably:  
 And so accepted what the King had offered. And then  
 there remained Nothing to be done, but to give unques-  
 tionable Security to the King, for the Performance of all  
 the Particulars which had been promised; and for which  
 there appeared yet no other Warrant, than Letters and  
 Instructions to the Ambassadour from the Queen Regent.  
 And for farther Satisfaction therein, the Ambassadour of-  
 fered “presently to pass into *Portugal*, and doubted not,  
 “in as short a Time as could be expected, to return with  
 “such Power and Authority, and such a full Concession  
 (83) “of what had been proposed, as should be very satisfac-  
 “tory:” Which his Majesty well liked; and writ him-  
 self to the Queen Regent and to the King such Letters,  
 as signified “his full Resolution for the Marriage, if all  
 “the Particulars promised by the Ambassadour in Writ-  
 “ing should be made good;” and writ likewise a Letter  
 with his own Hand to the *Infanta*, as to a Lady whom  
 He looked upon as his Wife; and assigned two Ships to  
 attend

*The Treaty  
 of Commerce  
 with Portu-  
 gal failed.*

*The Ambassadour goes into Portugal for further Powers.*

attend the Ambassadour, who immediately, and with some Appearance or Pretence of Discontent or Dissatisfaction (that the Secret might be the less discovered), embarked with all his Family for the River of *Lisbon*. And to this Time the Chancellor had never mentioned any particular Advice of his own to the King, more than his Concurrence with the rest of the Lords; nor in Truth had any of them shewed more Inclination towards it, than the King himself had done, who seemed marvellously pleased, and had spoken much more in private with the Ambassadour upon it, than any of the Lords had done, and of some Particulars which They were never acquainted with.

*An Account of the Earl of Bristol's Behaviour abroad.*

THAT I may not break off the Thread of this Discourse till I bring it to a Conclusion, nor leave out any important Particular that related to that Subject; I shall in this Place make Mention of a little Cloud or Eclipse, raised by the Activity and Restlessness of the Earl of *Bristol*, that seemed to interpose and darken the Splendour of this Treaty, and to threaten the Life thereof, by extinguishing it in the Bud: Upon which Occasion the Chancellor thought himself obliged to appear more for it, than He had hitherto done; and which afterwards (how unjustly soever) was turned to his Reproach. This Earl (who throughout the whole Course of his Life frequently administered Variety of Discourse, that could not be applied to any other Man) upon the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, when all the King's Hopes in *England* seemed desperate, had not the Patience to expect another Change that presently succeeded; but presently changed his Religion, and declared himself a *Roman Catholick*, that He might with undoubted Success apply himself to the Service of *Spain*, to which the present good Acceptation He had with *Don Juan* was the greater Encouragement. He gave Account by a particular Letter to the Pope of this his Conversion, which was delivered by the General of the *Jesuits*; in Return of which He received a customary Brief from his Sanctity, with the old Piece of Scripture never left out in those Occasions, *Tu conversus converte Fratres tuos*.

THE Noise and Scandal of this Defection and Apostasy in a sworn Counsellor of the King and one of his Secretaries of State, made it necessary for the King to remove him from Both those Trusts, which He had made himself incapable

incapable to execute by the Laws of *England*, and which He proposed to himself to enjoy with the more Advantage by his Change; and believed that the King, who seemed to have no other Hopes towards his Restoration than in Catholick Princes, would not think this a Season in ordinary Policy to disgrace a Servant of his Eminency and Relation, for no other Reason than his becoming *Catholick*, by which He should have so many Opportunities to serve his Master. And this He had the Confidence to urge to the King, before He was obliged to deliver the Signet, and to forbear the being present any more in Council. And this Displacing and Remove He imputed entirely to his old Friend the Chancellor (with whom till that Minute He had for many Years held a very firm Friendship), and the more, because He received from his Majesty the same Countenance He had before, without any Reprehension for what He had done; the King not being at all surpris'd with his Declaration, because He had long known that He was very indifferent in all Matters of Religion, and looked upon the outward Profession of any, as depending wholly upon the Convenience or Discommodity that might be enjoyed by it. And with such Discourses He had too much entertained the King, who never would speak seriously with him upon that Subject. And truly his own Relation of the Manner of his Conversion, with all the Circumstances, and the Discourse of an ignorant old *Jesuit* whom He perfectly contemned, and of a simple good Woman, the Abbess of a Convent, which contributed to it, was so ridiculous, and administered such Occasion of Mirth, that his Majesty thought Laughing at him to be the best Reproof. And the Earl bore that so well and gratefully from the King, and from his other familiar Friends too (for He disssembled his taking any Thing ill of the Chancellor), and contributed so much himself to the Mirth, that He was never better Company than upon that Argument: And any Man would have believed, that He had not a worse Opinion of the Religion He had forsaken, or of any other, by his becoming *Roman Catholick*.

WHEN the King made his Journey to *Fuentarabia* to the Treaty between the two Crowns, the Earl of *Bristol's* irresistible Importunity prevailed with him to permit him, to go likewise, though his Majesty had received Adver-

tisement from Sir *Harry Bennet*, that *Don Lewis de Haro* desired that He might not come with his Majesty thither. The least Part of the Mischief He did in that Journey was, that He prevailed with the King to make so many Diversions and Delays in it, that the Treaty was concluded before He came thither, and He was very near being disappointed of all the Fruit He had proposed to himself to receive from it. However it was finished so much the better, that He left the Earl behind him, who in the short Time of his Stay there, had so far insinuated himself into the Grace and good Opinion of *Don Lewis de Haro*, who came with all the Prejudice and Detestation imaginable towards him, (as He had to his extraordinary Parts a marvellous Faculty of getting himself believed); that He was well content that He should go with him to *Madrid*, where the King upon the Memory of his Father (who had deserved well from that Crown, or rather had suffered much for not having deserved ill) received him graciously. And there He resided in the Resident's House, who had been his Servant, in such a Repose as was agreeable to his Fancy, that He might project his own Fortune; which was the only Thing his Heart was set upon, and of which He despaired in his own Country.

*An Account  
of the Spanish  
Ambassador.*

THE News of the King's miraculous Restoration quickly arrived at *Madrid*, and put an End to the Earl's farther Designs, believing He could not do better abroad than He might do in his own Country; and so He undertook his Journey through *France*, laden with many Obligations from that Court, and arrived at *London* about the Time that the Ambassadour was embarked for *Portugal*. The King of *Spain* had, soon after the King's Arrival in *England*, sent the Prince of *Lygnes* with a very splendid Ambassage to congratulate with his Majesty, about the Time that the Count of *Soissons* came from *France* on the same Errand. And after his Return, the Baron of *Batteville* was sent from *Spain* as Ordinary Ambassadour, a Man born in *Burgundy* in the *Spanish* Quarters, and bred a Soldier; in which Profession He was an Officer of Note, and at that Time was Governour of *St. Sebastian's* and of that Province. He seemed a rough Man, and to have more of the Camp, but in Truth knew the Intrigues of a Court better than most *Spaniards*; and except when his Passion surprised him, was wary and cunning

cunning in his Negotiation. He lived with less Reservation and more Jollity than the Ministers of that Crown used to do; and drew such of the Court to his Table and  
 (85) Conversation, who He observed were loud Talkers, and confident enough in the King's Presence.

IN the first private Audience He had, He delivered a Memorial to his Majesty; in which He required "the Delivery of the Island of *Jamaica* to his Master, it having been taken by his rebel Subjects contrary to the Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns; and likewise that his Majesty would cause *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* to be restored to his *Catholic* Majesty, they having not only been taken contrary to that Treaty, but when his Majesty was entertained in that King's Dominions with all Courtesy and Respect." And He likewise required in the King his Master's Name, "that the King would not give any Assistance, nor enter into any Treaty of Alliance with *Portugal*: For that the same, as the rest, was directly contrary to the last Treaty, which was now again revived and stood in Force by the Declaration of his Majesty's Resident at *Madrid*;" which was the first Notice any of his Majesty's Ministers had of any such Declaration. But when He had delivered those Memorials to the King, He never called for an Answer, nor willingly entered upon the Discourse of either of the Subjects; but put it off merely as a Thing He was to do of Form once, that his Master's just Title might be remembered, but not to be pressed till a fitter Conjunction. For He easily discovered what Answer He should receive: And so took the Advantage of the License of the Court, where no Rules or Formalities were yet established (and to which the King himself was not enough inclined), but all Doors open to all Persons. Which the Ambassadour finding, He made himself a Domestick, came to the King at all Hours, and spake to him when and as long as He would, without any Ceremony, or desiring an Audience according to the old Custom; but came into the Bedchamber whilst the King was dressing himself, and mingled in all Discourses with the same Freedom He would use in his own. And from this never heard of License, introduced by the *French* and the *Spaniard* at this Time without any Dislike in the King, though not permitted in any other Court in *Christendom*, many Incon-

niencies and Mischiefs broke in, which could never after be shut out.

As soon as the Earl of *Bristol* came to the Court, He was very willing to be looked upon as wholly devoted to the *Spanish* Interest; and so made a particular Friendship with the *Spanish* Ambassadour, with whom He had a former Acquaintance whilst the King had been at *Fuent-arabia*, that He might give a Testimony of his Gratitude for the Favours He had received so lately at *Madrid*. The King received him with his accustomed good Countenance; and He had an excellent Talent in spreading that Leaf Gold very thin, that it might look much more than it was: And took Pains by being always in his Presence, and often whispering in his Ear, and talking upon some Subjects with a Liberty not ingrateful, to have it believed that He was more than ordinarily acceptable to his Majesty. And the King, not wary enough against those Invasions, did communicate more to him of the Treaty with *Portugal*, than He had done to any other Person, except those who were immediately trusted in it.

THE Earl had always promised himself (though He knew He could not be of the Council, nor in any Ministry of State, by Reason of his Religion) that He was in so good Esteem with his Majesty and with most of those who were trusted by him, that He should have a great Share in all foreign Affairs, and should be consulted with in all Matters of that Kind, in Regard of the long Experience He had in foreign Parts; which indeed amounted to no more, than a great Exactness in the Languages of those Parts. And therefore He was surpris'd with the<sup>(86)</sup> Notice of this Affair, and presently expressed his Dislike

*The Earl of  
Bristol and  
the Spanish  
Ambassadour  
obstruct the  
Marriage.*

of it, and told his Majesty "that He would be exceedingly deceived in it; that *Portugal* was poor, and not able to pay the Portion They had promised. That now it was forsaken by *France*, *Spain* would overrun and reduce it in one Year;" enlarging upon the great Preparations which were made for that Expedition, "of which *Don Lewis de Haro* himself would be General, and was sure of a great Party in *Portugal* itself, that was weary of that Government: So that that miserable Family had no Hope, but by transporting themselves and their poor Party in their Ships to *Brasil*, and their other large Territories in the *East-Indies*, which were

"possessed

“possessed only by *Portugueses*, who might possibly be “willing to be subject to them. And that this was so “much in the View of all Men, that it was all the Care “*Spain* had to prevent it.” The King did not inform him, that He had concluded any Thing, and that the Ambassadour was gone for more ample Powers to satisfy his Majesty, that all that was promised should be performed.

THE Earl, who valued himself upon his great Faculty in obstructing and puzzling any Thing that was agreed upon, and in contriving whereof He had no Hand, repaired to the *Spanish* Ambassadour, and informed him, under Obligation of Secrecy, of what Treaty the King was entered upon with *Portugal* by the Advice of the Chancellor; which He hoped “that They two should “find some Means to break.” But the Ambassadour’s Breast was not large enough to contain that Secret. He talked of it in all Places with great Passion, and then took it up as from common Report, and spake to the King of it, and said, “the *Portugal* Ambassadour had in “his Vanity bragged of it to some *Catholicks*, and promised them great Things upon it; none of which He “was confident could be true, and that his Majesty could “never be prevailed with to consent to such a Treaty, “which would prove ruinous to himself and his Kingdom; “for the King of *Spain* could not but resent it to such a “Degree, as would bring great Inconvenience to his “Affairs.” And his Majesty forbearing to give him any Answer, at least not such a one as pleased him, his Rage transported him to undervalue the Person of the *Infanta*. He said, “She was deformed, and had many Diseases; “and that it was very well known in *Portugal* and in “*Spain*, that She was incapable to bear Children;” and many Particulars of that Nature.

WHEN He had said the same Things several Days to the King, the Earl of *Bristol* took his Turn again, and told the King other Things which the Ambassadour had communicated to him in Trust, and which He durst not presume to say to his Majesty, and which in Truth He had said himself, being concerning the Person of the *Infanta*, and her Incapacity to have Children; upon which He enlarged very pathetically, and said, “He would “speak freely with the Chancellor of it, upon whom the “ill Consequences of this Counsel would fall.” He told him,



him, "there were many beautiful Ladies in *Italy*, of the "greatest Houses; and that his Majesty might take his "Choice of them, and the King of *Spain* would give a "Portion with her, as if She were a Daughter of *Spain*; "and the King should marry her as such." And the Ambassadour shortly after proposed the same Thing, and enlarged much upon it. And both the Earl and the Ambassadour conferred with the Chancellor (concealing the Propositions They had made concerning the *Italian Ladies*) "as of a Matter the Town talked of and exceedingly disliked, the more because it was generally known, "that that Princess could not have any Children." The King himself had informed the Chancellor of all that had (37) passed from the Ambassadour, and of his Rudeness towards the *Infanta*, and his declaring that She could have no Children; and told him, "that the Earl of *Bristol* resolved to confer with him, and doubted not to convert "him;" without seeming himself to have been moved with any Thing that the Ambassadour or the Earl had said to him: So that when They Both came afterwards to him, not together but severally, and He perceived that his Majesty had not to either of them imparted how far He had proceeded (but had heard them talk as of somewhat They had taken up from publick Rumour, and had himself discoursed of it as sprung from such a Fountain), the Chancellor did not take himself to be at Liberty to enter into a serious Debate of the Matter with them; but permitted them to enjoy the Pleasure of their own Opinion, and to believe that either there had been no Inclination to such a Treaty, or that the Weight of their Reasons would quickly enervate it.

*The King appears much colder towards the Treaty.*

WHETHER the King grew less inclined to marry, and liked the Liberty He enjoyed too well to be willing to be restrained; or whether what had been said to him of the *Infanta's* Person and her Unaptness for Children, had made some Impression in him; or whether the Earl of *Bristol's* describing the Persons of the *Italian Ladies*, and magnifying their Conversations (in which Arguments He had naturally a very luxurious Style, unlimited by any Rules of Truth or Modesty); it is not to be denied, that his Majesty appeared much colder, and less delighted to speak of *Portugal*, than He had been, and would sometimes wish "that the Ambassadour had not gone, and "that He would quickly return without Commission to "give

“give his Majesty Satisfaction.” He seemed to reflect upon a War with *Spain*, “which,” He said, “could not possibly be avoided in that Alliance,” with more Apprehension than He had formerly done, when that Contingency had been debated. All which Discourses troubled the Lords who had been trusted, very much, not conceiving that the Ambassadour’s frantick Discourse could have any Weight in it, or that the Earl of *Bristol* (whose Levity and Vanity was enough known to the King) could make that Impression in him. However it appeared, that the Earl was much more in private with him than He had used to be, many Hours shut up together; and when the King came from him, that He seemed to be perplexed and full of Thoughts.

ONE Morning the Earl came to the Chancellor, and after some Compliments and many Protestations of his inviolable Friendship, He told him, “He was come to take his Leave of him for some Months, being to begin a long Journey as soon as He should part with him; for He had already kissed the King’s Hand: And his Friendship would not permit him to be reserved towards him, and to keep a Secret of that vast Importance from his Knowledge.” He said “that the King had heard such unanswerable Reasons against this Marriage with *Portugal*, that He was firmly resolved never more to entertain a Thought of it: That the *Spanish* Ambassadour had recommended two Princesses to him, whereof He might take his Choice, of incomparable Beauty and all excellent Parts of Mind, who should be endowed as a Daughter of *Spain* by that King, to whom They were allied;” and so named the Ladies. He said, “this Discourse had prevailed very far upon the King, as a Thing that could raise no Jealousies in *France*, with whom He desired so to live, that He might be sure to have Peace in his own Dominions. There was only one Thing in which He desired to be better satisfied, which was the Persons, Beauties and good Humours of the Princesses; and that He had so good an Opinion of his Judgment, that He was confident if He saw them, He (38) would easily know whether either of them were like to please his Majesty; and would so far trust him, that if He did believe, knowing his Majesty so well as He did, that one of them would be grateful, He should carry Power with him to propound and conclude a Treaty;

"Treaty; which," He said, "He carried with him, and likewise other Letters, upon which He should first find such Access and Admission, as would enable him to judge of their Nature and Humour as well as of their Beauty." He seemed much transported with the great Trust reposed in him, and with the Assurance that He should make the King and Kingdom happy. And He said, "one Reason, besides his Friendship, that had made him impart this great Secret, was a Presumption, that now He knew how far his Majesty was disposed and in Truth engaged in this Particular, He would not do any Thing to cross or interrupt the Design." The Chancellor, enough amazed, by some Questions found He was utterly uninformed, how far the King stood engaged in *Portugal*; and knowing the incredible Power the Earl had over himself, to make him believe any Thing He had a Mind should be true, He used little more Discourse with him than "to wish him a good Journey."

UPON the first Opportunity He told the King all that the Earl had said to him; with which his Majesty seemed not pleased, as expecting that the Secret should have been kept better. He did not dissemble his not wishing that the Treaty with *Portugal* might succeed; and confessed, "that He had sent the Earl of *Bristol* to see some Ladies in *Italy*, who were highly extolled by the *Spanish* Ambassador," but denied that He had given him such Powers as He bragged of. The Chancellor thereupon asked him, "whether He well remembered his Engagement, which He had voluntarily made, and without any Body's Persuasion, to the King and Queen Regent;" and desired him "to impart his new Resolution to the Lords who were formerly trusted by him. That probably He might find good Reason and just Arguments to break off the Treaty with *Portugal*; which ought to be first done, before He embarked himself in another: Otherwise that He would so far expose his Honour to Reproach, that all Princes would be afraid of entering into any Treaty with him." This was every Word of Persuasion, that He then or ever after used to him upon this Affair; nor did it at that Time seem to make any Impression in him. However He sent for the Lord Treasurer, and conferred at large with him and the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*. And finding them exceedingly

exceedingly surpris'd with what He had done, and that They gave the same and other stronger Arguments against it than the other had done, his Majesty seem'd to recollect himself, and to think, that, whatever Resolution He should think fit to take in the End, He had not chosen the best Way and Method of proceeding towards it; and resolv'd to call the Earl back, "which," He said, "He could infallibly do by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, who "knew how to send a Letter to him, before He had proceeded farther in his Journey; it having been before "agreed, that He should make a Halt in such and such "Places, to the End that He might be advertis'd of any "new Occurrences." And his Majesty did write the same Night to him "to return, because it was necessary "to have some more Conference with him." And the Letter was sent by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and probably received by the Earl in Time. But He continued his Journey into *Italy*; and after his Return pretended not to have received that Letter, or any other Order to return, till it was too late, being at that Time entered upon the Borders or Confines of *Italy*; in which He had not the good Fortune to be believed.

- (29) THE Ambassadour of *Portugal* dispatched his Voyage with more Expedition than could have been expected, and returned, as He believed, with at least as full Satisfaction to all Particulars as could be expected; but found his Reception with such a Coldness, that struck the poor Gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriack) to the Heart; nor could He be informed from whence this Dis-temper proceeded. And therefore He forebore to deliver his Letters, which He thought might more expose the Honour of his Master and Mistress to Contempt, and remained quietly in his House, without demanding a second Audience; until He could by some Way or other be informed what had fallen out since his Departure, that could raise those Clouds which appeared in every Man's Looks. He saw the *Spanish* Ambassadour exceedingly exalted with the Pride of having put an insolent Affront upon the Ambassadour from *France*, which cost his Master dear, and heard that He had bragged loudly of his having broken the Treaty of *Portugal*. And it is very true, that He did every Day somewhat either vainly or insolently, that gave the King Offence, or lessened the Opinion He had of his Discretion, and made him with-  
draw

*The Portuguese Ambassadour returns, and is coldly received.*

draw much of that Countenance from him, which He had formerly given him. This; and the Return of the *Portugal* Ambassadour with a new Title of Marquis de *Sande* (an Evidence according to the Custom of that Court, that He had well served his Master in his Employment), put him into new Fury; so that He came to the King with new Expostulations, and gave him a Memorial, in which He said "that He had Order from his Master to "let his Majesty know, that if his Majesty should proceed "towards a Marriage with the Daughter of the Duke of "*Braganza*, his Master's Rebel, He had Order to take "his Leave presently, and to declare War against him." The King returned some sharp Answer presently to him, and told him "He might be gone as soon as He would, "and that He would not receive Orders from the *Catholic* King, how to dispose himself in Marriage." Upon which the Ambassadour seemed to think He had gone too far; and the next Day desired another Audience, wherein He said, "He had received new Orders: And that "his *Catholic* Majesty had so great an Affection for his "Majesty and the Good of his Affairs, that having understood that, in Respect of the present Distempers in "Religion, Nothing could be more mischievous to him "than to marry a *Catholic*; therefore," He declared, "that if there were any *Protestant* Lady, who would be "acceptable to his Majesty" (and named the Daughter of the Princess Dowager of *Orange*), "the King of *Spain* "would give a Portion with her, as with a Daughter of "*Spain*; by which his Majesty's Affairs and Occasions "would be supplied."

THE multiplying these and many other Extravagancies made the King reflect upon all the Ambassadour's Proceedings and Behaviour, and revolve the Discourses He had held with him; and to reconsider, whether they had not made greater Impressions upon him, than the Weight of them would bear. He had himself spoken with some who had seen the *Infanta*, and described her to be a Person very different from what the Ambassadour had delivered. He had seen a Picture that was reported to be very like her; and upon the View of it his Majesty said, "that Person could not be unhandsome." And by Degrees considering the many Things alleged by the Ambassadour, which could not be known by him, and could result from Nothing but his own Malice, his Majesty returned

turned to his old Resolution; and spake at large with the *Portugal* Ambassadour with his usual Freedom, and received both the Letters and Information He brought with him, and declared "that He was fully satisfied in all the "Particulars."

(90) NOR did the Carriage of the *Spanish* Ambassadour contribute a little towards his Majesty's Resolution: For He, without any other Ground than from his own Fancy (for the King had not declared his Purpose to any, nor was the Thing spoken of abroad), and from what He collected from his Majesty's sharp Replies to his insolent Expressions, took upon him to do an Act of the highest Extravagancy, that hath been done in *Europe* by the Minister of any State in this Age. He caused to be printed in *English* the Copies of the Memorials which He had presented to the King, and of the Discourses He had made against the Match with *Portugal*, with the Offers the King of *Spain* had made to prevent so great a Mischief to the Kingdom, and other seditious Papers to the same Purpose; and caused those Papers to be spread abroad in the Army and amongst the Populace: Some whereof were cast out of his own Windows amongst the Soldiers, as They passed to and from the Guard. Upon which unheard of Misdemeanor, the King was so much incensed, that He sent the Secretary of State "to require him forthwith to depart the Kingdom, without seeing his Majesty's Face," which He would not admit him to do; and to let him know, "that He would send a Complaint of his Misbehaviour to the King his Master, from whom He would expect that Justice should be done upon him." The Ambassadour received this Message with exceeding Trouble and Grief, even to Tears, and desired "to be admitted to see the King, and to make his humble Submission, and to beg his Pardon; which He was ready to do." But that being denied, within few Days He departed the Kingdom, carrying with him the Character of a very bold rash Man.

*Extravagant Behaviour of the Spanish Ambassadour.*

*For which He is required to leave the Kingdom.*

THERE was an Accident about this Time, that it is probable did confirm the King in his Resolution concerning *Portugal*. At this Time Cardinal *Mazarin* was dead, and had never been observed to be merry and to enjoy his natural pleasant Humour, from the Time of the King's Restoration, which had deceived all his Calculations, and broken all his Measures. Upon his Death the Ministry

*An Incident that promotes the Treaty of Marriage.*

was committed to three Persons (the King himself being still present at all their Consultations), *Monsieur De Fellier* and *Monsieur De Lionne*, the two Secretaries of State, and *Monsieur Fouquet*, *Surintendant* of the Finances and *Procureur General du Roy*, who was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and being not forty Years of Age, enjoyed his full Vigour of Body and Mind, and in Respect of his sole Power over the Finances was looked upon as the *Premier Ministre*. This Man, as soon as He was in the Business, sent an Express into *England* with a Letter to the Chancellor. The Messenger was *La Bastade*, who having been Secretary during the Time of his being in *England* to *Bordeaux* whilst He was Ambassador, spoke *English* very well. He, as soon as He arrived, went to the Chancellor's House, and desired one of his Servants to let his Lord know, "that He was newly come from *France*, and "that He desired to be admitted to a private Audience "with him, where Nobody else might be present:" and so He was brought into a Backroom, whither the Chancellor came to him; to whom He presented a Letter directed to him from *Monsieur Fouquet*. The Letter after general Compliments took Notice "of the great Trust He "had with his Master; and that He being now admitted "to a Part of his Master's most secret Affairs, and knowing well the Affection that was between the two Kings, "much desired to hold a close and secret Correspondence "together, which He presumed would be for the Benefit "of Both their Masters." The rest contained only a Credential, "that He should give Credit to all that the "Bearer should say, who was a Person entirely trusted by (91) "him." And then He entered upon his Discourse, consisting of these Parts:

Some particular Overtures from the Court of France.

(1.) "That the King of *France* was troubled to hear, "that there was some Obstruction fallen out in the "Treaty with *Portugal*; and that it would be a very generous Thing in his Majesty to undertake the Protection of that Crown, which if it should fall into the Possession of *Spain*, would be a great Damage and a great Shame to all the Kings in *Europe*. That himself had heretofore thought of marrying the *Infanta* of that Kingdom, who is a Lady of great Beauty and admirable Endowments; but that his Mother and his then Minister, and indeed all other Princes, so much desired the Peace "between the Crowns, that He was diverted from that Design.

“Design. And that for the perfecting that Peace and his  
 “Marriage with *Spain*, He had been compelled to desert  
 “*Portugal* for the present; and was obliged to send no  
 “Kind of Assistance thither, nor to receive any Ambassa-  
 “dour from thence, nor to have any there: All which  
 “He could not but observe for some Time. But that  
 “*Portugal* was well assured of the Continuance of his Af-  
 “fection, and that He would find some Opportunity by  
 “one Way or other to preserve it. That He foresaw that  
 “his Majesty might not be provided so soon after his Re-  
 “turn, in Regard of his other great Expenses, to dis-  
 “burse such a Sum of Money, as the sending a vigorous  
 “Assistance, which was necessary, would require. But for  
 “that He would take Care; and for the present cause to  
 “be paid to his Majesty three hundred thousand *Pistoles*,  
 “which would defray the Charge of that Summer’s Ex-  
 “pedition; and for the future, Provision should be  
 “made proportionable to the Charge:” And concluded,  
 “that He believed the King could not bestow himself  
 “better in Marriage, than with the *Infanta of Por-*  
 “*tugal*.”

(2.) A SECOND Part was, “That there were now in  
 “*France* Ambassadors from the *States of the United Pro-*  
 “*vinces*, and the like in *England*, to renew the Alliance  
 “with Both Crowns; which They hoped to do upon the  
 “disadvantageous Terms They had used to obtain it.  
 “That those People were grown too proud and insolent  
 “towards all their Neighbours, and treated all Kings as  
 “if They were at least their Equals: That *France* had been  
 “ill used by them, and was sensible of it; and that the  
 “King had not been much beholden to them.” And  
 “therefore He proposed, “that Both Kings upon this Oc-  
 “casion would so communicate their Counsels, that They  
 “might reduce that People to live like good Neighbours,  
 “and with more good Manners; and that They would  
 “treat solely and advance together, and that the One  
 “should promise not to conclude any Thing without  
 “communicating it to the other: So that Both Treaties  
 “might be concluded together.”

(3.) “THAT those Particulars, and whatsoever passed  
 “between *M. Fouquet* and the Chancellor, might be re-  
 “tained with wonderful Secrecy; which it would not be,  
 “if it were communicated to the Queen or the Earl of  
 “*St. Albans*” (who were at that Time in *France*): “And  
 “there-



*The Continuation of the Life of*

“therefore his *Christian* Majesty desired, that neither of them should know of this Correspondence, or any Particular that passed by it.”

WHEN the Gentleman had finished his Discourse, the Chancellor told him, “that He knew *M. Fouquet* to be so wise a Man, that He would not invite or enter into such a Correspondence, without the Privy and Approbation of his Master : and He presumed that He had likewise so good an Opinion of him, as to believe, that He would first inform his Majesty of all that He received from him, before He would return any Answer himself. That He would take the first Opportunity to <sup>(92)</sup> acquaint the King his Master ; and if He would come the next Day at the same Hour” ( which was about Four in the Afternoon ) “to the same Place, He would return his Answer.”

THE King came the next Day before the Hour assigned to the Chancellor's House. And when He heard the Gentleman was come, his Majesty vouchsafed himself to go into that Backroom ; and (the Chancellor telling the other, “that He should be Witness to his Majesty's Approbation of his Correspondence”), took Notice of the Letter He had brought, and asked many kind Questions concerning *M. Fouquet*, who was known to him, and told him “that He was very well pleased with the Correspondence proposed ; and that the Chancellor should perform his Part very punctually, and with the Secrecy that was desired ; and that He would give his own Word, that the Queen and the Earl of *St. Albans* should know Nothing that should pass in this Correspondence :” Which the Chancellor observing with the Fidelity He ought to do, and this coming after to be known, it kindled a new Jealousy and Displeasure in the Queen, that was never afterwards extinguished. The King told him “He would upon the Encouragement and Promise of the *French* King, of the Performance whereof He could make no Doubt, proceed in the Treaty with *Portugal* ; and give that Kingdom the best Assistance He could, without beginning a War with *Spain*. That for the Treaty with *Holland*, which was “but newly begun” (for the *States* who had made Choice of and nominated their Ambassadors before the King left the *Hague*, did not send them in near six Months after ; which his Majesty looked upon as a great Disrespect),

“He

*Which the  
King readily  
embraced.*

“He would comply with what the King desired; and that  
 “his *Christian* Majesty should from Time to Time receive  
 “an Account how it should advance, and that He would  
 “not conclude any Thing without his Privity.” How ill  
 Both these Engagements which related to *Portugal* and  
*Holland* were afterwards observed by *France*, is fit for an-  
 other Discourse by itself. The Gentleman, much satis-  
 fied with what the King had said, proposed “that He  
 “would make a Cipher against the next Day to be left  
 “in the Chancellor’s Hand; because *M. Fouquet* desired,  
 “for Preservation of the Secret, that the Chancellor  
 “would always write with his own Hand in *Englifo*, di-  
 “rected in such a Manner as He should propose; which  
 “would always bring the Letters safe to the Hands of  
 “him, *La Bastee*, who was appointed by the King  
 “to keep that Cipher, to maintain that Correspond-  
 “ence.”

THERE was another Circumstance that attended this private Negotiation, that may not be unfitly inserted here, and is a sufficient Manifestation of the Integrity of the Chancellor, and how far He was from being that corrupt Person, which his most corrupt Enemies would have him thought to be. The next Morning after He had seen the King, *La Bastee* came again, and desired an Audience with the Chancellor. He said, “He  
 “had somewhat else in his Instructions to say, which He  
 “had not yet thought fit to offer.” And from thence He entered in a confused Manner to enlarge “upon the  
 “great Power, Credit and Generosity of *M. Fouquet*, the  
 “Extent of his Power and Office, that He could dis-  
 “burse and issue great Sums of Money without any Ac-  
 “count so much as to the King himself; without which  
 “Liberty, the King knew many secret Services of the  
 “highest Importance could not be performed.” He said,  
 “He knew the Streights and Necessities, in which the  
 “Chancellor and others about the King had lived for  
 “many Years: And though He was now returned with  
 (93) “much Honour, and in great Trust with his Master;  
 “yet He did suppose He might be some Time without  
 “those Furnitures of Householdstuff and Plate, which the  
 “Grandeur of his Office and Place required. And there-  
 “fore that He had sent him a Present, which in itself  
 “was but small, and was only the Earnest of as much  
 “every Year, which should be constantly paid, and  
 Z 2 “more,

“more, if He had Occasion to use it; for *M. Fouquet* did not look upon it as of Moment to himself. But He knew well the Faction in all Courts, and that He must have many Enemies; and if He did not make himself Friends by Acts of Generosity and Bounty, He must be oppressed; and that He had designed this Supply only to that Purpose.” He shewed him then Bills of Exchange and Credit for the Sum of ten thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to be paid at Sight: And said, “that He had been with the Merchant, who would be ready to pay it that Afternoon; so that whoever He would please to appoint should receive it.” The Chancellor had heard him with much Indignation; and answered him warmly, “that if this Correspondence must expose him to such a Reproach, He should unwillingly enter into it; and wished him to tell *M. Fouquet*, that He would only receive Wages from his own Master.” The Gentleman so little looked for a Refusal, that He would not understand it; but persisted to know “who should receive the Money, which,” He said, “should be paid in such a Manner, that the Person who paid it should never know to whom it was paid; and that it should always remain a Secret;” still pressing it with Importunity, till the other went with manifest Anger out of the Room.

THAT Afternoon the King and Duke (who was likewise informed of the Correspondence) came to the Chancellor, and found him out of Humour. He told him, “that *Fouquet* could not be an honest Man, and that He had no Mind to hold that Correspondence with him; and thereupon repeated what had passed in the Morning, with much Choler: Which made them Both laugh at him, saying, “the *French* did all their Business that Way;” and the King told him “He was a Fool,” implying “that He should take his Money.” Whereupon the Chancellor besought him “not to appear to his Servants so unconcerned in Matters of that Nature, which might produce ill Effects;” and desired him to consider, “what the Consequence of his receiving that Money, with what Secrecy soever, must be. That the *French* King must either believe that He had received it without his Majesty’s Privity, and so look upon him as a Knave fit to be depended upon in any Treachery against his Master; or that it was with his Majesty’s

“Appro-

"Approbation, which must needs lessen his Esteem of him, that He should permit his Servants of the nearest Trust to grow rich at the Charge of another Prince, who might the next Day become his Enemy." To which the King smiling made no other Reply, "than that few Men were so scrupulous;" and commanded him "to return a civil Answer to *M. Fouquet's* Letter, and to cherish that Correspondence, which," He said, "might be useful to him, and could produce no Inconvenience." And so, when *La Bastee* (who could not forbear to use new Importunity with him to receive the Money, till He found He was much offended) brought him the Cipher, He delivered him his Letter for *M. Fouquet*. And the next Week after his Return, the King of France writ to him in his own Hand, "that the Correspondence *M. Fouquet* had invited him to, was with his Majesty's Privy; and that He was well pleased with it." And so the Correspondence continued till that great Man's Fall: And then the King sent all (94) the Letters which had passed, and the Cipher, to the Chancellor; and writ to him, "from that Time to communicate with all Freedom with his Ambassadour," which He was before restrained from.

AFTER the King had himself conferred at large with the *Portugal* Ambassadour, He referred him again to give the Lords, with whom He had formerly treated, an Account how all Particulars were adjusted in *Portugal*; "which were," He said, "in this Manner. For the Portion, the Queen Regent, having resolved not to dispose of any of the Money that was provided for the War, had sold her own Jewels, and much of her own Plate, and had borrowed both Plate and Jewels from the Churches and Monasteries: By which Means She had the whole Portion ready, which was all sealed up in Bags, and deposited where Nobody could take it to apply to any other Use. For the Delivery of *Tangier*, that the old Governour (who had lived there long, and was humorous) of whom the Queen could not confidently depend, was removed; and another sent, before He left *Lisbon*, to take that Charge, who was a Creature of the Queen's, who could not deceive her, and was so far trusted, that He knew for what End He was sent thither, and cheerfully undertook to perform it: And that the Fleet which should be sent for the Queen

*The Measures in Portugal relative to the Treaty of Marriage.*

“should first go to *Tangier*, and take Possession thereof; and till that should be delivered into his Majesty’s Hands, the Queen should not embark upon the Fleet, nor till all the Money should be put on Board. That for the Delivery of *Bombayne*, it was resolved likewise, that the Vice-King and Governour of *Goa*, under whom that Island likewise is, should be forthwith recalled; and that another” (whom He named), “of whom the Queen had all Assurance, should be sent to that high Charge, and should be transported thither in the Fleet which the King would send to receive the Island, and would deliver the same to the Person designed to receive it.” He added, “that there would be another Security given, greater than any of the rest, and such a one as had never been given before in such a Case. That the Queen should be delivered on Board the Fleet, and transported into *England*, before she was married: Which was such a Trust that had never been reposed in any Prince, who, if He would break his Word, might put an everlasting Reproach upon their Nation.”

THE Cause of this extraordinary Circumstance was truly this. The Power of *Spain* was so great in the Court of *Rome*, notwithstanding the Interposition and threatening Mediation of *France*, (whose Ambassadour declared that *Portugal* should choose a Patriarch, and have no longer Dependance upon the Pope); that neither *Urban*, in whose Reign that Kingdom severed itself from *Spain*, nor *Innocent* nor *Alexander*, would acknowledge the Duke of *Braganza* for King, nor receive an Ambassadour or other Minister from him: So that They now foresaw, that if They should in what Manner soever demand a Dispensation at *Rome* (without which the Marriage could not be celebrated in *Portugal*), the Interest of *Spain* would cause it to be denied, or granted in such a Manner as should be worse for them; for the Queen would have been mentioned only as the Daughter and Sister of the Duke of *Braganza*. And before They would receive that Affront, the most jealous and most apprehensive Nation in the World chose rather to send the Daughter of the Kingdom to be married in *England*, and not to be married till She came thither.

UPON the whole Matter, the King thought not fit to make any farther Exceptions, but resolved to assemble his

his whole Privy Council, and to communicate the Matter to them; for it did remain a Secret yet, no Man knowing or speaking of it. The Council was so full, that there (95) was only one Counsellor that was absent. The King informed them of all that had passed in that Affair, "how "it was first proposed to him, and the Objections which "occurred to him against it; for the better clearing "whereof the Ambassadour had made a Voyage into "*Portugal*, and was returned with such Satisfaction to "all Particulars, that He thought it now Time to communicate the Whole to them, that He might receive "their Advice." He commanded then, the particular Propositions, which were offered by the Ambassadour, to be reported. And thereupon He commanded and conjured all the Lords severally to give him their Advice; for He said, "He had not yet so firmly resolved, but that He "might change his Mind, if He heard Reasons to move "him: And therefore They would not deal faithfully "with him, if They did not with all Freedom declare their "Judgment to him." In short, every Man delivered his Opinion, and every One agreed in the Opinion, "that it "was very fit for his Majesty to embrace the Propositions, which were of great Advantage to himself and "the Kingdom;" and that their Advice was, "that "He should speedily and without more Delay conclude "the Treaty." And thereupon his Majesty said, "that "He looked upon so unanimous a Concurrence as a good Treaty. "Omen, and that He would follow their Advice."

*Which unanimity most fully advises him to conclude the Treaty.*

ALL this was done between the Dissolution of the Parliament in *December*, and the assembling the other in *May* following. And upon the first Day of its coming together, which was upon the eighth of *May*, the very Day that his Majesty had been proclaimed the Year before, He told them "that He had deferred it a Week, that "They might meet upon that Day, for the Memory of "the former Day." The King, after some gracious Expressions of his Confidence in them, told them "that "They would find what Method He thought best for "their Proceeding, by two Bills which He had caused "to be provided for them, which were for Confirmation "of all that had been enacted in the last Meeting;" and repeated what He had said to them when He was last there: "*That next to the miraculous Blessing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of that Blessing,* "He

*The new Parliament meets.*

*The King's Speech.*

*He presses them to consent from the Act of Indemnity.*

"He did impute the good Disposition and Security They were all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity and Oblivion: That," his Majesty said, "was the principal Corner-Stone that supported that excellent Building, that created Kindness in them to each other; and Confidence was their joint and common Security." He told them, "He was still of the same Opinion, and more if it were possible of that Opinion than He had been, by the Experience He had of the Benefit of it, and from the Unreasonableness of what some Men said against it." He desired them "to provide full Remedies for future Mischiefs; to be as severe as They would against new Offenders, especially if They were so upon old Principles; and that They would pull up those Principles by the Roots. But," his Majesty said, "He should never think him a wise Man, that would endeavour to undermine and shake that Foundation of the publick Peace, by infringing that Act in the least Degree; or that He could be his Friend, or wish him well, who would persuade him ever to consent to the Breach of a Promise He had so solemnly made when He was abroad, and had performed with that Solemnity after, and because He had promised it: And that He could not suspect any Attempts of that Kind by any Men of Merit and Virtue."

AND this Warmth of his Majesty upon this Subject was not then more than needed: For the Armies being now disbanded, there were great Combinations entered into, (96) not to confirm the *Act of Oblivion*; which They knew without Confirmation would signify Nothing. Men were well enough contented, that the King should grant Indemnity to all Men that had rebelled against him; that He should grant their Lives and Fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him: But They thought it very unreasonable and unjust, that the King should release those Debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive those Trespasses which had been committed to their particular Damage. They could not endure to meet the same Men in the King's Highway, now it was the King's Highway again, who had heretofore affronted them in those Ways, because They were not the King's, and only because They knew They could obtain no Justice against them. They could not with any Patience see those Men, who not only during the War had oppressed them, plundered their Houses, and had their own adorned with

with the Furniture They had robbed them of; ride upon the same Horses which They had then taken from them upon no other Pretence, but because they were better than their own; but after the War was ended, had committed many insolent Trespasses upon them wantonly, and to shew their Power of Justice of Peace or Committee Men, and had from the lowest Beggary raised great Estates, out of which They were well able to satisfy, at least in some Degree, the Damages the other had sustained. And those and other Passions of this Kind, which must have invalidated the whole *Act of Indemnity*, could not have been extinguished without the King's Influence, and indeed his immediate Interposition and Industry.

WHEN his Majesty had spoken all He thought fit upon that Subject, He told them, "He could not conclude without telling them some News, News that He thought would be very acceptable to them; and therefore He should think himself unkind and illnatured, if He should not impart it to them. That He had been often put in Mind by his Friends, that it was high Time to marry; and He had thought so himself, ever since He came into *England*; But there appeared Difficulties enough in the Choice, though many Overtures had been made to him. And if He should never marry till He could make such a Choice, against which there could be no Foresight of any Inconvenience that might ensue, They would live to see him an old Bachelor, which He thought They did not desire to do." He said, "He could now tell them, not only that He was resolved to marry, but whom He resolved to marry, if it pleased God. That towards his Resolution, He had used that Deliberation, and taken that Advice, that He ought to do in a Case of that Importance, and with a full Consideration of the Good of his Subjects in general, as of himself. It was with the Daughter of *Portugal*. That when He had, as well as He could, weighed all that occurred to himself, the first Resolution He took, was to state the whole Overtures which had been made to him, and in Truth all that had been said against it, to his Privy Council; without hearing whose Advice, He never did nor ever would resolve any Thing of publick Importance. And," He said, "He told them with great Satisfaction and Comfort to himself, that after  
"many

*He acquainted  
them with  
his intended  
Marriage.*



“many Hours Debate in full Council (for He thought there was not above One absent), and He believed upon weighing all that could be said upon that Subject, for or against it; the Lords, without one dissenting Voice, advised him with all imaginable Cheerfulness to this Marriage: Which He looked upon as very wonderful, and even as some Instance of the Approbation of God himself. That He had thereupon taken his own Resolution, and concluded with the Ambassadour of *Portugal*,<sup>(97)</sup> who was departing with the whole Treaty signed, which They would find to contain many great Advantages to the Kingdom; and that He would make all the Haste He could, to fetch them a Queen hither, who He doubted not would bring great Blessings with her, to him and them.”

*The two Houses express their Approbation of it.*

THE next Day the two Houses of Parliament, after They had expressed all the Joy imaginable amongst them, sent to the King, “that He would appoint a Time when He would admit them to his Presence.” Which when He had done, Both Houses of Parliament, in a Body, presented by the Speaker of the House of Peers their humble Thanks to his Majesty, “for that He had vouchsafed to acquaint them with his Resolution to marry, which had exceedingly rejoiced their Hearts, and would, They doubted not, draw down God’s Blessing upon his Majesty and the Kingdom.” Shortly after, the Fleet was made ready, and the Earl of *Sandwich* Admiral thereof was likewise made Ambassadour to *Portugal*, and appointed to receive the Queen, and to conduct her into *England*.

THIS was the whole Proceeding, from the Beginning to the End of that Treaty about the Marriage of the King; by the whole Circumstances whereof it is apparent enough, that no particular Corruption in any single Person could have brought it to pass in that Manner, and that the Chancellor never proposed it, nor heard of it but from the King himself, nor advanced it afterwards more than every One of the other Lords did; and if He had done less, He could neither have been thought a prudent or an honest Man: To which no more shall be added, than that neither before or in the Treaty, or after the Marriage, He ever received the least Reward or the least Present from *Portugal*.

DURING

DURING the Interval of Parliament, the King had made Choice of many very eminent and learned Men, who were consecrated to some of the Sees of Bishops which were void; that the Preservation of the Succession might not depend upon the Lives of the few Bishops who remained, and who were all very aged: Which could not have been done sooner, nor till the other Parliament, to whom the Settlement of the Church had been referred, was dissolved. Nor could He yet give any Remedy to the License in the Practice of Religion, which in all Places was full of Scandal and Disorder, because *the Liturgy* was not yet finished; till when, the Indulgence by his Declaration was not to be restrained. But at the same Time that He issued out his Writs for convening the Parliament, He had likewise sent Summons to the Bishops, for the Meeting of the Clergy in Convocation, which is the legal Synod in *England*; against the Coming together whereof *the Liturgy* would be finished, which his Majesty intended to send thither to be examined, debated and confirmed. And then He hoped to provide, with the Assistance of the Parliament, such a Settlement in Religion, as would prevent any Disorder in the State upon those Pretences. And it was very necessary to lose no Time in the Prosecution of that Cure; for the Malignity against the Church appeared to increase, and to be greater than it was upon the Coming in of the King.

THE old Bishops who remained alive, and such Deans and Chapters as were numerous enough for the Corporation, who had been long kept fasting, had now Appetites proportionable. Most of them were very poor, and had undergone great Extremities; some of the Bishops having supported themselves and their Families by teaching Schools, and submitting to the like low Condescensions: And others saw, that if They died before They were enabled to make some Provision for them, their  
(98) Wives and Children must unavoidably starve; and therefore They made Haste to enter upon their own. And, now an Ordinance of Parliament had not Strength enough to batter an Act of Parliament, They called their old Tenants to Account for Rent, and to renew their Estates if They had a Mind to it; for most old Leases were expired in the long Continuance of the War, and the old Tenants had been compelled either to purchase a new Right and Title from the State (when the Ordinance was passed

*New Bishops appointed.*

*A Convocation as summoned.*

passed for taking away all Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and for selling all the Lands which belonged to them), or to sell their present Estates to those, who had purchased the Reversion and the Inheritance thereof: So that both the one and the other, the old Tenants and the new Purchasers, repaired to the true Owners as soon as the King was restored; the former expecting to be restored again to the Possession of what They had sold, under an unreasonable Pretence of a Tenant Right (as They called it), because there remained yet (as in many Cases there did) a Year or some other Term of their old Leases unexpired, and because They had out of Conscience forbore to buy the Inheritance of the Church, which was first offered to them. And for the Refusal thereof, and such a reasonable Fine as was usual, They hoped to have a new Lease, and to be readmitted to be Tenants to the Church. The other, the Purchasers (amongst which there were some very infamous Persons), appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the Clemency that was practised towards all Sorts of Men, it could be thought Justice, that They should lose the entire Sum They had disbursed upon the Faith of that Government, which the whole Kingdom submitted to; but that They should, instead of the Inheritance They had an ill Title to, have a good Lease for Lives or Years granted to them by them who had now the Right; at least, that upon the old Rent and moderate Fines They should be continued Tenants to the Church, without any Regard to those who had sold both their Possession, and with that all the Right or Title that They might pretend to, for a valuable Consideration. And They had the more Hope of this, because the King had granted a Commission, under the Great Seal of *England*, to some Lords of the Council and to other eminent Persons, to interpose and mediate with the Bishops and Clergy in such Cases, as ought not to be prosecuted with Rigour.

*A Clamour  
raised against  
the Bishops  
and Clergy by  
their Tenants.*

BUT the Bishops and Clergy concerned had not the good Fortune to please their old or their new Tenants. They had been very barbarously used themselves; and that had too much quenched all Tenderneſs towards others. They did not enough distinguish between Persons: Nor did the Suffering any Man had undergone for Fidelity to the King, or his Affection to the Church eminently expressed, often prevail for the Mitigation of his Fine;

Fine; or if it did sometimes, three or four Stories of the contrary, and in which there had been some unreasonable Hardness used, made a greater Noise and spread farther, than their Examples of Charity and Moderation. And as honest Men did not usually fare the better for any Merit, so the Purchasers who offered most Money, did not fare the worse for all the Villanies They had committed. And two or three unhappy Instances of this Kind brought Scandal upon the whole Church, as if They had been all guilty of the same Excesses, which They were far from. And by this Means the new Bishops, who did not all follow the Precedents made by the old, underwent the same Reproaches: And many of them who had most adhered to their Order, and for so doing had undergone for twenty Years together sundry Persecutions and Oppressions, were not in their present Passion so much pleased with the renewing it, as They expected to (99) have been. Yet upon a very strict Examination of the true Grounds of all those Misprisions (except some few Instances which cannot be defended), there will be found more Passion than Justice in them; and that there was even a Necessity to raise as much Money as could be justly done, for the repairing the Cathedrals, which were all miserably ruined or defaced, and for the entirely building up many Houses of the Prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the Ground. And those Ways much more of those Monies which were raised by Fines were issued and expended, than what went into the private Purses of them, who had a Right to them, and had Need enough of them. But the Time began to be froward again, and all Degrees of Men were hard to be pleased; especially when They saw one *Classis* of Men restored to more than They had ever lost, and preferred to a Plenty They had never been acquainted with, whilst themselves remained remediless after so many Sufferings, and without any other Testimony of their Courage and Fidelity, than in the Ruin of their Fortunes, and the Sale of their Inheritance.

ANOTHER great Work was performed, between the Dissolution of the last and the Beginning of the next Parliament, which was the Ceremony of the King's Coronation; and was done with the greatest Solemnity and Glory, that ever any had been seen in that Kingdom. That the Novelties and new Inventions, with which the Kingdom had

had been so much intoxicated for so many Years together, might be discountenanced and discredited in the Eyes of the People, for the Folly and Want of State thereof; his Majesty had directed the Records and old Formularies should be examined, and thereupon all Things should be prepared, and all Forms accustomed be used, that might add Lustre and Splendour to the Solemnity. A *Court of Claims* was erected, where before the Lords Commissioners for that Service, all Persons made Claim to those Privileges and Precedency, which They conceived to be due to their Persons, or the Offices of which They were possessed, in the Ceremony of the Coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their Right appeared.

THE King went early in the Morning to the *Tower of London* in his Coach, most of the Lords being there before. And about ten of the Clock They set forwards towards *Whitehall*, ranged in that Order as the Heralds had appointed; those of the Long Robe, the King's Council at Law, the Masters of the Chancery, and Judges, going first, and so the Lords in their Order, very splendidly habited, on rich Footcloths; the Number of their Footmen being limited, to the Dukes ten, to the Earls eight, and to the Viscounts six, and the Barons four, all richly clad, as their other Servants were. The whole Shew was the most glorious in the Order and Expense, that had been ever seen in *England*; They who rode first being in *Fleet-street* when the King issued out of the *Tower*, as was known by the Discharge of the Ordnance: And it was near three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when the King alighted at *Whitehall*. The next Morning the King rode in the same State in his Robes and with his Crown on his Head, and all the Lords in their Robes, to *Westminster-Hall*; where all the Ensigns for the Coronation were delivered to those who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland* being made High Constable, and the Earl of *Suffolk* Earl Marshal, for the Day. And then all the Lords in their Order, and the King himself, walked on Foot upon blue Cloth from *Westminster-Hall* to the *Abbey Church*, where after a Sermon preached by Dr. Morley (then Bishop of *Worcester*) in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, the King was sworn, crowned and anointed, by Dr. Juxon Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all the (100) Solemnity that in those Cases had been used. All which being done, the King returned in the same Manner on  
Foot

Foot to *Westminster-Hall*, which was adorned with rich Hangings and Statues; and there the King dined, and the Lords on either Side at Tables provided for them: And all other Ceremonies were performed with great Order and Magnificence.

I SHOULD not have enlarged thus much upon the Ceremony of the Coronation, it may be not mentioned it (a perfect Narration having been then made and published of it, with all the Grandeur and Magnificence of the City of *London*), but that there were two Accidents in it, the one absolutely new, the other that produced some Inconveniences which were not then discerned. The first was, that it being the Custom in those great Ceremonies or Triumphs of State, that the Master of the King's Horse, (who is always a great Man, and was now the Duke of *Albemarle*, the General) rides next after the King, with a led Horse in his Hand: In this Occasion the Duke of *York* privately prevailed with the King, who had not enough Reverence for old Customs, without any Consultation, that his Master of his Horse (so He was called), Mr. *Jermyn*, a younger Brother of a very private Gentleman's Family, should ride as near his Person, as the General did to his Majesty, and lead a Horse likewise in his Hand; a Thing never heard of before. Neither in Truth hath the younger Brother of the King such an Officer as Master of his Horse, which is a Term restrained within the Family of the King, Queen, and Prince of *Wales*; and the two Masters of the Horse to the Queen and Prince are subordinate to the King's Master of his Horse, who hath the Jurisdiction over the other. The Lords were exceedingly surpris'd and troubled at this, of which They heard Nothing till They saw it; and They liked it the worse, because They discerned that it issued from a Fountain, from whence many bitter Waters were like to flow, the Customs of the Court of *France*, whereof the King and the Duke had too much the Image in their Heads, and than which there could not be a Copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the *English* Nation.

THE other was: In the Morning of the Coronation, whilst They sate at the Table in *Westminster-Hall*, to see the many Ensigns of the Coronation delivered to those Lords who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was that Day High Constable, came to

Two unlucky  
Accidents  
which at-  
tended it,

to the King and told him, "that amongst the young Noblemen who were appointed to carry the several Parts of the King's Mantle, the Lord *Offery*, who was the eldest Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, challenged the Place before the Lord *Percy*, who was his eldest Son; whereas," He said, "the Duke of *Ormond* had no Place in the Ceremony of that Day, as Duke, but only as Earl of *Brecknock*, and so the eldest Sons of all ancients Earls ought to take Place of his eldest Son;" which was so known a Rule, and of so general a Concernment, that the King could not choose but declare it, and send a Message to the Lord *Offery* by the Lord Chamberlain, "that He should desist from his Pretence." This, and the publick Manner of asking and determining it, produced two ill Effects. The first, a Jealousy and ill Understanding between the two great Families: The One naturally undervaluing and contemning his Equals, without paying much Regard to his Superiours; and the other not being used to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the Advantages the Earl had in *England*, either in Antiquity or Fortune, He had the same in *Ireland*, and that He had merited and received an Increase of Title, when the other had deserved to lose that which He was born to. The other, was a Jealousy and Prejudice (102) that it raised in the Nobility of *England*, as if the Duke of *Ormond* (who in Truth knew Nothing of it) had entered upon that Contest, in Hope that by his Interest in the King, He should be able to put this eternal Affront upon the Peers of *England*, to bring them upon the same Level with those of *Ireland*, who had no such Esteem. And it did not a little add to their Envy, that He had behaved himself so worthily throughout the ill Times, that He was the Object of an universal Reverence at home and abroad; which was a Reproach to most of them, whose Actions could not bear the Light. But as the Duke was not in the least Degree privy to the particular Contest, nor raised the Value of himself from any Merit in his Services, nor undervalued others upon the Advantage of their having done amiss; so He was abundantly satisfied in the Testimony of his own Conscience, and in his unquestionable Innocence, and from thence too much despised the Prejudice and the Envy the others had towards him, the Marks whereof He was compelled afterwards

terwards to bear, which He did with the same Magnanimity.

BEFORE We proceed farther in the Relation of what was afterwards done, it will not be unseasonable in this Place to give an Account of somewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally censured because it was not; the Reason whereof is known to very few. The King had resolved before his Coming into *England*, that as soon as He should be settled in any Condition of Security, and no just Apprehension of future Troubles, He would take up and remove the Body of his Father, the last King, from *Windfor*, and inter it with all Solemnity at *Westminster*; and that the Court should continue in Mourning till the Coronation. And many good People thought this so necessary, that They were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the Reasons which were given, which made it appear that it had been considered. The Reasons which were given in publick Discourses from Hand to Hand, were two. The first; that now ten Years were past since that woful Tragedy, and the Joy and the Triumph for the King's Return had composed the Minds of the People, it would not be prudent to renew the Memory of that Parricide, by the Spectacle of a solemn Funeral; lest it might cause such Commotions of the Vulgar in all Places, as might produce great Disorders and Insurrections amongst those who had formerly served the Kingdom, as if it were a good Season and a new Provocation to take Revenge upon their Neighbours who had formerly tyrannised over them; which might likewise have caused the Soldiers, who were newly disbanded, to draw themselves together for their own Security: And so the Peace would be at least disturbed. The other was; that to perform this Interment in any private Manner, would be liable to very just Censure, when all Things relating to the King himself had shewed so magnificently; and if it were done with the usual Pomp of a solemn Interment of a King, the Expense would be so vast, that there would be neither Money found nor Credit for the Charge thereof.

*A solemn Interment of the late King intended.*

THESE were the Reasons alleged and spread abroad; nor was either of them in itself without Weight to thinking Men. But the true Reason was: At the Time of that horrid Murder, *Windfor* was a Garrison under the Com-

*But upon Search the Body could not be found.*



mand of a Citizen, who was an *Anabaptist* with all his Officers and Soldiers: The Men had broken down all the Wainscot, Rails and Partitions, which divided the Church, defaced all the Monuments and other Marks, and reduced the Whole into the Form of a Stable or Barn, and scarce fit for any other Use. When *Cromwell* had declared that the Royal Body should be privately interred in the Church<sup>(102)</sup> of the Castle at *Windſor*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, had obtained Leave to be preſent (only to be preſent, for They had no Power to prepare or do any Thing in it) at their Maſter's Burial; thoſe great Men were not ſuffered to have above three Servants each, to enter into the Caſtle with them; and it may eaſily be concluded, that their own noble Hearts were too full of Sorrow, to ſend their Eyes abroad to take Notice of the Places by which They paſſed. They found the Church ſo wild a Place, that They knew not where They were; and as ſoon as the Royal Body was put into the Ground, They were conducted out of the Caſtle to their Lodging in the Town, and the next Morning returned to their ſeveral Houſes. Shortly after the King returned from beyond the Seas, He ſettled the Dean and Chapter of *Windſor*, with Direction to put his Royal Chapel there into the Order it uſed to be, and to repair the Ruins thereof, which was a long and a difficult Work. His Majeſty commanded the Dean carefully to inform himſelf of the Place, in which the King's Body had been interred, and to give him Notice of it. Upon Enquiry He could not find one Perſon in the Caſtle or in the Town, who had been preſent at the Burial. When the Parliament firſt ſeized upon the Caſtle and put a Garriſon into it, ſhortly after, They not only ejected all the Prebends and Singingmen of the Royal Chapel, but turned out all the Officers and Servants who had any Relation to the King or to the Church, except only thoſe who were notorious for their Infidelity towards the King or the Church: And of thoſe, or of the Officers or Soldiers of the Garriſon, there could not now one Man be found, who was in the Church when the King was buried. The Duke of *Richmond* and the Marquis of *Hertford* were both dead: And the King ſent (after He had received that Account from the Dean) the two ſurviving Lords, the Earls of *Southampton* and of *Lindſey*, to *Windſor*; who taking with them as many of thoſe three Servants  
who

who had been admitted to attend them, as were now living, They could not recollect their Memories, nor find any one Mark by which They could make any Judgment, near what Place the King's Body lay. They made some Guess, by the Information of the Workmen who had been now employed in the new Pavement of the Church, and upon their Observation of any Place where the Earth had seemed to lye lighter, that it might be in or near that Place: But when They had caused it to be digged, and searched in and about it, They found Nothing. And upon their Return, the King gave over all farther Thought of Enquiry: And those other Reasons were cast abroad upon any occasional Enquiry or Discourse of that Subject.

THAT which gave the King most Trouble, and deprived him of that Ease and Quiet which He had promised to himself during the Vacation between the two Parliaments, was the Business of *Ireland*; which We shall now take up again, and continue the Relation without Interruption, as long as We shall think fit to make any Mention of that Affair. We left it in the Hands of the Lord *Roberts*, whom the King had declared Deputy of *Ireland*, presuming that He would upon Conference with the several Parties, who were all appointed to attend him, so shape and model the whole Bulk, that it might be more capable of some farther Debate before his Majesty in Council: but that Hand did not hold it many Days.

THAT noble Lord, though of a good Understanding, was of so morose a Nature, that it was no easy Matter to treat with him. He had some pedantick Parts of Learning, which made his other Parts of Judgment the worse, for He had some Parts of good Knowledge in the Law, and (103) in Antiquity, in the Precedents of former Times; all which were rendered the less useful, by the other Pedantry contracted out of some Books, and out of the ill Conversation He had with some Clergymen and People in Quality much below him, by whose weak Faculties He raised the Value of his own, which were very capable of being improved in better Company. He was naturally proud and imperious: Which Humour was increased by an ill Education; for excepting some Years spent in the Inns of Court amongst the Books of the Law, He might be very justly said to have been born and bred in *Cornwall*. There were many Days passed after the King's Declaration

claration of him to be Deputy, before He could be persuaded to visit the General, who He knew was to continue Lieutenant; and when He did visit him, it was with so ill a Grace, that the other received no Satisfaction in it, and the less, because He plainly discerned that it proceeded from Pride, which He bore the more uneasily, because as He was now the greater Man, so He knew himself to be of a much better Family. He made so many Doubts and Criticisms upon the Draught of his Patent, that the Attorney General was weary of attending him; and when all Things were agreed on at Night, the next Morning produced new Dilemmas. But that which was worse than all this, He received those of the *Irish* Nation of the best Quality, and who were of the Privy Council and chief Command in that Kingdom, so superciliously; received their Information so negligently, and gave his Answers so scornfully; that after They had waited upon him four or five Days, They besought the King that They might not be obliged to attend him any more. And it was evident, that his Carriage towards them was not to be submitted to by Persons of his own Quality, or of any liberal Education: Nor did He make any Advance towards the Business.

THIS gave the King very great Trouble, and them as much Pleasure who had never liked the Designation. He knew not what to do with his Deputy, nor what to do for *Ireland*. The Lord *Roberts* was not a Man that was to be disgraced and thrown off, without much Inconvenience and Hazard. He had Parts which in Council and Parliament (which were the two Scenes where all the King's Business lay) were very troublesome; for of all Men alive who had so few Friends, He had the most Followers. They who conversed most with him, knew him to have many Humours which were very intolerable; They who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a Man of much Knowledge, and called his Morosity Gravity, and thought the Severity of his Manners made him less grateful to the Courtiers. He had no such advantageous Faculties in his Delivery, as could impose upon his Auditors; but He was never tedious, and his Words made Impression. In a Word, He was such a Man, as the King thought worthy to be compounded with. And therefore his Majesty appointed the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer to confer with him, and to dispose him

*The King  
makes Lord  
Roberts an  
Offer of the  
Privy Seal.*

him to accept the Office of Privy Seal, which gave him a great Precedence that would gratify that Passion which was strongest in him; for in his Nature He preferred Place before Money, which his Fortune stood more in Need of. And the King thought it would be no ill Argument to incline him to give over the Thought of *Ireland*, that it was impossible for the King, to supply him for the present with near any such Sum of Money as He had very reasonably demanded, for the Satisfaction of the Army there (which was upon the Matter to be new modelled, and some Part of it disbanded) with the Reduction of many Officers, and for his own Equipage.

THEY began their Approach to him, by asking him "when He would be ready for his Journey to *Ireland*;" (104) to which He answered with some Quickness, "that He was confident there was no Purpose to send him thither, "for that He saw there was no Preparation of those "Things, without which the King knew well that it was "not possible for him to go; nor had his Majesty lately "spoken to him of it. Besides He had observed, that the "Chancellor had for many Days past called him at the "Council, and in all other Places where They met, "by the Name of Lord *Roberts*; whereas, for some "Months before, He had upon all Occasions and in "all Places treated him with the Style of Lord Deputy.: "Which gave him first Cause to believe, that there was "some Alteration in the Purpose of sending him thither." They Both assured him, "that the King had no other "Person in his View but himself for that Service, if He "were disposed to undertake it vigorously; but that the "King had forbore lately to speak with him of it, because He found it impossible for him to provide the "Money He proposed; and it could not be denied, that "He had proposed it very reasonably in all Respects. "However, it being impossible to procure it, and that "He could not go without it, for which He could not be "blamed, his Majesty must find some other Expedient to "send his Authority thither, the Government there being "yet so loose, that He could not but every Day expect to "receive News of some great Disorder there, the ill Consequence whereof would be imputed to his Majesty's "Want of Care and Providence. That his Majesty had "yet forbore to think of that Expedient, till He might "do it with his Consent and Advice, and until He could

“ resolve upon another Post, where He might serve his  
 “ Majesty with equal Honour, and by which the World  
 “ might see the Esteem He had of him. And therefore  
 “ since it would be both unreasonable and unjust, to press  
 “ him to go for *Ireland* without those Supplies, and it was  
 “ equally impossible to prepare and send those Supplies ;”  
 They said, “ the King had commanded them to propose  
 “ to him, that He would make him Lord Privy Seal, an  
 “ Office He well understood. And if He accepted that  
 “ and were possessed of it (as He should immediately be),  
 “ his Majesty would enter upon new Considerations how  
 “ to settle the tottering Condition of *Ireland*.” The Lord’s  
 dark Countenance presently cleared up, having no Doubt  
 expected to be deprived of his Title to *Ireland*, without  
 being assigned any other any where else: And now being  
 offered the third Place of Precedence in the Nobility, the  
 Privy Seal going next to the Treasurer, upon a very short  
 Recollection, He declared “ that He received it as a great  
 “ Honour, that the King would make Use of his Service  
 “ in any Place, and that He submitted wholly to his good  
 “ Pleasure, and would serve him with great Fidelity.”

*Lord Roberts  
 accepts the  
 Privy Seal,  
 and quits the  
 Place of De-  
 puty.*

The next Day the King gave him the Privy Seal at the  
 Council-Board, where He was sworn and took his Place ;  
 and to shew his extraordinary Talent, found a Way more  
 to obstruct and puzzle Business, at least the Dispatch of  
 it, than any Man in that Office had ever done before :  
 Inasmuch as the King found himself compelled in a short  
 Time after, to give Order that most Grants and Patents,  
 which required Haste, should pass by immediate Warrant  
 to the Great Seal, without visiting the Privy Seal ; which  
 Preterition was not usual, and brought some Inconve-  
 nience and Prejudice to the Chancellor.

THOUGH the King had within himself a Prospect of the  
 Expedient, that would be fittest for him to make Use of  
 for the present, towards the Settlement of *Ireland*; yet it was  
 absolutely necessary for him, even before He could make  
 Use of that Expedient, to put the several Claims and Pe-  
 titions of Right which were depending before him, and  
 which were attended with such an unruly Number of Suitors,  
 into some such Method of examining and determining, (105)  
 that they might not be left in the Confusion they were  
 then in. And this could not be done, without his im-  
 posing upon himself the Trouble of hearing once at large,  
 all that every Party of the Pretenders could allege for the

*The King  
 hears all  
 Parties.*

Sup-

Support of their several Pretences : And this He did with incredible Patience for very many Days together. We shall first mention those Interests, which gave the King least Trouble, because they admitted least Debate.

It was looked upon as very scandalous, that the Marquis of *Ormond* should remain so long without the Possession of any Part of his Estate; which had been taken from him upon no other Pretence, but his adhering to the King. And therefore there was an Act of Parliament passed with the Consent of all Parties, that He should be presently restored to all his Estate; which was done with the more Ease, because the greatest Part of it (for his Wife's Land had been before assigned to her in *Cromwell's* Time, or rather in his Son *Harry's*) lay within that Province, which *Cromwell* out of his Husbandry had reserved for himself, exempt from all Title or Pretence of *Adventurer* or Soldier : What other Part of his Estate either the one or the other were possessed of, in their own Judgments it was so impossible for them to enjoy, that They very willingly yielded it up to the Marquis, in Hope of having Recompense made to them out of other Lands. There could as little be said against the Restoration of the Earl of *Inchiquin* to his Estate, which had been taken from him and distributed amongst the *Adventurers* and Soldiers, for no other Cause but his serving the King. There were likewise some others of the same *Classis*, who had Nothing objected to them but their Loyalty, who were put into the Possession of their own Estates. And all this gave no Occasion of Murmur; every Man of what Interest soever believing or pretending to believe, that the King was obliged in Honour, Justice and Conscience, to cause that Right to be done to those who had served him faithfully.

THERE could be as little Doubt, and there was as little Opposition visible, in the Claim of the Church : So that the King made Choice of many grave Divines, to whom He assigned Bishopricks in *Ireland*, and sent them thither, to be consecrated by the Bishops who remained alive there according to the Laws of that Kingdom; and conferred the other Dignities and Church-Preferments upon worthy Men, who were all authorized to enter upon those Lands, which belonged to their several Churches. And in this general Zeal for the Church, some new

*The King's  
Friends re-  
stored by Act  
of Parlia-  
ment.*

*Church-  
Lands re-  
stored, and  
new Bishops  
appointed.*

Grants were made of Lands and Impropriations, which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great Interruption to the Settlement of the Kingdom, and brought Envy upon the Church and Churchmen, when the Restoration to what was their own was generally well approved.

THE Pretences of the *Adventurers* and Soldiers were very much involved and perplexed: Yet They gave the King little other Trouble, than the general Care and Solicitude, that by an unseasonable Disturbance of their Possessions there, the Soldiers who had been disbanded, and those of the standing Army (who for the most Part had the same ill Affections), might not unite together, and seize upon some Places of Defence, before his Affairs in that Kingdom should be put in such an Order as to oppose them. And next that Apprehension, his Majesty had no Mind that any of those Soldiers; either who had been disbanded, and put into Possession of Lands for the Arrears of their Pay, and upon which They now lived; or of the other, the standing Army, many whereof were likewise in Possession of Lands assigned to them; I say, the King was not without Apprehension, that the Resort of either of these into *England* might find too many of their old Friends and Associates, ready to con-(106) cord with them in any desperate Measures, and for controlling of which He was not enough provided even in this Kingdom. But for their private and particular Interest, the King cared not much how it was compounded, nor considered the Danger if it were not compounded. For besides the Factions, Divisions and Animosities, which were between themselves, and very great; They could have no Cause of Complaint against the King, who would take Nothing from them to which They had the least Pretence of Law or Right. And for their other Demands, He would leave them to litigate between themselves; it being evident to all Men, that there must be some Judicatory erected by Act of Parliament, that only could examine and put an End to all those Pretences: The Perusal and Examination of which Act of Parliament, when the same should be prepared, his Majesty resolved that all Parties should have, and that He would hear their particular Exceptions to it, before He would transmit it into *Ireland* to be passed.

THAT

THAT which gave the King the only Trouble and Solicitude, was the miserable Condition of the *Irish* Nation; that was so near an Extirpation; the Thought whereof his Majesty's Heart abhorred. Nor can it be denied, that either from the Indignation He had against those, in whose Favour the other poor People were miserably destroyed, or from his own natural Compassion and Tenderness, and the just Regard of the Merit of many of them who had served him with Fidelity, He had a very strong and princely Inclination to do the best He could, without doing apparent Injustice, to preserve them in a tolerable Condition of Subjects. This made him give them, who were most concerned and solicitous on their Behalf, Liberty to resort to his Presence; and hear all They could allege for themselves, in private or in publick. And this Indulgence proved to their Disadvantage, and exalted them so much, that when They were heard in publick at the Board, They behaved themselves with less Modesty towards their Adversaries, who stood upon the Advantage-Ground, and with less Reverence in the Presence of the King, than the Truth of their Condition and any ordinary Discretion would have required. And their Disadvantage was the greater, because They who spake publickly on their Behalf, and were very well qualified to speak, and left Nothing for the Matter unsaid that was for their Purpose, were Men, who from the Beginning to the End of the Rebellion, had behaved themselves eminently ill towards the King. And They of their Adversaries who spake against them, had great Knowledge and Experience of all that had passed on either Side, and knew how to press it home when it was seasonable.

*The King inclined to favour the Pretensions of the Irish Catholics.*

THEY of the *Irish*, who were all united under the Name of *The confederate Catholics of Ireland*, made their first Approach wisely for Compassion; and urged "their great and long Sufferings; the Loss of their Estates for "five or six and twenty Years; the wasting and spending "of the whole Nation in Battles, and Transportation of "vast Multitudes of Men into the Parts beyond the Seas, "whereof many had the Honour to testify their Fidelity "to the King by real Services, and many of them returned into *England* with him, and were still in his Service; the great Numbers of Men, Women and Children, that had been massacred and executed in cold "Blood,

*The Plea of the Irish Catholics.*



“Blood, after the King’s Government had been driven  
 “from thence; the Multitudes that had been destroyed  
 “by Famine and the Plague, those two heavy Judgments  
 “having raged over the Kingdom for two or three Years;  
 “and at last, as a Persecution unheard of, the transplant-  
 “ing the small Remainder of the Nation into one Corner  
 “of the Province of *Conaught*, where yet much of the (107)  
 “Lands was taken from them, which had been assigned  
 “with all those Formalities of Law, which were in Use  
 “and practised under that Government.”

(2.) THEY demanded “the Benefit of two Treaties of  
 “Peace, the one in the late King’s Time and confirmed  
 “by him, the other confirmed by his Majesty who was  
 “present; by Both which,” They said, “They stood in-  
 “demnified for all Acts done by them in the Rebellion;  
 “and insisted upon their Innocence since that Time, and  
 “that They had paid so entire an Obedience to his Ma-  
 “jesty’s Commands whilst He was beyond the Seas, that  
 “They betook themselves to, and withdrew themselves  
 “from, the Service of *France* or *Spain*, in such Manner as  
 “his Majesty signified his Pleasure was They should do.”  
 And if They had ended here, They would have done  
 wisely. But whether it was the Observation They made;  
 that what They had said made Impression upon his Ma-  
 jesty and many of the Lords; or whether it was their evil  
 Genius that naturally transported them to Actions of  
 strange Gottishness and Indiscretion; They urged and en-  
 forced with more Liberty than became them in that Con-  
 juncture, “the Unworthiness and Incapacity of those,  
 “who for so many Years had possessed themselves of their  
 “Estates, and sought now a Confirmation of their rebel-  
 “lious Title from his Majesty.”

(3.) “THAT their Rebellion had been more infamous  
 “and of a greater Magnitude than that of the *Irish*, who  
 “had risen in Arms to free themselves from the Rigour  
 “and Severity that was exercised upon them by some of  
 “the King’s Ministers, and for the Liberty of their Con-  
 “science and Practice of their Religion, without having  
 “the least Intention or Thought of withdrawing them-  
 “selves from his Majesty’s Obedience, or declining his  
 “Government: Whereas the others had carried on an  
 “odious Rebellion against the King’s sacred Person,  
 “whom They had horribly murdered in the Sight of the  
 “Sun, with all imaginable Circumstances of Contempt  
 “and

“and Defiance, and as much as in them lay had rooted  
 “out Monarchy itself, and overturned and destroyed the  
 “whole Government of Church and State: And there-  
 “fore that whatever Punishment the poor *Irish* had de-  
 “served for their former Transgressions, which They had  
 “so long repented of, and departed from the Rebellion  
 “when They had Armies and strong Towns in their  
 “Hands, which They, together with themselves, had  
 “put again under his Majesty’s Protection; this Part of  
 “the *English*, who were possessed of their Estates, had  
 “broken all their Obligations to God and the King, and  
 “so could not merit to be gratified with their Ruin and  
 “total Destruction. That it was too evident and noto-  
 “rious to the World, that his Majesty’s three Kingdoms  
 “had been very faulty to him, and withdrawn themselves  
 “from his Government; by which He had been com-  
 “pelled to live in Exile so many Years: And yet, that  
 “upon their Return to their Duty and Obedience, He  
 “had been graciously pleased to grant a free and general  
 “Pardon and Act of Indemnity, in which many were  
 “comprehended, who in Truth had been the Contrivers  
 “and Fomenters of all the Misery and Desolation, which  
 “had involved the three Nations for so many Years. And  
 “therefore that They hoped, that when all his Majesty’s  
 “other Subjects (as criminal at least as They were) were,  
 “by his Majesty’s Clemency, restored to their own Es-  
 “tates which They had forfeited, and were in full Peace,  
 “Mirth and Joy; the poor *Irish* alone should not be to-  
 “tally exempt from all his Majesty’s Grace, and left in  
 “Tears and Mourning and Lamentation, and be sacri-  
 “ficed without Redemption to the Avarice and Cruelty  
 “of those, who had not only spoiled and oppressed them,  
 (108) “but had done all that was in their Power, and with all  
 “the Insolence imaginable, to destroy the King him-  
 “self and his Posterity, and who now returned to their  
 “Obedience, and submitted to his Government, when  
 “They were no longer able to oppose it. Nor did They  
 “yet return to it with that Alacrity and Joy and Refig-  
 “nation as the *Irish* did, but insisted obstinately upon  
 “Demands unreasonable, and which They hoped could  
 “not consist with his Majesty’s Honour to grant:” And  
 “so concluded with those pathetic Applications and Ap-  
 “peals to the King, as Men well versed in Discourses of  
 “that Nature are accustomed to.

THIS

THIS Discourse carried on and urged with more Passion, Vehemence and Indiscretion, than was suitable to the Condition They were in, and in which, by the Excesses of their Rhetorick, They had let fall many Expressions very indecent and unwarrantable, and in some of them confidently excused if not justified their first Entrance into Rebellion (the most barbarous certainly and inexcusable, that any Christians have been engaged in in any Age), irreconciled many to them who had Compassion enough for them, and made it impossible for the King to restrain their Adversaries, who were prepared to answer all They had said, from using the same License.

*The Answer  
of the Ad-  
venturers.*

They enlarged "upon all the odious Circumstances of the first Year's Rebellion, the murdering of above a hundred thousand Persons in cold Blood, and with all the Barbarity imaginable; which Murders and Barbarities had been always excepted from Pardon." And They told them, "that if there were not some amongst themselves who then appeared before his Majesty, They were sure there would be found many amongst those for whom They appeared, who would be found guilty of those odious Crimes, which were excluded from any Benefit by those Treaties." They took Notice, "how confidently They had extolled their own Innocence from the Time that those two Acts of Pacification had passed, and their great Affection for his Majesty's Service." And thereupon They declared, "that whatsoever legal Title the *Adventurers* had to the Lands of which They were possessed, many of whom had constantly served the King; yet They would be contented, that all those, who in Truth had preserved their Integrity towards his Majesty from the Time of either if not of Both the Pacifications, and not swerved afterwards from their Allegiance, should partake of his Royal Bounty, in such a Manner and to such a Degree, as his Majesty thought fit to exercise towards them. But," They said, "They would make it appear, that their Pretences to that Grace and Favour were not founded upon any reasonable Title; that They had never consented to any one Act of Pacification, to which the Promise of Indemnity had been annexed, which They had not violated and broken within ten Days after, and then returned to all the Acts of Disloyalty and Rebellion."

"THAT

"THAT after the first Act of Pacification ratified by  
 "the last King, in very few Days, They treated the He-  
 "rald, his Majesty's Officer, who came to proclaim that  
 "Peace, with all Manner of Indignity, tearing his Coat  
 "of Arms (the King's Arms) from his Back; and beat  
 "and wounded him so, that He was hardly rescued from  
 "the Loss of his Life. That about the same Time They  
 "endeavoured to surprize and murder the Lord Lieute-  
 "nant, and pursued him to *Dublin*, which They forth-  
 "with besieged with their Army, under the Command  
 "of that General who had signed the Peace. They im-  
 "prisoned their Commissioners who were authorized by  
 "them, for consenting to those Articles which themselves  
 "had confirmed, and so prosecuted the War with as  
 (109) "much Asperity as ever; and refused to give that Aid  
 "and Assistance They were obliged to, for the Recovery  
 "and Restoration of his late Majesty; the Promise and  
 "Expectation of which Supply and Assistance, was the  
 "sole Ground and Consideration of that Treaty, and of  
 "the Concessions therein made to them. That They  
 "thereupon more formally renounced their Obedience to  
 "the King, and put themselves under the Protection and  
 "Disposal of *Rinuccini* the Pope's *Nuncio*, whom They  
 "made their Generalissimo of all their Armies, their Ad-  
 "miral at Sea, and to preside in all their Councils. After  
 "their Divisions amongst themselves, and the Burden of  
 "the Tyranny They suffered under, had disposed them  
 "to petition his Majesty that now is, who was then in  
 "*France*, to receive them into his Protection, and to send  
 "the Marquis of *Ormond* over again into *Ireland* to com-  
 "mand them, his Majesty was so far prevailed with, that  
 "He sent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Munster*, with  
 "such a Supply of Arms and Ammunition as He could  
 "get; where the Lord *Inchiquin*, Lord President of that  
 "Province, received him with the Protestant Army and  
 "joined with him: And shortly after, the *Confederate*  
 "*Irish* made that second Treaty of Pacification, of which  
 "They now demanded the Benefit. But it was noto-  
 "riously known, that They no sooner made that Treaty  
 "than They brake it, in not bringing in those Supplies  
 "of Men and Money, which They ought and were  
 "obliged to do; the Want whereof exposed the Lord  
 "Lieutenant to many Difficulties, and was in Truth the  
 "Cause of the Misfortune before *Dublin*: Which He  
 "had

“had no sooner undergone, than They withdrew from  
 “taking any further Care of the Kingdom, and raised  
 “Scandals upon and Jealousies of the whole Body of the  
 “*English*, who, being so provoked, could no longer ven-  
 “ture themselves in any Action or Conjunction with the  
 “*Irish*, without more Apprehension of them than of the  
 “common Enemy.”

“INSTEAD of endeavouring to compose these Jealous-  
 “ies and ill Humours, They caused an Assembly or  
 “Convocation of their Clergy to meet without the Lord  
 “Lieutenant’s Authority, and put the Government of all  
 “Things into their Hands: Who, in a short Time, im-  
 “proved the Jealousies in the Mind of the People towards  
 “the few *Protestants* who yet remained in the Army, and  
 “who had served the King with all imaginable Courage  
 “and Fidelity from the very first Hour of the Rebellion,  
 “to that Degree, that the Marquis was even compelled  
 “to discharge his own Troop of Guards of Horse, consist-  
 “ing of such Officers and Gentlemen as are mentioned  
 “before, and to trust himself and all the remaining  
 “Towns and Garrisons to the Fidelity of the *Irish*; They  
 “\* protesting with much Solemnity, that upon such a  
 “Confidence, the whole Nation would be united as  
 “one Man to his Majesty’s Service, under his Command.  
 “But They had no sooner received Satisfaction in that  
 “Particular (which was not in the Marquis his Power to  
 “refuse to give them), but They raised several Calum-  
 “nies against his Person, declaimed against his Religion,  
 “and inhibited the People, upon Pain of Excommunica-  
 “tion, to submit to this and that Order that was issued  
 “out by the Marquis, without obeying whereof the  
 “Army could not stay together; and upon the Matter  
 “forbad the People to pay any Obedience to him. In-  
 “stead of raising new Forces according to their last Pro-  
 “mise and Engagement, those that were raised ran from  
 “their Colours and dispersed themselves; They who  
 “were trusted with the keeping of Towns and Forts, ei-  
 “ther gave them up by Treachery to *Cromwell*, or lost  
 “them through Cowardice to him upon very feeble At-  
 “tacks: And their General, *Owen O’Neile*, made a formal  
 “Contract and Stipulation with the Parliament. And in  
 “the End, when They had divested the Lord Lieute-  
 “nant of all Power to oppose the Enemy, and given him (110)  
 “great Cause to believe that his Person was in Danger to  
 “be

“be betrayed, and delivered up to the Enemy, They vouchsafed to petition him that He would depart out of the Kingdom (to the Necessity whereof They had even already compelled him); and that He would leave his Majesty’s Authority in the Hands of one of his Catholic Subjects, to whom They promised to submit with the most punctual Obedience.”

“HEREUPON the Marquis, when He found that He could not unite them in any one Action worthy the Duty of good Subjects, or of prudent Men, towards their own Preservation; and so, that his Residence amongst them longer could in no Degree contribute to his Majesty’s Service or Honour; and that They would make it to be believed, that if He would have committed the Command into the Hands of a *Roman Catholic*, They would have been able to preserve those Towns which still remained in their Possession, which were *Limerick* and *Gallway*, and some other Places of Importance enough, though of less than those Cities; and that They would likewise by Degrees recover from the Enemy what had been lost, which indeed was very possible for them to have done, since They had great Bodies of Men to perform any Enterprize, and some good Officers to lead them, if They would have been obedient to any Command: Hereupon the Marquis resolved to gratify them, and to place the Command in the Hands of such a Person, whose Zeal for the Catholic Religion was unquestionable, and whose Fidelity to the King was unblemished. And so He made Choice of the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, a Gentleman, though originally of *English* Extraction, whose Family had for so many hundred Years resided in that Kingdom, that He was looked upon as being of the best Family of the *Irish*; and whose Family had, in all former Rebellions, as well as in this last, preserved its Loyalty to the Crown not only unspotted, but eminently conspicuous.”

“The *Roman Catholics* of all Kinds pretended at least a wonderful Satisfaction and Joy in this Election; acknowledged it as a great Obligation upon them; and their Posterity to the Lord Lieutenant, for making so worthy a Choice; and applied themselves to the Marquis of *Clanrickard* with all the Protestations of Duty and Submission, to induce him to accept the Charge  
“and

“and Command over them; who indeed knew them too  
 “well to be willing to trust them, or to have any Thing  
 “to do with them. Yet upon the Marquis of *Ormond’s*  
 “earnest and solemn Intreaty, as the last and only Re-  
 “medy to keep and retain some Remainder of Hope,  
 “from whence future Hopes might grow; whereas all  
 “other Thoughts were desperate, and the Kingdom  
 “would presently fall into the Hands and Possession of  
 “the *English*, who would extirpate the whole Nation:  
 “This Importunity, and his great Zeal for the Service of  
 “the Crown, and to support the Government there until  
 “his Majesty could procure other Supplies, which the  
 “Marquis of *Ormond* promised to solicit in *France*, or till  
 “his Majesty should send better Orders to preserve his  
 “Authority in that Kingdom (the Hope of which seem-  
 “ed the less desperate, because They had Notice at the  
 “same Time of his Majesty’s March into *England*, with  
 “an Army from *Scotland*), prevailed with him so, that  
 “He was contented to receive such Commissions from  
 “the Lord Lieutenant, as were necessary for the Execu-  
 “tion of the present Command. Upon which the Lord  
 “Lieutenant embarked himself, with some few Friends  
 “and Servants, upon a little rotten Pink that was bound  
 “for *France*, and very ill accommodated for such a  
 “Voyage; being not to be persuaded to send to the Com-  
 “mander in Chief of the *English* for a Pass, though He (III)  
 “was assured that it would very readily have been grant-  
 “ed: But it pleased God that He arrived safely in *France*,  
 “a little before or about the Time that the King trans-  
 “ported himself thither, after his miraculous Escape from  
 “*Worcester*.”

“THE Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner gone out of  
 “*Ireland*, but the Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard*, then  
 “Lord Deputy, found himself no better treated than  
 “the Lord of *Ormond* had been. That Part of the  
 “Clergy, which had continually opposed the Lord Lieu-  
 “tenant for being a *Protestant*, were now as little satis-  
 “fied with the Deputy’s Religion, and as violently con-  
 “tradicted all his Commands and Desires, and violated  
 “all their own Promises, and quickly made it evident,  
 “that his Affection and Loyalty to the King was that  
 “which They disliked, and a Crime that could not be  
 “ballanced by the undoubted Sincerity of his Religion.  
 “They entered into secret Correspondence with the Ene-  
 “my,

“ my, and Conspiracies between themselves : And though  
 “ there were some Persons of Honour and Quality with  
 “ the Deputy, who were very faithful to him and to the  
 “ King ; yet there were so many of another Alay, that  
 “ all his Counsels, Resolutions and Designs, were disco-  
 “ vered to the Enemy, soon enough to be prevented.  
 “ And though some of the Letters were intercepted, and  
 “ the Persons discovered who gave the Intelligence, He  
 “ had not Power to bring them to Justice ; but being  
 “ commonly Friars and Clergymen, the Privilege of the  
 “ Church was insisted upon, and so They were rescued  
 “ from the secular Prosecution till their Escape was con-  
 “ trived. That perfidious and treacherous Party had so  
 “ great an Interest in all the Towns, Forts and Garrisons,  
 “ which yet pretended to be subject to the Deputy, that  
 “ all his Orders were still contradicted or neglected : And  
 “ the Enemy no sooner appeared before any Place, but  
 “ some Faction in the Town caused it to be given up and  
 “ rendered.”

“ NO R could this fatal Sottishness be reformed, even  
 “ by the Severity and Rigour which the *English* exercised  
 “ upon them, who, by the wonderful Judgment of God  
 “ Almighty, always put those Men to Death, who put  
 “ themselves and those Towns into their Hands ; finding  
 “ still that They had some barbarous Part in the foul  
 “ Murders, which had been committed in the Beginning  
 “ of the Rebellion, and who had been, by all the Acts of  
 “ Grace granted by the several Powers, still reserved for  
 “ Justice. And of this Kind there would be so many In-  
 “ stances in and about *Limerick* and *Gallway*, that they  
 “ deserve to be collected and mentioned in a Discourse by  
 “ itself, to observe and magnify the wonderful Providence  
 “ of God Almighty in bringing heinous Crimes to Light  
 “ and Punishment in this World, by Means unappre-  
 “ hended by the guilty : Infomuch as it can hardly be be-  
 “ lieved, how many of the Clergy and the Laity, who had  
 “ a signal Hand in the contriving and fomenting the first  
 “ Rebellion, and in the Perpetration of those horrible  
 “ Murders ; and who had obstructed all Overtures to-  
 “ ward Peace, and principally caused any Peace that was  
 “ made, to be presently broken ; who had with most Pas-  
 “ sion adhered to the *Nuncio*, and endeavoured most ma-  
 “ liciously to exclude the King and his Posterity from the  
 “ Dominion of *Ireland* : I say, it can hardly be believed,



“how many of these most notorious Transgressors did by  
 “some Act of Treachery endeavour to merit from the  
 “*English* Rebels, and so put themselves into their Hands,  
 “and were by them publickly and reproachfully executed and put to Death.”

“THIS being the sad Condition the Deputy was in;  
 “and the *Irish* having, without his Leave and against his  
 “express Command, taken upon them to send Messengers into *Flanders*, to desire the Duke of *Lorraine* to  
 “take them into his Protection, and offered to deliver (112)  
 “several important Places and Sea-Towns into his Possession, and to become his Subjects, (upon which the  
 “Duke sent over an Ambassadour, and a good Sum of  
 “Money for their present Relief), the Deputy was in a  
 “short Time reduced to those Streights, that He durst not  
 “remain in any Town nor even in his own House three  
 “Days together, but was forced for his Safety to shift  
 “from Place to Place, and sometimes to lodge in the  
 “Woods and Fields in cold and wet Nights; by which  
 “He contracted those Infirmities and Diseases, which  
 “shortly after brought him to his Grave. And in the  
 “End, He was compelled to accept a Pass from the *English*,  
 “who had a Reverence for his Person and his unsullied Reputation, to transport himself into *England*,  
 “where his Wife and Family were; and where He died  
 “before He could procure Means to carry himself to the  
 “King, which He always intended to do.”

WHEN the Commissioners had enlarged with some Commotion in this Narration and Discourse, They again provoked the *Irish* Commissioners to nominate “one Person amongst themselves, or of those for whom They appeared, who They believed could in Justice demand his Majesty’s Favour; and if They did not make it evidently appear, that He had forfeited all his Title to Pardon after the Treaties, and that He had been again as faulty to the King as before, They were very willing He should be restored to his Estate.” And then applying themselves to his Majesty with great Duty and Submission, They concluded; “that if any Persons had, by their subsequent Loyalty or Service, or by their Attendance upon his Majesty beyond the Seas, rendered themselves grateful to him, and worthy of his Royal Favour, They were very willing that his Majesty should restore all or any of them to their Honours or Estates,  
 “in

"in such Manner as his Majesty thought fit, and against  
 "all Impediments whatsoever." And upon this frank  
 Offer of theirs, which his Majesty took very well, several Acts of Parliament were presently passed, for the Indemnity and the restoring many Persons of Honour and Interest to their Estates; who could either in Justice require it, as having been faithful always to the King, and suffered with him or for him; or who had so far manifested their Affection and Duty for his Majesty, that He thought fit; in that Consideration, to wipe out the Memory of whatsoever had been formerly done amiss. And by this Means, many were put into a full Possession of their Estates, to which They could make any good Pretence at the Time when the Rebellion began.

*Many Catholics who had served the King immediately restored.*

THIS Consideration and Debate upon the Settlement of this unhappy Kingdom took up many Days, the King being always present, in which there arose every Day new Difficulties. And it appeared plainly enough, that the Guilt was so general, that if the Letter of the Act of Parliament of the seventeenth Year of the late King were strictly pursued, as possibly it might have been, if the Reduction had fallen out likewise during the whole Reign of that King, even an utter Extirpation of the Nation would have followed.

THERE were three Particulars, which, upon the first Mention and View of them, seemed in most Mens Eyes worthy of his Majesty's extraordinary Compassion and Interposition; and yet upon a stricter Examination were found as remediless as any of the rest. One was; "the Condition of that miserable People, which was likewise very numerous, that was transplanted into *Conaught*; who had been removed from their own Possessions in other Provinces, with such Circumstances of Tyranny and Cruelty, that their own Consents obtained afterwards with that Force, could not reasonably be thought any Confirmation of their unjust Title, who were in Possession of their Lands."

*Three Particulars in this Affair which distress the King.*

*1. The Transplantation of the Irish into Connaught.*

(113) "wards with that Force, could not reasonably be thought any Confirmation of their unjust Title, who were in Possession of their Lands."

"To this it was answered, "that though it was acted in an irregular Manner, and without lawful Authority, it being in a Time of Usurpation; yet that the Act itself was very prudent and necessary, and an Act of Mercy, without which an utter Extirpation of the Nation must have followed, if the Kingdom were to be preserved in Peace. That it cannot be denied to be an Act of

*The Adventurers Defence of this Measure.*

" Mercy, since there was not one Man transplanted, who  
 " had not by the Law forfeited all the Estate He had ;  
 " and his Life might have been as legally taken from  
 " him: So that both his Life, and whatever Estate He  
 " had granted to him in *Conaught*, was from the pure  
 " Bounty of the State, which might and did by the Act  
 " of Parliament seize upon the same. That, beside the  
 " unsteady Humour of that People, and their natural In-  
 " clination to rebel, it was notorious, that whilst They  
 " were dispersed over the Kingdom, though all their  
 " Forces had been so totally subdued, that there was not  
 " throughout the whole Kingdom a visible Number of  
 " twenty Men together, who pretended to be in Arms;  
 " yet there were daily such Disorders committed by  
 " Thefts and Robberies and Murders, that They could  
 " not be said to be in Peace. Nor could the *English*,  
 " Man, Woman or Child, go one Mile from their Habi-  
 " tations upon their necessary Employment, but They  
 " were found murdered and stripped by the *Irish*, who  
 " lay in Wait for those Purposes; so that the People were  
 " very hardly restrained from committing a Massacre upon  
 " them wherever They were met: So that there ap-  
 " peared no other Way to prevent an utter Extirpation  
 " of them, but to confine and restrain them within such  
 " Limits and Bounds, that might keep them from doing  
 " Mischief, and thereby make them safe. That there-  
 " upon this Expedient was laid Hold of. And whereas  
 " They had Nothing to enable them to live upon in the  
 " Places where They were dispersed, They had now by  
 " this Transplantation into *Conaught* Lands given them,  
 " sufficient with their Industry to live well upon; of  
 " which there was good Evidence, by their having  
 " lived well there since that Time, and many of them  
 " much better than They had ever done before. And  
 " the State, which had done this Grace for them, had  
 " great Reason, when it gave them good Titles to the  
 " Land assigned to them, which They might plead in  
 " any Court of Justice, to require from them Releases of  
 " what They had forfeited; which, though to the Pub-  
 " lick of no Use or Validity, were of Benefit and be-  
 " hooveful to many particular Persons, for the quieting  
 " their Possessions against frivolous Suits and Claims  
 " which might start up. That this Transplantation had  
 " been acted, finished, and submitted to by all Parties,  
 " who

“who had enjoyed the Benefit thereof, quietly and without Disturbance, many Years before the King’s Return: And the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had been likewise so many Years in the Possession of their Lots, in Pursuance of the Act of Parliament, and had laid out so much Money in building and planting; that the Consequence of such an Alteration, as was now proposed, would be the highest Confusion imaginable.”

AND it cannot be denied, that if the King could have thought it safe and seasonable to have reviewed all that had been done, and taken those Advantages upon former Miscarriages and Misapplications, as according to the Strictness of that very Law He might have done; the whole Foundation, upon which all the Hopes rested of preserving that Kingdom within the Obedience to the Crown of *England*, must have been shaken and even dissolved; with no small Influence and Impression upon the (114) Peace and Quiet of *England* itself. For the Memory of the Beginning of the Rebellion in *Ireland* (how many other Rebellions soever had followed as bad, or worse in Respect of the Consequences that attended them) was as fresh and as odious to the whole People of *England*, as it had been the first Year. And though no Man durst avow so unchristian a Wish, as an Extirpation of them (which They would have been very well contented with); yet no Man dissimbled his Opinion, that it was the only Security the *English* could have in that Kingdom, that the *Irish* should be kept so low, that They should have no Power to hurt them.

ANOTHER Particular, that seemed more against the Foundation of Justice, was; “that the Soldiers and *Ad-* 2. The Case of Entails and Settlements at Law. *venturers* expected and promised themselves, that in this new Settlement that was under Debate, all Entails and Settlements at Law should be destroyed, whether upon Consideration of Marriage, or any other Contracts which had been made before the Rebellion. Nor had there been in the whole former Proceedings in the Time of the Usurpation, any Consideration taken of Mortgages or Debts due by Statute or Recognisance, or upon any other Security; so that all such Debts must be either lost to the Proprietors, or remain still with the Interest upon the Land, whoever had enjoyed the Benefit or Profits thereof.” All which seemed to his Majesty very unreasonable and unjust; and that such Estates should re-

main forfeited by the Treason of the Father, who had been only Tenant for Life, against all Descents and legal Titles of innocent Children; and of which, in all legal Attainders, the Crown never had or could receive any Benefit.

*The Adventurers Answer.*

YET, how unreasonable soever these Pretences seemed to be, it was no easy Matter to give Rules and Directions for the Remedy of the Mischief, without introducing another Mischief equally unjust and unreasonable. For the Commissioners declared, "that if such Titles, as are mentioned, were preserved and allowed to be good, there would not in that universal Guilt, which upon the Matter comprehended and covered the whole *Irish* Nation, be one Estate forfeited by Treason, but such Conveyances and Settlements would be produced to secure and defend the same: And though they would be forged, there would not be Witnesses wanting to prove and justify whatsoever the Evidence could be applied to. And if those Trials were to be by the known Rules and Customs of the Law in Cases of the like Nature, there was too much Reason to suspect and fear that there would be little Justice done: Since a Jury of *Irish* would infallibly find against the *English*, let the Evidence be what it could be; and there was too much Reason to apprehend that the *English*, whose Animosity was not less, would be as unjust in bringing in their Verdict against the *Irish* right or wrong." And there was Experience afterwards, in the Prosecution of this Affair, of such Forgeries and Perjuries, as have not been heard of amongst Christians; and in which, to our Shame, the *English* were not behindhand with the *Irish*. The King however thought it not reasonable or just for him, upon what probable Suggestions soever, to countenance such a barefaced Violation of the Law, by any Declaration of his; but commanded his Council at Law, to make such Alterations in the Expressions as might be fit for him to consent to.

*3. The extreme Misery of the Irish.*

THE third Particular, and which much affected the King, was; "that in this universal Joy for his Restoration without Blood, and with the Indemnity of so many hundred Thousands who had deserved to suffer the utmost Punishments, the poor *Irish*, after so long Sufferings in the greatest Extremity of Misery, should be the only Persons who should find no Benefit or Ease by."<sup>(113)</sup>  
"his

“his Majesty’s Restoration, but remain robbed and  
 “spoiled of all They had, and be as it were again sacri-  
 “ficed to the Avarice and Cruelty of them, who had not  
 “deserved better of his Majesty than the other poor Peo-  
 “ple had done.”

To which there can be no other Answer made, which  
 is very sufficient in Point of Justice, but that, “as their *Answer to this Plea.*  
 “Rebellion and other Crimes had been long before  
 “his Majesty’s Time, so full Vengeance had been exe-  
 “cuted upon them; and They had paid the Penalties of  
 “their Crimes and Transgressions before his Majesty’s  
 “Return: So that He could not restore that which They  
 “called their own, without taking it from them, who  
 “were become the just Owners by an Act of Parliament;  
 “which his Majesty could not violate without Injustice,  
 “and Breach of the Faith He had given.”

AND that which was their greatest Misery and Re-  
 proach, and which distinguished them from the Subjects  
 of the other two Kingdoms, who were otherwise bad  
 enough, was; that Both the other Nations had made  
 many noble Attempts for redeeming their Liberty, and  
 for the Restoration of his Majesty (for *Scotland* itself had  
 done much towards it); and his present Restoration was,  
 with God’s Blessing and only with his Blessing, by the  
 sole Effects of the Courage and Affection of his own Sub-  
 jects: So that *England* and *Scotland* had in a great Degree  
 redeemed, and even undone what had been before done  
 amiss by them; and his Majesty had improved and se-  
 cured those Affections to him by those Promises and Con-  
 cessions, which He was in Justice obliged to perform.  
 But the miserable *Irish* alone had no Part in contributing  
 to his Majesty’s Happiness; nor had God suffered them  
 to be the least Instruments in bringing his good Pleasure  
 to pass, or to give any Testimony of their Repentance for  
 the Wickedness They had wrought, or of their Resolu-  
 tion to be better Subjects for the future: So that They  
 seemed as a People left out by Providence, and exempted  
 from any Benefit from that blessed Conjunction in his  
 Majesty’s Restitution.

AND this Disadvantage was improved towards them,  
 by their frequent Manifestation of an inveterate Animo-  
 sity against the *English* Nation, and *English* Government;  
 which again was returned to them in an irreconcilable  
 Jealousy of all the *English* towards them. And to this

their present Behaviour and Imprudence contributed very much : For it appeared evidently, that They expected the same Concessions (which the Necessity of that Time had made fit to be granted to them) in Respect of their Religion should be now likewise confirmed. And this Temper made it very necessary for the King to be very wary in dispensing extraordinary Favours (which his natural merciful Inclination prompted him to) to the *Irish* ; and to prefer the general Interest of his three Kingdoms, before the particular Interest of a Company of unhappy Men, who had foolishly forfeited their own ; though He pitied them, and hoped in the Conclusion to be able, without exposing the publick Peace to manifest Hazard, in some Degree to improve their Condition.

UPON the whole Matter, the King found, that if He deferred to settle the Government of *Ireland* till a perfect Settlement of all particular Interests could be made, it would be very long. He saw it could not be done at once ; and that there must be some Examinations taken there, and some Matters more clearly stated and adjusted, before his Majesty could make his Determination upon those Particulars, which purely depended upon his own Judgment ; and that some Difficulties would be removed or lessened by Time : And so He passed that which is <sup>(116)</sup>

The first Act  
of Settlement  
passed.

called *The first Act of Settlement* ; and was persuaded to commit the Execution thereof, to a great Number of Commissioners, recommended to his Majesty by those who were most conversant in the Affairs of *Ireland* ; none or very few of which were known to his Majesty, or to any of those who had been so many Years from their Country, in their constant Attendance upon his Majesty's Person beyond the Seas.

Three Lords  
Justices ap-  
pointed.

AND for the better Countenance of this Commission, and likewise to restrain the Commissioners from any Excess, if their very large Jurisdiction should prove a Temptation to them, the King thought fit to commit the Sword to three Justices, which He had resolved, when the sending the Lord *Roberts* was declined. Those three were, Sir *Morrice Eustace*, whom He newly made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, the Lord *Brogbill*, whom He now made Earl of *Orrery*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, whom He likewise made Earl of *Montrath*. The first had been his Sergeant at Law long in that Kingdom, and had been eminent in the Profession of the Law, and the more esteemed for being always

ways a *Protestant* though an *Irishman*, and of approved Fidelity to the King during this whole Rebellion. But He was now old, and made so little Shew of any Parts extraordinary, that, but for the Testimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted whether He ever had any. The other two had been Both eminently against the King, but upon this Turn, when all other Powers were down, eminently for him; the one, very able and generous; the other, proud, dull and very avaricious. But the King had not then Power to choose any, against whom some as material Objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much Good. With them, there were too many others upon whom Honours were conferred; upon some, that They might do no Harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more; and upon others, that They might not murmur, who murmured the more for having Nothing given them but Honour: And so They were all dispatched for *Ireland*; by which the King had some Ease, his Service little Advancement.

AFTER a Year was spent in the Execution of this Commission (for I shall, without discontinuing the Relation, say all that I intend upon this Subject of *Ireland*), there was very little done towards the settling the Kingdom, or towards preparing any Thing that might settle it; but on the contrary, the Breaches were made wider, and so much Passion and Injustice shewed, that Complaints were brought to his Majesty from all Parts of the Kingdom, and from all Persons in Authority there. The Number of the Commissioners was so great, and their Interests so different, that They made no Dispatch. Very many of them were in Possession of those Lands, which others sued for before them; and They themselves bought broken Titles and Pretences of other Men, for inconsiderable Sums of Money, which They supported and made good by their own Authority. Such of the Commissioners, who had their own particular Interest and Concernment depending, attended the Service very diligently: The few who were more equal and just, because They had no Interest of their own at Stake, were weary of their Attendance and Expense (there being no Allowance for their Pains); and offended at the Partiality and Injustice which They saw practised, withdrew themselves, and would be

*Partiality of  
the Commis-  
sioners ap-  
pointed by the  
First AB.*



no longer present at those Transactions which They could not regulate or reform.

Second Act  
of Settlement  
transmitted to the  
King.

ALL Interests were equally offended and incensed; and the Soldiers and *Adventurers* complained no less of the Corruption and Injustice than the *Irish* did: So that the Lords Justices and Council thought it necessary to transmit another Bill to his Majesty, which, as I remember, They called an explanatory Bill of the former; and in that They provided, "that no Person who lived in *Ireland*, or had any Pretence to an Estate there, should be employed as a Commissioner; but that his Majesty should be desired to send over a competent Number of well qualified Persons out of *England* to attend that Service, upon whom a fit Salary should be settled by the Bill; and such Rules set down as might direct and govern the Manner of their Proceeding; and that an Oath might be prescribed by the Bill, which the Commissioners should take, for the impartial Administration of Justice, and for the Prosecution and Execution of this Bill," which was transmitted as an Act by the King.

New Commissioners appointed to execute it.

His Majesty made Choice of seven Gentlemen of very clear Reputations; one of them being an eminent Sergeant at Law, whom He made a Judge upon his Return from thence; two others, Lawyers of very much Esteem; and the other four, Gentlemen of very good Extractions, excellent Understandings, and above all Suspicion for their Integrity, and generally reputed to be superiour to any base Temptation.

The different Parties again heard by the King.

BUT this second Bill, before it could be transmitted, took up as much Time as the former. The same numerous Retinue of all Interests from *Ireland* attended the King; and all that had been said in the former Debates was again repeated, and almost with the same Passion and Impertinence. The *Irish* made large Observations upon the Proceedings of the late Commissioners, to justify those Fears and Apprehensions which They had formerly urged: And there appeared too much Reason to believe, that their greatest Design now was, rather to keep off any Settlement, than that They hoped to procure such a one as They desired; relying more to find their Account from a general Dissatisfaction, and the Distraction and Confusion that was like to attend it, than from any Determination that was like to be in their Favour. Yet They had Friends in the Court, who made them

them great Promises; which They could not be without, since They made as great Promises to those who were to protect them. There were indeed many particular Men both of the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, who in Respect of their many notorious and opprobrious Actions against the Crown throughout their whole Employment (and who even since his Majesty's Return had enough expressed how little They were satisfied with the Revolution) were so universally odious both in *England* and *Ireland*, that if their particular Cases could have been severed from the rest, without Violation of the Rule of Justice that secured all the rest, any Thing that could have been done to their Detriment would have been grateful enough to every Body.

AFTER many very tedious Debates, in which his Majesty endeavoured by all the Ways He could think of to find some Expedient, that would enable him to preserve the miserable *Irish* from the Extremity of Misery; He found it necessary at last, to acquiesce with a very positive Assurance from the Earl of *Orrery* and others, who were believed to understand *Ireland* very exactly, and who, upon the Surveys that had been taken with great Punctuality, undertook "that there was Land enough to satisfy all the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, and that there would be a very great Proportion left for the Accommodation of the *Irish* very liberally." And for the better Improvement of that Proportion, the King prescribed some Rules and Limitations to the immoderate Pretences and Demands of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* upon the *doubling Ordinance* and imperfect Admeasurement, and some other Irregularities, in which his Majesty was not in Honour or Justice obliged to comply with them: And so He transmitted this second Bill.

Second Act.  
of Settle-  
ment passed.

- (118) WHILEST this second Bill was under Deliberation, there fell out an Accident in *Ireland*, which produced great Alterations with Reference to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Differences which had every Day arisen between the three Justices, and their different Humours and Affections, had little advanced the settling that Government; so that there would have been a Necessity of making some Mutation in it: So that the Death of the Earl of *Monrath*, which happened at this Time, fell out conveniently enough to the King; for by it the Government was again loose. For the Earl of *Orrery* was in *England*;

*England*; and the Power resided not in less than two: So that the Chancellor, who remained single there; was without any Authority to act. And They who took the most dispassioned Survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that Nothing could reasonably produce a Settlement there, but the de-puting one single Person to exercise that Government: And the Duke of *Albemarle* himself, who had a great Estate in that Kingdom, which made him the more long for a Settlement, and who had before the King's Return and ever since dissuaded the King from thinking of employing the Duke of *Ormond* there, who had himself Aversion enough from that Command, of which He had sufficient Experience: I say, the General had now so totally changed his Mind, that He plainly told the King, "that there was no Way to explicate that Kingdom out of those Intricacies in which it was involved, but by sending over a Lord Lieutenant thither. That He thought it not fit for his Majesty's Service, that himself, who had that Commission of Lord Lieutenant; should be absent from his Person; and therefore that He was very ready and desirous to give up his Commission: And that in his Judgment Nobody would be able to settle and compose the several Factions in that Kingdom, but the Duke of *Ormond*, who He believed would be grateful to all Sorts of People." And therefore He advised his Majesty very positively, "that He would immediately give him the Commission, and as soon as should be possible send him away into *Ireland*."

*The Duke of Albemarle resigns the Office of Lord Lieutenant.*

*And the Duke of Ormond accepts it.*

And Both the King and the General spake with the Duke of *Ormond*, and prevailed with him to accept it, before either of them communicated it to the Chancellor, who the King well knew would for many Reasons, and out of his great Friendship to the Duke, dissuade him from undertaking it; which was very true.

AND the King and the Duke of *Ormond* came one Day to the Chancellor, to advise what was to be done for *Ireland*; and (concealing the Resolution) the King told him what the General's Advice was, and asked him "what He thought of sending the Duke of *Ormond* his Lieutenant into *Ireland*." To which the Chancellor answered presently, "that the King would do very ill in sending him, and that the Duke would do much worse, if He desired to go." Upon which They Both smiled,

and

and told him "that the General had prevailed with the King, and the King with the Duke; so that the Matter was resolved, and there remained Nothing to be done but preparing the Instructions, which He must think upon."

THE Chancellor could not refrain from saying very warmly, "that He was sorry for it; and that it would be good for neither of them, that the Duke should be from the King, or that He should be in *Ireland*, where He would be able to do no Good. Besides that He had given himself so much to his Ease and Pleasure since He came into *England*, that He would never be able to take the Pains, which that most laborious Province would require." He said, "if this Counsel had been taken when the King came first over, it might have had good Success, when the Duke was full of Reputation, and of unquestionable Interest in his Majesty, and the King himself was more feared and revered than presumed upon: So that the Duke would have had full Authority to have restrained the exorbitant Desires and Expectations of all the several Parties, who had all Guilt enough upon their Hearts to fear some Rigour from the King, or to receive moderate Grace with infinite Submission and Acknowledgment. But now the Duke, besides his withdrawing himself from all Business as much as He could, had let himself fall to Familiarities with all Degrees of Men; and upon their Averments had undertaken to protect or at least to solicit Mens Interests, which it may be might not appear upon Examination to be founded upon Justice. And the King himself had been exposed to all Manner of Importunities, received all Mens Addresses, and heard all They would say, made many Promises without Deliberation, and appeared so desirous to satisfy all Men, that He was irresolute in all Things. And therefore till He had taken some firm and fixed Resolutions himself, from which neither Prejudice towards one Man, nor Pity and Compassion on the Behalf of another, should remove him; the Lieutenant of *Ireland* would be able to do him little Service, and would be himself continually exposed to Scorn and Affronts."

AND afterwards the Chancellor expostulated warmly with the Duke of *Ormond* (who well knew, that all his Commotion proceeded from the Integrity of his unquestionable

*The Chancellor expresses his Concern at this.*

tionable Friendship), and told him "that He would repent this rash Resolution; and that He would have been able to have contributed more to the Settlement of *Ireland*, by being near the Person of the King, than by being at *Dublin*, from whence in a short Time there would be as many Aspersions and Reproaches sent hither, as had been against other Men; and that He had no Reason to be confident, that they would not make as deep Impression by the Arts and Industry of his Enemies, of which He had Store, and would have more by being absent, for the Court naturally had little Regard for any Man who was absent. And that He carried with him the same Infirmary into *Ireland* with that of the King, which kept it from being settled here; which was an Unwillingness to deny any Man what He could not but see was impossible to grant, and a Desire to please every Body, which whosoever affected should please Nobody."

*The Duke acquiesces the Chancellor with his Reason for accepting it.*

THE Duke, who never took any Thing ill He said to him, told him, "that Nobody knew better than He the Aversion He had to that Command, when it may be He might have undertaken it with more Advantage." He confessed, "He saw many Dangers with Reference to himself, which He knew not how to avoid, and many Difficulties with Reference to the Publick, which He had little Hope to overcome; yet *Ireland* must not be given over: And since there seemed to be a general Opinion, with which the King concurred, that He could be able to contribute to the composing the Distempers, and the settling the Government; He would not suspect himself, but believe that He might be able to do somewhat towards it." And He gave his Word to him, that Nothing should be defective on his Part in Point of Industry; for He was resolved to take indefatigable Pains for a Year or two, in which He hoped the Settlement would be compleated, that He might have Ease and Recreation for the other Part of his Life." And He confessed, "that He did the more willingly enter upon that Province, that He might have the Opportunity to settle his own Fortune, which how great soever in Extent of Lands did not yet, by Reason of (120) the general Unsettlement, yield him a Quarter of the Revenue it ought to do. That for what concerned himself, and the Disadvantages He might undergo by

his

“his Absence, He referred it to Providence and the King’s good Nature; who,” He said, “knew him better than any of his Enemies did; and therefore, He hoped, He would believe himself before them.” However, the Truth is, He was the more disposed to that Journey, by the Dislike He had of the Court, and the necessary Exercises which Men there were to excel in, for which He was superannuated: And if He did not already discern any Lessening of the King’s Grace towards him, He saw enough to make him believe, that the contrary ought not to be depended upon. And within few Years after, He had Cause to remember what the Chancellor had foretold him of Both their Fortunes. The Duke (with the seven Com-<sup>The Duke and the Commissioners set out for Ireland.</sup> missioners who were appointed for that *Act of Settlement*, and all other Persons who attended that Interest) entered upon his Journey from *London* about the End of *July*, in the Year one thousand six hundred sixty and four, full four Years and more after the King’s happy Return into *England*.

It was some Months after the Commissioners Arrival in *Ireland*, before They could settle those Orders and Rules for their Proceedings, which were necessary to be done, before the People should be appointed to attend. And it was as necessary, that they should in the Order of their Judicatory first proceed upon the Demands and Pretences of the *Irish*; both because there could be no Settlement of Soldiers or *Adventurers* in Possession of any Lands, before the Titles of the *Irish* to those Lands were determined; and because there was a Clause in the last Act of Parliament, that all the *Irish* should put in their Claims by a Day appointed, and that they should be determined before another Day, which was likewise assigned; which Days might be prolonged for once by the Lord Lieutenant, upon such Reasons as satisfied him: So that the Delay for so many Months before the Commissioners fate, gave great Argument of Complaint to the *Irish*, though it could not be avoided, in Regard that the Commissioners themselves had not been nominated by the King above twenty Days before They began their Journey into *Ireland*; so that They could never so much as read over the Acts of Parliament together, before They came to *Dublin*. And then They found so many difficult Clauses in Both Acts of Parliament, and so contrary to each other, that it was no easy Matter to determine how

to govern themselves in Point of Right, and to reduce themselves to any Method in their Proceedings.

*The Commissioners publish  
their intended  
Method of  
proceeding.*

BUT after They had adjusted all Things as well as They could, They published their Orders in what Method They meant to proceed, and appointed the *Irish* to put in their Claims by such a Day, and to attend the Prosecution of them accordingly. And They had no sooner entered upon their Work, but the *English* thought They had began it soon enough. For They heard every Day many of the *Irish*, who had been known to have been the most forward in the first Beginning of the Rebellion, and the most malicious in the carrying it on, declared innocent; and Deeds of Settlement and Entails which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reasonably be believed) before the former Commissioners, if They had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid; by which the *Irish* were immediately put into the Possession of a very great Quantity of Land taken from the *English*: So that in a short Time the Commissioners had rendered themselves as generally odious as the *Irish*, and were looked upon as Persons corrupted for that Interest, which had every Day Success almost in whatsoever They pretended. And their (122) Determinations happened to have the more of Prejudice upon them, because the Commissioners were always divided in their Judgments. And it is no Wonder, that They who seemed most to adhere to the *English* Interest were most esteemed by them.

THE Parliament in *Ireland* was then sitting: And the House of Commons, consisting of many Members who were either Soldiers or *Adventurers*, or had the like Interest, was very much offended at the Proceedings of the Commissioners, made many Votes against them, and threatened them with their Authority and Jurisdiction. But the Commissioners, who knew their own Power, and that there was no Appeal against their Judgments, proceeded still in their own Method, and continued to receive the Claims of the *Irish*, beyond the Time that the Act of Parliament or the Act of State limited to them, as was generally understood. And during the last eight or ten Days Sitting upon those Claims, They passed more Judgments and Determinations than in near a Year before, indeed with very wonderful Expedition; when the *English* who were dispossessed by those Judgments had not their

Witnesses

Witnesses ready, upon a Presumption, that in Point of Time it was not possible for those Causes to come to be heard. By these Sentences and Decrees, many hundred Thousands of Acres were adjudged to the *Irish*, which had been looked upon as unquestionably forfeited, and of which the *English* had been long in Possession accordingly.

*Their Decrees  
much in Fa-  
vour of the  
Irish.*

THIS raised so great a Clamour, that the *English* refused to yield Possession upon the Decrees of the Commissioners, who, by an Omission in the Act of Parliament, were not qualified with Power enough to provide for the Execution of their own Sentences. The Courts of Law established in that Kingdom would not, nor indeed could, give any Assistance to the Commissioners. And the Lord Lieutenant and Council, who had in the Beginning, by their Authority, put many into the Possession of the Lands which had been decreed to them by the Commissioners, were now more tender and reserved in that Multitude of Decrees that had lately passed: So that the *Irish* were using their utmost Endeavours, by Force to recover the Possession of those Lands which the Commissioners had decreed to them; whilst the *English* were likewise resolved by Force to defend what They had been so long possessed of, notwithstanding the Commissioners Determination. And the Commissioners were so far troubled and dissatisfied with these Proceedings, and with some intricate Clauses in the Act of Parliament concerning the future Proceedings; that, though They had not yet made any Entrance upon the Decision of the Claims of the *English* or of the *Irish Protestants*, They declared "that They "would proceed no farther in the Execution of their "Commission, until They could receive his Majesty's farther Pleasure." And that They might the more effectually receive it, They desired Leave from the King that They might attend his Royal Person; and there being at the same Time several Complaints made against them to his Majesty, and Appeals to him from their Decrees, He gave the Commissioners Leave to return. And at the same Time all the other Interests sent their Deputies to solicit their Rights; in the Prosecution whereof, after much Time spent, the King thought fit likewise to receive the Advice and Assistance of his Lieutenant: And so the Duke of *Ormond* returned again to the Court. And the Settlement of *Ireland* was the third Time brought be-



*The different  
Parties heard  
a third Time  
by the King.*

fore the King and Council; there being then likewise transmitted a third Bill, as additional and supplemental to the other two, and to reverse many of the Decrees made by the Commissioners, They bearing the Reproach of all that had been done or had succeeded amiss, and (122) from all Persons who were grieved in what Kind soever.

THE King was very tender of the Reputation of his Commissioners, who had been always esteemed Men of great Probity and unquestionable Reputation: And though He could not refuse to receive Complaints, yet He gave those who complained no farther Countenance, than to give the others Opportunity to vindicate themselves. Nor did there appear the least Evidence to question the Sincerity of their Proceeding, or to make them liable to any reasonable Suspicion of Corruption: And the Complaints were still prosecuted by those, who had that taken from them which They desired to keep for themselves.

*The Author's  
Reflections on  
the Proceed-  
ings of the  
Commissioners.*

THE Truth is; there is Reason enough to believe, that upon the first Arrival of the Commissioners in *Ireland*, and some Conversation They had, and the Observation They made of the great Bitterness and Animosities from the *Engish*, both Soldiers and *Adventurers*, towards the whole *Irish* Nation of what Kind soever; the scandalous Proceeding of the late Commissioners upon the first Act, when They had not been guided by any Rules of Justice, but rejected all Evidence, which might operate to the taking away any Thing from them which They resolved to keep, the Judges themselves being both Parties and Witnesses in all the Causes brought before them; together with the very ill Reputation very many of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had for extraordinary Malice to the Crown, and to the Royal Family; and the notable Barbarity They had exercised towards the *Irish*, who without Doubt for many Years had undergone the most cruel Oppressions of all Kinds that can be imagined, many Thousands of them having been forced, without being covered under any House, to perish in the open Fields for Hunger; the infamous Purchases which had been made by many Persons, who had compelled the *Irish* to sell their Remainders and lawful Pretences for very inconsiderable Sums of Money: I say, these and many other Particulars of this Kind, together with some Attempt that had been made upon their first Arrival, to corrupt them against all Pretences

Pretences which should be made by the *Irish*, might probably dispose the Commissioners themselves to such a Prejudice against many of the *English*, and to such a Compassion towards the *Irish*, that They might be much inclined to favour their Pretences and Claims; and to believe that the Peace of the Kingdom and his Majesty's Government might be better provided for, by their being settled in the Lands of which They had been formerly possessed, than by supporting the ill gotten Titles of those, who had manifested all imaginable Infidelity and Malice against his Majesty whilst They had any Power to oppose him, and had not given any Testimony of their Conversion, or of their Resolution to yield him for the future a perfect and entire Obedience after They could oppose him no longer; as if They desired only to retain those Lands which They had gotten by Rebellion, together with the Principles by which They had gotten them, until They should have an Opportunity to justify Both by some new Power, or a Concurrence amongst themselves. Whencesoever it proceeded, it was plain enough the *Irish* had received more Favour than was expected or imagined.

AND in the very Entrance into the Work, to avoid the Partiality which was too apparent in the *English* towards each other, and their Animosity against the *Irish* as evident, very strict Rules had been set down by the Commissioners, what Kind of Evidence They would admit to be good, and receive accordingly. And it was provided, "that the Evidence of no Soldier or *Adventurer* should be (123) "received in any Case, to which himself was never so much "a Stranger;" as, if his own Lot had fallen in *Munster*, and He had no Pretence to any Thing out of that Province, his Evidence should not be received, as to any Thing that He had seen done in *Leinster* or *Conaught* or *Ulster*, wherein He was not at all concerned: Which was generally thought to be a very unjust Rule, after so many Years expired, and so many Persons dead, who had likewise been present at those Actions. And by this Means many Men were declared not to have been in Rebellion, when there might have been full Evidence, that They had been present in such and such a Battle, and in such and such a Siege, if the Witnesses might have been received who were then present at those Actions, and ready to give Testimony of it, and of such Circumstances as could not

have been feigned, if their Evidence might have been received.

*Too many of  
the Irish Re-  
bels restored to  
their Estates.*

THAT which raised the greatest Umbrage against the Commissioners was, that a great Number of the most infamous Persons of the *Irish* Nation, who were looked upon by those of their own Country with the greatest Detestation, as Men who had been the most violent Fomenters and Prosecutors of the Rebellion, and the greatest Opposers of all moderate Counsels, and of all Expedients which might have contributed towards a Peace in the late King's Time (whereby the Nation might have been redeemed), and who had not had the Confidence so much as to offer any Claim before the late Commissioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and so restored to their Estates: And that many other, who in Truth had never been in Rebellion, but notoriously served the King against the Rebels both in *England* and *Ireland*, and had never been put out of their Estates, now upon some slight Evidence, by the Interception of Letters, or Confession of Messengers that They had had Correspondence with the Rebels (though it was evident that even that Correspondence had been perfunctory, and only to secure them that They might pursue his Majesty's Service), were condemned, and had their Estates taken from them, by the Judgment of the Commissioners.

*Many who  
had served the  
King very  
hardly treated.*

*An Instance of  
this in the Case  
of the Earl of  
Tyrconnell.*

AND of this I cannot forbear to give an Instance, and the rather, that it may appear how much a personal Prejudice, upon what Account soever, weighs and prevails against Justice itself, even with Men who are not in their Natures Friends to Injustice. It was the Case of the Earl of *Tyrconnell*, and it was this. He was the younger Son of the Lord *Fitzwilliams* a Catholick Lord in *Ireland*, but of ancient *English* Extraction, of a fair Estate, and never suspected to be inclined to the Rebels; as very few of the *English* were. *Oliver Fitzwilliams* (who was the Person We are now speaking of, and the younger Son of that Lord *Fitzwilliams*) had been sent by his Father into *France*, to be there educated, many Years before the Rebellion. He was a proper and a handsome Man, and by his Courage had gotten a very good Reputation in the *French* Army; where, after He had spent some Years in the *Campaigna*, He obtained the Command of a Regiment in which He had been first a Captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent Officer.

WHEN

WHEN the Army was sent into Winter-Quarters, He went to *Paris* to kiss the Hands of the Queen of *England*, who was come thither the Summer before, it being in the Year 1644. Having often waited upon her Majesty, He made many Professions of Duty and Obedience to the King, and much condemned the Rebellion of the *Irish*, and said, "He knew many of them were cozened and "deceived by Tales and Lies, and had no Purpose to "withdraw themselves from his Majesty's Obedience." He made Offer of his Service to the Queen, "and that, if (124) "She thought He might be able to do the King any Service, He would immediately go into *England*, and with "his Majesty's Approbation into *Ireland*, where if He "could do no other Service, He was confident He could "draw off many of the *Irish* from the Service of the Rebels." The Queen, upon the good Reputation He had there, accepted his Offer, and writ a Letter by him to the King, with a very good Character of his Person, and as very fit to be trusted in *Ireland*.

It was his Fortune to come to the King very few Days before the Battle of *Naseby*, where as a Volunteer in the Troop of Prince *Rupert*, He behaved himself with very signal Courage in the View of the King himself; who shortly after gave him a Letter full of Recommendation and Testimony to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who received him kindly, and having conferred with him at large, and understood all He intended to do, gave him Leave to go into the *Irish* Quarters and to return again, as He thought fit. And in a short Time after, both his Father and his elder Brother died; whereby both the Title and the Estate devolved to him, and He was possessed accordingly.

THE Man was before and in his Nature elate and proud enough, had a greater Value of himself than other Men had, and a less of other Men than They deserved, whereby He got not himself beloved by many; but Nobody who loved him worst ever suspected him to incline to the Rebels, though They knew that He was often in their Quarters, and had often Conferences with them: And a good Part of his Estate lay in their Quarters. He attended upon the Lord Lieutenant in all his Expeditions: And when the *Irish* so infamously broke the first Peace, and besieged the Lieutenant in *Dublin* (upon which He was compelled to deliver it into the Hands of the Parliament

with the King's Consent), the Lord *Fitzwilliams* returned with him or about the same Time into *England*, and from thence again into *France*; where He married the Daughter of the Widow Countess of *Clare*, and Sister to that Earl, a Lady of a Religion the most opposite to the Roman Catholick, which He suffered her to enjoy without any Contradiction. When the War was at an End in *England*, and the King a Prisoner, He with his Wife and Family transported himself into *England*, and after some Time into *Ireland*; where *Cromwell* had a jealous Eye upon him, but not being able to discover any Thing against him, could not hinder him from possessing the Estate that had descended to him from his Father and his elder Brother. And the War being there ended, and the Settlement made by the Act of Parliament upon the Statute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the least Trouble given to him; but He quietly enjoyed the Possession of his whole Estate till the King's Return, when He came into *England* to kiss his Majesty's Hand, and was by him made Earl of *Tyrconnell*.

WHEN the Commissioners sate upon the first Act, who observed no Rules of Justice, Law or Equity, when they contradicted any Interest or Appetite of their own, He received no Disturbance; but when these new Commissioners came over, all Men, as well *Protestants* as others, whose Estates had never been questioned, thought it safest for them to put in their Claims before the Commissioners, to prevent any Trouble that might arise hereafter. This Gentleman followed that Advice and Example, put in his Claim, and pressed the Commissioners for a short Day to be heard. The Day was appointed. Neither *Adventurer*, Soldier, or any other Person, made any Title to the Land: But some envious Person, unqualified for any Prosecution, offered a Letter to the Commissioners which had many Years before, and before his Coming into *Ireland*,<sup>(125)</sup> been written by Colonel *Fitzwilliams* in *Paris* to a *Jesuit*, one *Hartogan*, then in *Ireland*; in which He gave him Notice "of his Purpose of coming into *Ireland*, where "He hoped to do their Friends some Service."

THIS Letter was writ when the Queen first designed to send him to the King, that the *Irish*, who were the most jealous People in the World, might know of his Purpose to come thither, before They should hear of his being in *Dublin*; and now being produced before the Commissioners,

sioners, without considering how long since it was writ or the Reason of writing it, that He had served the King, and never in the least Degree against him, upon one of their Rules, "that a Correspondence with the Rebels was "a good Evidence," They without any Pause declared him nocent, and presently assigned his Estate to some Persons to whom Reprisals were to be made: Whilst They who thought the Judgment very unjust, laughed at the ill Luck of a Man whom They did not love; and all Men were well enough pleased with the Sentence, who were displeased with the Person. And this Party pursued him so severely into *England*, that the King's Interposition to redeem him from so unjust a Decree, was looked upon as overfavoursing the *Irish*; when none were so glad of the Decree as the *Irish*, who universally hated him. Nor was He at last restored to the Possession of his Estate, without making some Composition with those to whom the Commissioners had assigned it.

MANY, who had formerly made their Claims without insisting upon any Deeds of Settlement or other Conveyances in Law, now produced former Settlements in Consideration of Marriage, or other like good Considerations in Law, made before the Beginning of the Rebellion: Which being now proved by Witnesses enough, Decrees were every Day obtained for the Restitution of great Quantities of Land upon those Deeds and Conveyances; though the Forgeries of those Deeds and Perjury of those Witnesses were very notorious. And some Instances were given of the Manifestation and direct Proof that was made of the Forgery of Deeds, upon which Decrees had been made, to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners themselves, within a very short Time after the pronouncing those Decrees: And yet no Reparation was given, but the Decrees proceeded and were executed with all Rigour, as if no such Thing had appeared.

THE Commissioners answered, "that They had made "no Decrees but according to their Consciences, and such "as They were obliged to make by the Course and Rule "of Justice. That They did doubt and in Truth believe, "that there had been evil Practices used both in the forging of Deeds and corrupting of Witnesses, and that the "same was equally practised by the *English* as the *Irish*: "And therefore that They had been obliged to make "that Order, which had been so much excepted against,

*Many Decrees made upon Settlements notoriously forged.*

*The Commissioners Defence.*

"not

“not to admit the Testimony of any English Adventurer or Soldier in the Case of another Adventurer or Soldier; for that it was very notorious, They looked upon the Whole as one joint Interest, and so gratified each other in their Testimonies.” And of this They gave many sad Instances, by which it was too evident that the Perjuries were mutual, and too much practised by the one and the other Side.

“THAT They had used all the Providence and Vigilance They could, by the careful Examination of Witnesses (which were produced apart, and never in the Presence of each other), and by asking them all such material Questions as occurred to their Understandings, and which They could not expect to be asked, to discover the Truth, and to prevent and manifest all Perjuries. That They had likewise used their utmost Diligence and Care, to prevent their being imposed upon with false and forged Deeds and Conveyances, by taking a precise and strict View themselves of all Deeds produced; and interrogated the Witnesses with all the Cunning They could, upon the Matter and Consideration upon which such Deeds had been entered into, and upon the Manner and Circumstances in the Execution thereof: Which was all the Providence They could use. And though They met with many Reasons oftentimes to doubt the Integrity of the Proceedings, and in their own private Consciences to apprehend there might be great Corruption; yet that They were obliged judicially to determine according to the Testimony of the Witnesses, and the Evidence of those Deeds in Law against which no Proofs were made. That They had constantly heard all that the adverse Party had thought fit to object, both against the Credit of any Witnesses, and the Truth and Validity of any Conveyances which were produced; upon which They had rejected many Witnesses, and disallowed some Conveyances: But when the Objections were only founded upon Presumptions and Probabilities, as most usually they were, they could not weigh down the full and categorical Evidence that was given.”

“THAT if They had yielded to the Importunities of the Persons concerned, who often pressed to have farther Time given to them to prove such a Perjury, or to disprove such a Conveyance; it must have made their

“Work

" Work endless, and stopped all Manner of Proceedings,  
 " for which it appeared They were streightened too much  
 " in Time: And that indeed would have but opened the  
 " Door wider for Perjuries and other Corruptions; since  
 " it was very plain to them, that either Side could bring  
 " as many Witnesses as They pleased, to prove what They  
 " pleased, and that They would bring as many as They  
 " believed necessary to the Work in Hand. And there-  
 " fore the Commissioners having before prescribed a Me-  
 " thod and Rule to themselves for their Proceedings, and  
 " that no Man could have a Cause, in which He was con-  
 " cerned, brought to Hearing without his knowing when  
 " it was to be heard, and so it was to be presumed, that  
 " He was well provided to support his own Title; They  
 " had thought fit, upon mature Deliberation amongst  
 " themselves, to adhere to the Order They had prescribed  
 " to themselves and others, and to conclude, that They  
 " would not be able to prove that another Day, which  
 " They were not able to prove at the Time when They  
 " ought to have been ready."

" For the Discovery of any Forgery after the Decrees  
 " had been passed, and upon which They had given no  
 " Reparation," They confessed, " that some few such Dis-  
 " coveries had been made to them, by which the Forgery  
 " appeared very clearly: But as They had no Power by  
 " the Act of Parliament to punish either Forgery or Per-  
 " jury, but must leave the Examination and Punishment  
 " thereof to the Law and to the Judges of the Law; so,  
 " that They had only Authority to make Decrees upon  
 " such Grounds as satisfied their Consciences, but had not  
 " any Authority to reverse those Decrees, after they were  
 " once made and published, upon any Evidence whatso-  
 " ever." They concluded with their humble Desire to  
 " the King, " that the most strict Examinations might be  
 " made of their Corruptions, in which," They said,  
 " They were sure to be found very innocent, against all  
 " the Malice that was discovered against them: That  
 " They had proceeded in all Things according to the In-  
 " tegrity of their Hearts, and the best of their Under-  
 " standing; and if through the Defect of that They had  
 " (127) " erred in any Part of their Determinations and Judg-  
 " ments, They hoped their Want of Wisdom should not  
 " be imputed to them as a Crime."

MANY,



*Their Defence  
not perfectly  
satisfactory.*

MANY, who had a very good Opinion of the Persons and Abilities of the Commissioners, were not yet satisfied with their Defence; nor did They believe, that They were so strictly bound to judge upon the Testimony of suspected Witnesses; but that They were therefore trusted with an arbitrary Power, because it was foreseen that Juries were not like to be entire: So that They were, upon weighing all Circumstances, to declare what in their Consciences They believed to be true and just. That if They had bound themselves up by too strict and unreasonable Rules, They should rather in Time have reformed those Rules, than think to support what was done amiss, by the Observation of what They had prescribed to themselves. And it was believed, that the entire Exclusion of the *English* from being Witnesses for the proving of what could not in Nature be otherwise proved, was not just or reasonable. That their Want of Power to reverse or alter their own Decrees, upon any emergent Reasons which could afterwards occur, was a just Ground for their more serious Deliberation in and before They passed any such Decrees. And their Excuse for not granting longer Time when it was pressed for, was founded upon Reasons which were visibly not to be justified; it not being possible for any Man to defend himself against the Claims of the *Irish*, without knowing what Deeds or Witnesses They could produce for making good their Suggestions; and therefore it was as impossible for them to have all their Evidence upon the Place. Besides that it was very evident, that in the last ten Days of their Sitting (which was likewise thought to be when their Power as to those Particulars was determined, and in which They had made more Decrees than in all the Time before), They had made so many in a Day, contrary to their former Rule and Method, that Men were plainly surpris'd, and could not produce those Proofs which in a short Time They might have been supplied with; and the refusing to allow them that Time, was upon the Matter to determine their Interest, and to take away their Estates without being once heard, and upon the bare Allegations of their Adversaries. And in these last Decrees many Instances were given of that Nature, wherein the Evidence appeared to be very full, if Time had been given to produce it.

*A Decree in  
Favour of the  
Marquis of  
Antrim uni-  
versally com-  
plained of.*

THERE was one very notable Case decreed by the Commissioners extremely complained of, and cried out against

against by all Parties, as well *Irish* as *English*; and for which the Commissioners themselves made no other Excuse or Defence, but the Receipt of a Letter from the King, which was not thought a good Plea for sworn Judges, as the Commissioners were. It was the Case of the Marquis of *Antrim*. Which Case having been so much upon the Stage, and so much enlarged upon to the Reproach of the King, and even to the traducing of the Memory of his blessed Father; and those Men who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiss, having done all They could to wound the Reputation of the Chancellor, and to get it to be believed, "that He "had by some sinister Information misled the King to "oblige the Marquis:" It is a Debt due to Truth, and to the Honour of Both their Majesties, to set down a very particular Narration of that whole Affair; by which it will appear, how far the King was from so much as wishing that any Thing should be done for the Benefit of the Marquis, which should be contrary to the Rules of Justice.

WHILST his Majesty was in foreign Parts, He received frequent Advertisements from *England* and from *Ireland*, "that the Marquis of *Antrim* behaved himself very undu-  
 (128) "tfully towards him; and that He had made himself very "grateful to the Rebels, by calumniating the late King: "And that He had given it under his Hand to *Iretax*, or "some other principal Person employed under *Cromwell*, "that his late Majesty had sent him into *Ireland* to join with "the Rebels, and that his Majesty was not offended with the "Irish for entering into that Rebellion:" Which was a Calumny so false and so odious, and reflected so much upon the Honour of his Majesty, that the King was resolved, as soon as God should put it into his Power, to cause the strictest Examination to be made concerning it; the Report having gained much Credit with his Majesty, by the Notoriety that the Marquis had procured great Recommendations from those who governed in *Ireland*, to those who governed in *England*; and that upon the Presumption of that He had come into *England*, and as far as *St. Albans* towards *London*, from whence He had been forced suddenly to return into *Ireland* by the Activity of his many Creditors, who upon the News of his Coming had provided for his Reception, and would unavoidably have cast him into Prison. And no Recommendation could have

*A very particular Relation of the Marquis of Antrim's Case.*

have inclined those who were in Authority, to do any Thing extraordinary for the Protection of a Person, who from the Beginning of the *Irish* Rebellion lay under so ill a Character with them, and had so ill a Name throughout the Kingdom.

THE King had been very few Days in *London*, after his Arrival from the Parts beyond the Seas, when He was informed that the Marquis of *Antrim* was upon his Way from *Ireland* towards the Court: And the Commissioners from *Ireland*, who have been mentioned before, were the first who gave his Majesty that Information, and at the same Time told him all that his Majesty had heard before concerning the Marquis, and of the bold Calumnies with which He had traduced his Royal Father, with many other Particulars; "all which," They affirmed, "would be proved by unquestionable Evidence, and by Letters and Certificates under his own Hand." Upon this full Information (of the Truth whereof his Majesty entertained no Doubt), as soon as the Marquis came to the Town, He was by the King's special Order committed to the *Tower*; nor could any Petition from him, or Intreaty of his Friends, of which He had some very powerful, prevail with his Majesty to admit him into his Presence. But by the first Opportunity He was sent Prisoner to *Dublin*, where He was committed to the *Castle*; the King having given Direction, that He should be proceeded against with all Strictness according to Law: And to that Purpose, the Lords Justices were required to give all Orders and Directions necessary. The Marquis still professed and avowed his Innocence, and used all the Means He could to procure that He might be speedily brought to his Trial; which the King likewise expected. But after a Year's Detention in Prison, and Nothing brought against him, He was set at Liberty, and had a Pass given him from the Council there to go into *England*. He then applied himself to his Majesty, demanding Nothing of Favour, but said, "He expected Justice; and that after so many Years being deprived of his Estate, He might at last be restored to it, if Nothing could be objected against him wherein He had diserved his Majesty."

HE was a Gentleman who had been bred up in the Court of *England*, and having married the Dutchess of *Buckingham* (though against the King's Will) He had been

been afterwards very well received by Both their Majesties, and was frequently in their Presence. He had spent a very vast Estate in the Court, without having ever received the least Benefit from it. He had retired into *Ireland*, and lived upon his own Estate in that Country, some Years before the Rebellion brake out; in the Beginning (129) whereof He had undergone some Suspicion, having held some Correspondence with the Rebels, and possibly made some Undertakings to them: But He went speedily to *Dublin*, was well received by the Justices there, and from thence transported himself with their License to *Oxford*, where the King was; to whom He gave so good an Account of all that had passed, that his Majesty made no Doubt of his Affection to his Service, though He had very little Confidence in his Judgment and Understanding, which were never remarkable. Besides that it was well known, that He had a very unreasonable Envy towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, and would fain have it believed that his Interest in *Ireland* was so great, that He could reclaim that whole Nation to his Majesty's Obedience; but that Vanity and Presumption never gained the least Credit with his Majesty: Yet it may reasonably be believed that He thought so himself, and that it was the Source from which all the bitter Waters of his own Misfortune issued.

UPON the Scots second Enttring into *England* with their Army upon the Obligation of the *Covenant*, and all his Majesty's Endeavours to prevent it being disappointed, the Marquis of *Mountrose* had proposed to the King, "to make a Journey privately into *Scotland*, and to get into the *Highlands*, where, with his Majesty's Authority, He hoped He should be able to draw together such a Body of Men, as might give his Countrymen Cause to call for their own Army out of *England*, to secure themselves." And with this Overture or upon Debate thereof, He wished "that the Earl of *Antrim*" (for He was then no more) "might be likewise sent into *Ulster*, where his Interest lay, and from whence He would be able to transport a Body of Men into the *Highlands*, where He had likewise the Clan of *Macdonnells*, who acknowledged him to be their Chief, and would be consequently at his Devotion; by which Means, the Marquis of *Mountrose* would be enabled the more powerfully to proceed in his Undertaking."

The

The Earl of *Antrim* entered upon this Undertaking with great Alacrity, and undertook to the King to perform great Matters in *Scotland*; to which his own Interest and Animosity enough disposed him, having an old and a sharp Controversy and Contestation with the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had dispossessed him of a large Territory there. All Things being adjusted for this Undertaking, and his Majesty being well pleased with the Earl's Alacrity, He created him at that Time a Marquis, gave him Letters to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant there, as well to satisfy him of the good Opinion He had of the Marquis of *Antrim*, and of the Trust He had reposed in him, as to wish him to give him all the Assistance He could with Convenience, for the carrying on the Expedition for *Scotland*.

AND for the better preventing of any Inconvenience that might fall out by the Rashness and Inadvertency of the Marquis of *Antrim* towards the Lord Lieutenant, his Majesty sent *Daniel O'Neill* of his Bedchamber into *Ireland* with him, who had great Power over him, and very much Credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and was a Man of that Dexterity and Address, that no Man could so well prevent the Inconveniences and Prejudice, which the natural Levity and Indiscretion of the other might tempt him to, or more dispose and incline the Lord Lieutenant to take little Notice of those Vanities and Indiscretions. And the King, who had no Desire that the Marquis should stay long in *Dublin*, upon his Promise that He would use all possible Expedition in transporting himself into *Scotland*, gave him Leave to hold that Correspondence with the *Irish* Rebels (who had the Command of all the Northern Parts, and without whose Connivance at least, He could very hardly be able to make his Levies and transport his Men) as was necessary to his Pur-<sup>(130)</sup>poses: Within the Limits of which, it is probable enough that He did not contain himself; for the Education and Conversation He had in the World, had not extirpated that natural Craft in which that Nation excels, and by which They only deceive themselves; and might say many Things, which He had not Authority or Warrant to say.

UPON his Coming to *Dublin*, the Lord Lieutenant gave him all the Countenance He could wish, and assisted him in all the Ways He could propose, to prosecute

cute his Design; but the Men were to be raised in or near the Rebels Quarters. And it cannot be denied, but that the Levies He made, and sent over into *Scotland* under the Command of *Calkito*, were the Foundation of all those wonderful Acts, which were performed afterwards by the Marquis of *Mountrose* (They were fifteen hundred Men, very good, and with very good Officers, all so hardy, that neither the ill Fare nor the ill Lodging in the *Higblands* gave them any Discouragement), and gave the first Opportunity to the Marquis of *Mountrose* of being in the Head of an Army; under which He drew together such of the *Higblanders* and others of his Friends, who were willing to repair to him. But upon any military Action, and Defeat given to the Enemy, which happened as often as They encountered the *Scots*, the *Higblanders* went always home with their Booty, and the *Irish* only stayed together with their General. And from this Beginning the Marquis of *Mountrose* grew to that Power, that after many Battles won by him with notable Slaughter of the Enemy, He marched victoriously with his Army till He made himself Master of *Edinburgh*, and redeemed out of the Prison there the Earl of *Crawford*, Lord *Ogilby*, and many other noble Persons, who had been taken and sent thither, with Resolution that They should all lose their Heads. And the Marquis of *Mountrose* did always acknowledge, that the Rise and Beginning of his good Success was due and to be imputed to that Body of *Irish*, which had in the Beginning been sent over by the Marquis of *Antrim*; to whom the King had acknowledged the Service by several Letters, all of his own Handwriting; in which were very gracious Expressions of the Sense his Majesty had of his great Services, and his Resolution to reward him.

It is true, that the Marquis of *Antrim* had not gone over himself with his Men; as He had promised to do, but stayed in *Ulster* under Pretence of raising a greater Body of Men, with which He would adventure his own Person; but either out of Jealousy or Displeasure against the Marquis of *Mountrose*, or having in Truth no Mind to that Service of *Scotland*, He prosecuted not that Purpose, but remained still in *Ulster*, where all his own Estate lay, and so was in the Rebels Quarters, and no Doubt was often in their Councils; by which He gave great Advantages against himself, and might in Strictness of

of Law have been as severely punished by the King, as the worst of the Rebels. At last, in his moving from Place to Place (for He was not in any Expedition with the Rebels) He was taken Prisoner by the *Scots*, who intended to have put him to Death for having sent Men into *Scotland*; but He made his Escape out of their Hands, and transported himself into *Flanders*, and from thence, having Assurance that the Prince (his Majesty that now is) was then in the *West*, He came with two good Frigats into the Port of *Falmouth*, and offered his Service to his Royal Highness; and having in his Frigats a Quantity of Arms and some Ammunition, which He had procured in *Flanders* for the Service of *Ireland*, most of the Arms and Ammunition were employed, with his Consent, for the Supply of the Troops and Garrisons in *Cornwall*: And the Prince made Use of one of the Frigats to transport his Person to *Scilly*, and from thence to *Jersey*; without which Convenience, his Highness had<sup>(132)</sup> been exposed to great Difficulties, and could hardly have escaped the Hands of his Enemies. After all which, when *Dublin* was given up to the Parliament, and the King's Authority was withdrawn out of that Kingdom, He again (not having wherewithal to live any where else) transported himself into *Ireland*, made himself gracious with the *Irish*, and was by them sent into *France*, to desire the Queen Mother and the Prince of *Wales* "to send the Marquis of *Ormond* to reassume his Majesty's Government in that Kingdom;" which was done accordingly, in the Manner that is mentioned elsewhere.

THE Marquis of *Antrim* alleged all these Particulars, and produced many original Letters from the late King (besides those which are mentioned), the Queen Mother, and the Prince, in all which his Services had been acknowledged, and many Promises made to him; and concluded with a full Protestation, "that He desired no Pardon for any Thing that He had ever done against the King; and if there were the least Proof that He had failed in his Fidelity to him, or had not according to the best of his Understanding advanced his Service, He looked for no Favour. But if his being in the *Irish* Quarters and consulting with them, without which He could not have made his Levies for *Scotland*, nor transported them if He had levied them, and if his living amongst them afterwards, when his Majesty's Authority

“rity was drawn from thence, and when He could live  
 “no where else, do by the strict Letter of the Law ex-  
 “pose him to Ruin without his Majesty’s Grace and Fa-  
 “vour, He did hope his Majesty would redeem him from  
 “that Misery, and that the Forfeiture of his Estate should  
 “not be taken, as if He were a Traitor and a Rebel to  
 “the King.” And it appeared that if He were restored  
 to all He could pretend to, or of which He had ever been  
 possessed, his Debts were so great, and his Creditors had  
 those legal Incumbrances upon his Estate, that his Con-  
 dition at best would not be liable to much Envy.

THOUGH the King had been never taken Notice of to  
 have any great Inclinations to the Marquis, who was very  
 little known to him; yet this Representation and clear  
 View of what He had done and what He had suffered,  
 raised great Compassion towards him in the Royal Breast  
 of his Majesty. And He thought it would in some De-  
 gree reflect upon his own Honour and Justice, and upon  
 the Memory of his blessed Father, if in a Time when He  
 passed by so many Transgressions very heinous, He should  
 leave the Marquis exposed to the Fury of his Enemies  
 (who were only his Enemies because They were possessed  
 of his Estate, and because He desired to have his own  
 from them) for no other Crime upon the Matter,  
 than for not having that Prudence and that Providence  
 in his Endeavours to serve the King, as He ought to  
 have had; that is, He ought to have been wiser. And  
 the Rigour exercised towards him upon his first Arrival,  
 in sending him to the *Tower* and afterwards into *Ireland*,  
 by those who enough wished his Destruction, and that  
 They had not been able to make the least Proof against  
 him, improved his Majesty’s good Disposition towards  
 him. Yet He refused positively to write a Letter to the  
 Commissioners on his Behalf; which the Marquis most  
 importunately desired, as the only Thing that could do  
 him Good. But his Majesty directed a Letter to be pre-  
 pared to the Lord Lieutenant, in which all his Allega-  
 tions and Suggestions should be set down, and the Truth  
 thereof examined by him; and that if He should be found  
 to have committed no greater Faults against the King,  
 than those which He confessed, then that Letter should  
 be sent to the Commissioners, that They might see Both  
 (132) their Majesties Testimonies in such Particulars as were  
 known to themselves. And this Letter was very warily  
 D d drawn,



drawn, and being approved by his Majesty, was sent accordingly to the Lord Lieutenant. And shortly after a Copy of it signed by the King (who conceived it only to be a Duplicate, lest the other should miscarry) was, contrary to his Majesty's Resolution, and contrary to the Advice of the Chancellor and without his Knowledge, likewise sent to the Commissioners; who had thereupon made such a Decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that "They had made it only upon that Ground;" which gave his Majesty some Trouble, and obliged him to insert a Clause in the next Bill concerning that Affair.

AND this was the whole Proceeding that related to the Marquis of *Antrim*: And it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more Favour shewed towards him by his Majesty, than He might in Truth very reasonably pretend to, what Noise soever was raised, and what Glosses soever made; which proceeded only from the general Dislike of the Man, who had much more Weakness than Wickedness in him, and was an Object rather of Pity than of Malice or Envy.

*The Difficulties of a Settlement increased.*

WHEN his Majesty entered upon the Debate of the third Bill, which was transmitted to him for a Supplement and Addition to the other two, He quickly found the Settlement proposed, and which was the End of the three Bills, was now grown more difficult than ever. All the Measures, which had formerly been taken from the great Proportion of Land which would remain to be disposed of, were no more to be relied upon, but appeared to have been a wrong Foundation from the Beginning; which was now made more desperate, by the vast Proportions which had been assigned to the *Irisb* by the Commissioners Decrees: And somewhat had intervened by some Acts of Bounty from his Majesty, which had not been carefully enough watched and represented to him.

*By some improvident Acts of Bounty in the King.*

THE King had, upon passing the former Bills, and upon discerning how much the *Irisb* were like to suffer, resolved to retain, all that should by Forfeiture or otherwise come to his Majesty, in his own Power; to the End, that when the Settlement should be made, He might be able to gratify those of the *Irisb* Nation, who had any Thing of Merit towards him, or had been least faulty. And if He had observed that Resolution, very much of the Trouble He underwent afterwards had been prevented;

ed: For He would then, besides that which *Cromwell* had reserved to himself (which was a vast Tract of Ground), have had all those Forfeitures which the Regicides had been possessed of, and other criminal Persons; which amounted to a huge Quantity of the best Land. And though the King had before designed all those forfeited Lands to his Brother the Duke, yet his Highness was so pleased with the Resolution his Majesty had taken, to retain them to that Purpose, that He forbore to prosecute that Grant, till He heard of great Quantities of Land every Day granted away by his Majesty to his Servants and others; whereby He saw the main End would be disappointed. And then He resolved to be no longer a Loser for the Benefit of those, who had no Pretence to what They got; and so proceeded in getting that Grant from the King to himself of those Lands designed to him.

THE King had swerved from that Rule, before it was scarce discerned: And the Error of it may be very justly imputed to the Earl of *Orrery*, and to none but him; who believing that He could never be well enough at Court, except He had Courtiers of all Sorts obliged to him, who would therefore speak well of him in all Places (133) and Companies (and those Arts of his put the King to much Trouble and Loss both in *England* and *Ireland*), He commended to many of such Friends (though He had advised the King to the former Resolution) many Suits of that Kind, and sent Certificates to them, oftentimes under his own Hand, of the Value those Suits might be to them if obtained, and of the little Importance the granting of them would be to his Majesty; which, having been shewed to the King, disposed him to those Concessions, which otherwise He would not so easily have made. Then He directed them a Way (being then one of the Lords Justices) for the more immediate passing those Grants They could obtain, without meeting those Obstructions which They had been subject to; for when any of those Grants had been brought to the Great Seal of *England*, the Chancellor always stopped them, and put his Majesty in Mind of his former Resolution: But this new Way (in itself lawful enough) kept him from knowing any of those Transactions, which were made by Letters from the King to the Lords Justices; and thereupon

*This Imprudence owing to the Earl of Orrery.*

*This done without the Chancellor's Knowledge.*

the Grants were prepared there, and passed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*.

*And with an extraordinary Clause inserted in the Grants.*

THERE was then likewise a new Clause introduced into those Grants, of a very new Nature; for being grounded always upon Letters out of *England*, and passed under the Seal of *Ireland*, the Letters were prepared and formed there, and transmitted hither only for his Majesty's Sign Manual: So that neither the King's learned Council at Law, nor any other his Ministers (the Secretaries only excepted), had any Notice or the Perusal of any of those Grants. The Clause was, "that if any of those Lands" so granted by his Majesty should be otherwise decreed, "his Majesty's Grantee should be reprimed with other "Lands:" So that in many Cases, the greatest Inducement to his Majesty's Bounty being the Incertainty of his own Right, which the Person to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own Charge, the King was now bound to make it good, if his Grant was not valid. And so that which was but a contingent Bounty, which commonly was the sole Argument for the passing it, was now turned into a real and substantial Benefit, as a Debt; which created another Difficulty in the Settlement: Which was yet the more hard, because there were many Claims of the *Irish* themselves yet unheard, all the false Admeasurements to be examined, and many other Uncertainties to be determined by the Commissioners; which left those who were in quiet Possession, as well as those who were out of it, in the highest Insecurity and Apprehension.

THIS Intricacy and even Despair, which possessed all Kind of People, of any Settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be proposed. They found his Majesty very unwilling to consent to the Repeal of the Decrees made by the Commissioners; which must have taken away the Confidence and Assurance of whatsoever was to be done hereafter, by making Men see, that what was settled by one Act of Parliament might immediately be unsettled by another: So that there was no Hope by that Expedient to increase the Number of Acres, which being left might in any Degree comply with the several Pretences. The *Irish* found, that They might only be able to obstruct any Settlement, but should never be able to get such a one as would turn to their own Satisfaction. The Soldiers and *Adventurers* agreed less  
amongst

amongst themselves: And the Clamour was as great against those, who by false Admeasurements had gotten more than They should have, as from those who had received less than was their Due; and They who least feared any new Examination could not yet have any secure Title, before all the rest were settled. In a Word, all Men found that any Settlement would be better than none; (134) and that more Profit would arise from a smaller Proportion of Land quietly possessed and husbanded accordingly, than from a much greater Proportion under a doubtful Title and an Incertainty, which must dishearten any Industry and Improvement.

UPON these Considerations and Motives, They met amongst themselves, and debated together by what Expedient They might draw Light out of this Darkness. There appeared only one Way which administered any reasonable Hope; which was, by increasing the Stock for Reprisals to such a Degree, that all Mens Pretences might in some Measure be provided for: And there was no other Way to arrive to this, but by every Man's parting with somewhat which He thought to be his own. And to this They had one Encouragement, that was of the highest Prevalence with them, which was, that this Way an End would be put to the illimited Jurisdiction of the Commissioners (which was very terrible to all of them), who from henceforth could have little other Power, than to execute what should here be agreed upon.

IN Conclusion, They brought a Proposition to the King, raised and digested between themselves, "that all Persons, who were to receive any Benefit by this Act, should abate and give a fourth Part of what They had, towards the Stock for Reprisals; all which the Commissioners should distribute amongst those *Irish*, who should appear most fit for his Majesty's Bounty." And this Agreement was so unanimous, that though it met with some obstinate Opposition after it was brought before the King, yet the Number of the Opposers was so small in Respect of the others who agreed to it, that They grew weary and ashamed of farther Contention. And thereupon that *Third Act of Settlement*, as supplemental to the other two, was consented to by the King; who, to publish to the World that Nothing stuck with him which seemed to reflect upon the Commissioners, resolved to make no Change: And so though two of them, who

*The different Parties at last agree upon an Expedient for a Settlement.*

*Hereupon the King passes the Third Act of Settlement.*

had Offices here to discharge, prevailed with his Majesty that They might not return again into *Ireland*; the other five were continued, to execute what was more to be done by this Act, and so to perfect the Settlement. And no Doubt it will be here said, that this Expedient might have been sooner found, and so prevented many of those Disorders and Inconveniences which intervened. But They who knew that Time, and the Perverfeness and Obstinacy that possessed all Pretenders, must confess that the Season was never ripe before : Nor could their Consent and Agreement, upon which this Act was founded, ever be obtained before.

THESE were all the Transactions which passed with Reference to *Ireland*, whilst the Chancellor remained at that Board; in which He acted no more than any other of the Lords who were present did: Except when any Difficulties occurred in their private Meetings and Debates, They sometimes resorted to him for Advice, which He was ready to give; being always willing to take any Pains, which might make that very difficult Work more easy to be brought to a good End. But as He never thought He deserved any Reward for so doing, so He never expected the Benefit of one Shilling in Money or in Money's Worth, for any Thing He ever did in that Affair; and was so far from entertaining any Overture to that Purpose, that it is notoriously known to many Persons of Honour, who I presume will be ready to testify the same, that when, upon his Majesty's first Return into *England*, some Propositions were made to him of receiving the Grant of some forfeited Lands, and for the buying other Lands there upon the Desire of the Owners thereof, and at so low a Price that the very Profit of the Land would in a short Time have paid for the Purchase, and other Overtures of immediate Benefit in Money (which others did and lawfully might accept); He rejected all Propositions of that Kind or relating to it, and declared publicly and privately, "that He would neither have Lands in *Ireland* nor the least Benefit from thence, till all Differences and Pretences in that Kingdom should be so fully settled and agreed, that there could be no more Appeal to the King, or repairing to the King's Council for Justice; in which," He said, "He should never be thought so competent an Adviser, if He had any Title of his own in that Kingdom to bias his Inclinations." And He was

was often heard to say, "that He never took a firmer Resolution in any Particular in his Life, than to adhere to that Conclusion." Yet because it was notorious afterwards, that He did receive some Money out of *Ireland*, and had a lawful Title to receive more (with which He was reproached when He could not answer for himself); it may not be amiss in this Place, for his Vindication, to set down particularly how that came to pass, and to mention all the Circumstances which preceded, accompanied or attended, that Affair.

*A Vindication  
of the Chan-  
cellor with  
Regard to the  
Irish Affairs.*

IN the Bills which were first transmitted from *Ireland* after his Majesty's happy Return, there was an Imposition of a certain Sum of Money upon some specified Lands in several Provinces, "which was to be paid to his Majesty within a limited Time, and to be disposed of by his Majesty to such Persons who had served him faithfully, and suffered in so doing," or Words to that Effect; for He often protested that He never saw the Act of Parliament, and was most confident that He never heard of it at the Time when it passed, He being often absent from the Council, by Reason of the Gout or other Accidents, when such Matters were transacted. But two Years after the King's Return or thereabout, He received a Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*, "that there would be in his Hands, and in the Earl of *Anglesey's* and the Lord *Massaren's*" (who it seems were appointed Treasurers to receive the Money to be raised by that Act of Parliament), "a good Sum of Money for him; which He gave him Notice of, to the End that He might give Direction for the Disposal thereof, whether He would have it returned into *England*, or laid out in Land in *Ireland*;" and He wished "that He would speedily send his Direction, because He was confident that the Money would be paid in, at least by the Time that his Letter could arrive there." No Man can be more surprised, than the Chancellor was at the Receipt of this Letter, believing that there was some Mistake in it, and that his Name might have been used in Trust by Somebody who had given him no Notice of it. And without returning any Answer to the Earl of *Orrery*, He writ by that Post to the Lord Lieutenant, to inform him of what the Earl of *Orrery* had writ to him, and desired him to "inform him by his own Enquiry, what the Meaning of it was."

BEFORE He had an Answer from the Lord Lieutenant, or indeed before his Letter could come to the Lord Lieutenant's Hands, He received a second Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*; in which He informed him, "that there was now paid in to his Use, the Sum of twelve thousand six hundred and odd Pounds, and that there would be the like Sum again received for him at the End of six Months;" and sent him a particular Direction, "to what Person and in what Form He was to send his Order for the Payment of the Money." The Chancellor still forbore to answer this Letter, till He had received an Answer to what He had written to the Lord Lieutenant, who then informed him at large, what Title He had to that Money, and how He came to have it: "That shortly after the passing that Act of Parliament, which had given his Majesty the Disposal of the Money before mentioned, the Earl of *Orrery* had come to him, the Lord Lieutenant, and putting him in Mind, how the Chancellor had rejected all Overtures which had been made to him of Benefit out of that Kingdom" (which Refusal, and many others that shew how unsolicitous He had always been in the Ways of getting, is not more known to any Man living than to the Lord Lieutenant), "wished that He would move the King to confer some Part of that Money upon the Chancellor; which the Lord Lieutenant very willingly did, and his Majesty as cheerfully granted: That a Letter was accordingly prepared, and his Majesty's Royal Signature procured by Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who was at the same Time commanded by the King not to let him know of it; to which Purpose there was likewise a Clause in the Letter, whereby it was provided that He should have no Notice of it; which," the Lord Lieutenant said, "was by his Majesty's Direction or with his Approbation, because it was said, that if He had Notice of it, He would be so foolish as to obstruct it himself. And there was a Clause likewise in the said Letter, which directed the Payment of the said Monies to his Heirs, Executors or Assigns, if He should die before the Receipt thereof."

THE Chancellor being so fully advertised of all this by the Lord Lieutenant, and of which till that Time He had not the least Notice or Imagination, He desired Secretary *Nicholas* to give him a Copy of that Letter (which had  
been

been since passed as a Grant to him under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, according to the Form then used); which the Secretary gave him, with a large Account of many gracious Circumstances in the King's granting it, and the Obligation laid upon him of Secrecy, and the great Caution that was used that He might have no Notice of it. After He was informed of all this, He did not think that there was any Thing left for him to do, but to make his humble Acknowledgment to his Majesty for his Royal Bounty, and to take Care for the receiving and transmitting the Money; and doubted not but that He might receive it very honestly. He did therefore wait upon his Majesty with that Duty that became him: And his Majesty was graciously pleased to enlarge his Bounty with those Expressions of Favour, and of the Satisfaction He had vouchsafed to take himself in conferring his Donative, that his Joy was much greater from that Grace, than in the Greatness of the Gift.

At the very same Time, and the very Day that the Chancellor received the Letter from the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Portland* came to him, and informed him of a Difference that was fallen out between the Lord *Lovelace* and Sir *Bulstrode Whitlock*, upon a Defect in the Title to certain Lands purchased heretofore by Sir *Bulstrode Whitlock* from the Lord *Lovelace*, and enjoyed by him ever since; but being by the Necessity of that Time, the Delinquency of *Lovelace* and the Power of *Whitlock*, bought and sold at an Undervalue, and the Time being now more equal, *Lovelace* resolved to have more Money, or not to perform a Covenant He had entered into; the Notperformance whereof would leave the other's Title very defective. The Earl desired to reconcile those two, which could not be done without Sale of the Land: And so He proposed to the Chancellor the buying this Land, which lay next to some Land He had in *Wiltshire*. This Proposition was made upon the very Day, as is said before, that He had received the Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; by which it appeared that there was near as much Money already received for him, as would pay for that Purchase, besides what was more to be received within six Months after. The Land was well known to the Chancellor; so that upon a short Conference with the Parties, They all agreed upon the Purchase; And He was easily prevailed with to undertake the



*The Continuation of the Life of*

the Payment of the greatest Part of the Money upon sealing the Writings, not making the least Doubt, but that He should by that Time receive the Money from *Ireland*; which was the sole Ground and Motive to his making that Purchase.

BUT the next Letters He received from *Ireland* informed him, "that the Necessities of that Kingdom had "been such, that They could only return six thousand "Pounds of that Money; and that They had been compelled to make Use of the rest for the Publick, which "would take Care to repay it to him in a short Time." And so He found himself engaged in a Purchase which He could not retract, upon Presumption of Money which He could not receive. And He did not only never after receive one Penny of what was due upon the second Payment (which He so little suspected could fail, there being an Act of Parliament for the Security, that He assigned it upon the Marriage of his second Son to him, as the best Part of his Portion); but the Remainder of the first Sum, which was so borrowed or taken from him, or any Part of it, was never after paid to him or to his Use: By which, and the Inconveniences and Damages which ensued to him from thence, He might reasonably say that He was a Loser, and involved in a great Debt, by that signal Bounty of his Majesty; and which was afterwards made Matter of Reproach to him, and as an Argument of his Corruption. But this is a very true Account of that Business, and of all the Money that He ever received from *Ireland*, with all the Circumstances thereof; which, in the Judgment of all impartial Men, cannot reflect to the Prejudice of his Integrity and Honour.

AND so We shall no further pursue or again resume any Mention of the Affairs of *Ireland*, though they will afford a large Field of Matter; but shall return to the Beginning of the Parliament, from whence We departed.

*Transactions  
in Parlia-  
ment.*

IT cannot be expressed, hardly imagined, with what Alacrity the Parliament entered upon all particular Affairs which might refer to the King's Honour, Safety or Profit. They pulled up all those Principles of Sedition and Rebellion by the Roots, which in their own Observation had been the Ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous Rebellion in the long Parliament. They declared "that sottish Distinction between the King's Person "and his Office to be Treason; that his Negative Voice "could

*The King's  
Prerogative  
asserted.*

“could not be taken from him, and was so essential to the making a Law, that no Order or Ordinance of either House could be binding to the Subject without it; that the Militia was inseparably vested in his Majesty, and that it was High Treason to raise or levy Soldiers without the King’s Commission.” And because the Licence of speaking seditiously, and of laying scandalous Imputations and Aspersions upon the Person of the King, as saying *that He was a Papist*, and such like Terms, to alienate the Affections of the People from his Majesty, had been the Prologue and principal Ingredient to that Rebellion, and corrupted the Hearts of his loving Subjects; They declared, “that the raising any Calumnies of that Kind upon the King, as saying *that He is a Papist*, or *popishly affected*, or the like, should be Felony.” In a Word, They vindicated all his Regalities and Royal Prerogatives, and provided for the Safety of his Person in as loving and ample a Manner as He could wish: And towards raising and settling a Revenue proportionable to his Dignity and necessary Expence, over and above the Confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the last Convention, They entered upon all the Expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive Propositions or Advice from any Body that might contribute (133) thereunto. In all these publick Matters, no Man could wish a more active Spirit to be in them, than They were in Truth possessed with.

BUT in that which the King had principally recommended to them, the Confirmation of the *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity*, They proceeded very slowly, coldly and unwillingly, notwithstanding the King’s frequent Messages to them “to dispatch it, though with the Delay of those other Things which They thought did more immediately concern him.” They had many Agents and Solicitors in the Court, who thought that all that was released by that Act might lawfully be distributed amongst them; and since the King had referred that whole Affair to the Parliament, He might well leave it to their Judgments, without his own Interposition. But his Majesty looked upon himself as under another Obligation both of Honour and Conscience, and upon the Thing itself as more for the publick Peace and Security, than any Thing the Parliament could provide instead thereof; and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent Unwillingness

*The Parliament unwilling to confirm the Act of Indemnity.*

*The King  
promissly  
urges them  
to it.*

willingness to pass it. And thereupon He went himself to the House of Peers, and sent for the Commons, and told them, "that it was absolutely necessary to dispatch that Bill, which He himself had sent to them near two Months before." For it was now the eighth of July. His Majesty told them, "that it was to put himself in Mind as well as them, that He so often, as often as He came to them, mentioned to them his Declaration from *Breda*." And He said, "He should put them in Mind of another Declaration published by themselves about that Time, and which He was persuaded made his the more effectual, an honest, generous and Christian Declaration, signed by the most eminent Persons, who had been the most eminent Sufferers; in which They renounced all former Animosities, all Memory of former Unkindnesses, vowed all imaginable Good-Will and all Confidence in each other." All which being pressed with so much Instance by his Majesty prevailed with them: And They then forthwith dispatched that Bill; and the King as soon confirmed it, and would not stay a few Days, till other important Bills should be likewise ready to be presented to him.

*Whereupon  
They confirm  
it.*

AND there cannot be a greater Instance of their Desire to please his Majesty from thenceforth, than that before that Session was concluded, notwithstanding the Prejudice the Clergy had brought upon themselves (as I said before) upon their too much good Husbandry in granting Leases, and though the Presbyterian Party was not without an Interest in Both Houses of Parliament; They passed a Bill for the Repeal of that Act of Parliament, by which the Bishops were excluded from sitting there. It was first proposed in the House of Commons by a Gentleman, who had been always taken to be of a Presbyterian Family: And in that House it found less Opposition than was looked for; all Men knowing, that besides the Justice of it, and the Prudence to wipe out the Memory of so infamous an Act, as the Exclusion of them with all the Circumstances was known to be, it would be grateful to the King.

*The Commons  
pass a Bill  
for restoring  
Bishops to  
their Seats in  
Parliament.*

BUT when it came into the House of Peers, where all Men expected it would find a general Concurrence, it met with some Obstruction; which made a Discovery of an Intrigue, that had not been suspected. For though there were many Lords present, who had industriously laboured

boured the passing the former Bill for the Exclusion, yet They had likewise been guilty of so many other ill Things, of which They were ashamed, that it was believed that They would not willingly revive the Memory of the Whole, by persevering in such an odious Particular. Nor (139) in Truth did They. But when They saw that it would unavoidably pass (for the Number of that Party was not considerable), They either gave their Consents, as many of them did, or gave their Negative without Noise. The Obstruction came not from thence. The *Catholicks* less owned the Contradiction, nor were guilty of it, though They suffered in it. But the Truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial Brain of the *Earl of Bristol*, who much affected to be looked upon as the Head of the *Catholicks*; which They did so little desire that He should be thought, that They very rarely concurred with him. He well knew that the King desired (which his Majesty never disssembled) to give the *Roman Catholicks* Ease from all the sanguinary Laws; and that He did not desire that They should be liable to the other Penalties which the Law had made them subject to, whilst They should in all other Respects behave themselves like good Subjects. Nor had They since his Majesty's Return sustained the least Prejudice by their Religion, but enjoyed as much Liberty at Court and in the Country, as any other Men; and with which the wisest of them were abundantly satisfied, and did abhor the Activity of those of their own Party, whom They did believe more like to deprive them of the Liberty They enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them.

*Which is observed in the House of Lords by the Earl of Bristol.*

WHEN the *Earl of Bristol* saw this Bill brought into the House for restoring the Bishops to their Seats, He went to the King, and informed his Majesty, "that if  
 "this Bill should speedily pass, it would absolutely deprive  
 "the *Catholicks* of all those Graces and Indulgence which  
 "He intended to them; for that the Bishops, when They  
 "should sit in the House, whatever their own Opinions  
 "or Inclinations were, would find themselves obliged,  
 "that They might preserve their Reputation with the  
 "People, to contradict and oppose whatsoever should look  
 "like Favour or Connivance towards the *Catholicks*: And  
 "therefore, if his Majesty continued his former gracious  
 "Inclination towards the *Roman Catholicks*, He must  
 "put some Stop (even for the Bishops own Sakes) to the  
 "passing that Bill, till the other should be more advanced,  
 "which

"which He supposed might shortly be done;" there having been already some Overtures made to that Purpose, and a Committee appointed in the House of Lords to take a View of all the sanguinary Laws in Matters of Religion, and to present them to the House that it might consider farther of them. The King surpris'd with the Discourse from a Man who had often told him the Necessity of the restoring the Bishops, and that it could not be a perfect Parliament without their Presence, thought his Reason for the Delay to have Weight in it, and that the Delay for a few Days could be attended with no Prejudice to the Matter itself; and thereupon was willing the Bill should not be called for, and that when it should be under Commitment, it should be detained there for some Time; and that He might, the better to produce this Delay, tell some of his Friends, "that the King would be well pleased, that there should not be overmuch Haste in the presenting that Bill for his Royal Assent."

THIS grew quickly to be taken Notice of in the House, that after the first Reading of that Bill, it had been put off for a second Reading longer than was usual, when the House was at so much Leisure; and that now it was under Commitment, it was obstructed there, notwithstanding all the Endeavours some Lords of the Committee could use for the Dispatch; the Bill containing very few Words, being only for the Repeal of a former Act, and the Expressions admitting, that is, giving little Cause for any Debate. The Chancellor desired to know how this came to pass, and was informed by one of the Lords of the Committee, "that They were assured that the King would have a Stop put to it, till another Bill should be provided which his Majesty looked for." Hereupon (140) the Chancellor spake with his Majesty, who told him all the Conference which the Earl of *Bristol* had held with him, and what He had consented should be done. To which the other replied, "that He was sorry that his Majesty had been prevailed with to give any Obstruction to a Bill, which every Body knew his Majesty's Heart was so much set upon for Dispatch; and that if the Reason were known, it would quickly put an End to all the Pretences of the *Catholicks*; to which his Majesty knew He was no Enemy." The King presently concluded that the Reason was not sufficient, and wished "that the Bill might be dispatched as soon as was possible,"

"He, that He might pass it that Session;" which He had appointed to make an End of within few Days: And so the next Day the Report was called for and made, and the Bill ordered to be engrossed against the next Morning; the Earl not being at that Time in the House. But the next Morning, when the Chancellor had the Bill engrossed in his Hand to present to the House to be read the third Time, the Earl came to him to the Woolstack, and with great Displeasure and Wrath in his Countenance told him, "that if that Bill were read that Day, He would speak against it;" to which the Chancellor gave him an Answer that did not please him: And the Bill was passed that Day. And from that Time the Earl of *Bristol* was a more avowed and declared Enemy to him, than He had before professed to be; though the Friendship that had been between them had been discontinued or broken, from the Time the Earl had changed his Religion. *But it is as yet passed.*

THE King within few Days came to the Parliament, to give his Royal Assent to those Bills which were prepared for him; and then told them, "that He did thank them with all his Heart, indeed as much as He could for any Thing, for the Repeal of that Act which excluded the Bishops from sitting in Parliament." He said, "it was an unhappy Act in an unhappy Time, passed with many unhappy Circumstances, and attended with miserable Events; and therefore He did again thank them for repealing it: And that They had thereby restored Parliaments to their primitive Institutions." This was upon the thirtieth of *July* 1661, when the Parliament was adjourned to the twentieth of *November* following. *The Parliament adjourned.*

BECAUSE We have mentioned the gracious Purposes the King had to his Roman Catholick Subjects, of which afterward much Use was made to his Disservice, to which the Vanity and Presumption of many of that Profession contributed very much; it may not be unreasonable in this Place to mention the Ground of that his Majesty's Goodness, and the Reasons why that Purpose of his was not prosecuted to the Purpose it was intended, after so fair a Rise towards it, by the Appointment of that Committee in the House of Peers, which is remembered above. *The true Ground of the King's Favour to the Roman Catholicks.*

*The Continuation of the Life of*

It is not to be wondered at, that the King, at the Age He was of when the Troubles began in *England*, and when He came out of *England*, knew very little of the Laws which had been long since made and were still in Force against *Roman Catholics*, and less of the Grounds and Motives which had introduced those Laws. And from the Time that He was first beyond the Seas, He could not be without hearing very much spoken against the Protestant Religion, and more for extolling and magnifying the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; neither of which Discourses made any Impression upon him. After the Defeat at *Worcester*, and his Escape from thence into *France*, the Queen his Mother (who had very punctually complied with the King her Husband's Injunctions, in not suffering any Body to endeavour to pervert the Prince her Son in his Religion, and when He came afterwards into *France* after He was King, continued the same Reservation) used much more Sharpness in her Discourse against the *Protestants*, than She had been accustomed to. The Liberty that his Majesty formerly had in the *Lowre*, to have a Place set aside for the Exercise of his Religion, was taken away: And continual Discourses were made by the Queen in his Presence, "that He had now no Hope ever to be restored to his Dominions, but by the Help of the *Catholics*; and therefore that He must apply himself to them in such a Way, as might induce them to help him."

ABOUT this Time there was a short Collection and Abridgment made of all the penal Laws, which had been made and which were still in Force in *England* against the *Roman Catholics*; "that all Priests for saying Mass were to be put to Death;" the great Penalties which They were to undergo, who entertained or harboured a Priest in their House, or were present at Mass, and the like; with all other envious Clauses, which were in any Acts of Parliament, that had been enacted upon several Treason and Conspiracies of the *Roman Catholics*, in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*. And this Collection They caused to be translated into *French* and into *Latin*, and scattered it abroad in all Places; after They had caused Copies of it to be presented to the Queen Mother of *France*, and to the Cardinal: So that the King came into no Place where those Papers were not shewed to him, and where He

He was not seriously asked, "whether it was a true Collection of the Laws of *England*," and "whether it was possible, that any Christian Kingdom could exercise so much Tyranny against the Catholick Religion." The King, who had never heard of these Particulars, did really believe that the Paper was forged, and answered, "He did not believe that there were such Laws:" And when He came to his Lodgings, He gave the Chancellor the Paper, and bade him read it, and tell him "whether such Laws were in Force in *England*." He had heard before of the scattering of those Papers, and knew well who had made the Collection; who had been a Lawyer, and was a *Protestant*, but had too good an Opinion of the *Roman Catholicks*, and desired too much to be grateful to them.

THE Chancellor found an Opportunity the next Day to enlarge upon the Paper to his Majesty, and informed him of "the Seasons in which, and the Occasions and Provocations upon which, those Laws had been made; of the frequent Treasons and Conspiracies which had been entered into by some *Roman Catholicks*, always with the Privy and Approbation of their Priests and Confessors, against the Person and Life of Queen *Elizabeth*; and after her Death, of the infamous and detestable Gunpowder Treason to have destroyed King *James* and his Posterity, with the whole Nobility of the Kingdom: So that in those Times, the Pope having excommunicated the whole Kingdom, and absolved the Subjects from all their Oaths of Fidelity, there seemed no Expedient to preserve the Crown, but the using these Severities against those who were professed Enemies to it. But that since those Times, that the *Roman Catholicks* had lived quietly, that Rigour had not been used: And that the King his Father's Clemency towards those of that Profession (which Clemency extended no farther than the dispensing with the utmost Rigour of the Laws), was the Ground of the Scandal of his being popishly affected, that contributed as much to his Ruin, as any particular Malice in the worst of his Enemies."

(142) THE King hearkened attentively to all that was said, and then answered, "that He could not doubt but there was some very extraordinary Reason for the making such strange Laws: But whatever the Reason then



“was, that it was at present and for many Years past  
 “very evident, that there was no such Malignity in the  
 “*Roman Catholicks*, that should continue that heavy Yoke  
 “upon their Necks. That He knew well enough, that  
 “if He were in *England*, He had not in himself the  
 “Power to repeal any Act of Parliament, without the  
 “Consent of Parliament : But that He knew no Reason  
 “why He might not profess, that He did not like those  
 “Laws which caused Men to be put to Death for their  
 “Religion ; and that He would do his best, if ever God  
 “restored him to his Kingdom, that those bloody Laws  
 “might be repealed. And that if there were no other  
 “Reason of State than He could yet comprehend, against  
 “the taking away the other Penalties, He should be glad  
 “that all those Distinctions between his Subjects might  
 “be removed ; and that whilst They were all equally  
 “good Subjects, They might equally enjoy his Protection.” And his Majesty did frequently, when He was in the Courts of Catholick Princes, and when He was sure to hear the Sharpness of the Laws in *England* inveighed against, enlarge upon the same Discourse : And it had been a very unreasonable Presumption in any Man, who would have endeavoured to have dissuaded him from entertaining that Candour in his Heart.

WITH this gracious Disposition his Majesty returned into *England* ; and received his Catholick Subjects with the same Grace and Frankness, that He did his other : And They took all Opportunities to extol their own Sufferings, which They would have understood to have been for him. And some very noble Persons there were, who had served his Father very worthily in the War, and suffered as largely afterwards for having done so : But the Number of those was not great, but much greater than of those who shewed any Affection to him or for him, during the Time of his Absence, and the Government of the Usurper. Yet some few there were, even of those who had suffered most for his Father, who did send him Supply when He was abroad, though They were hardly able to provide Necessaries for themselves : And in his Escape from *Worcester*, He received extraordinary Benefit, by the Fidelity of many poor People of that Religion ; which his Majesty was never reserved in the Remembrance of. And this gracious Disposition in him did not then appear ingrateful to any. And then,  
 upon

upon an Address made to the House of Peers in the Name of the *Roman Catholicks*, for some Relaxation of those Laws which were still in Force against them, the House of Peers appointed that Committee which is mentioned before, to examine and report all those penal Statutes, which reached to the taking away the Life of any *Roman Catholick*, Priest or Layman, for his Religion; there not appearing one Lord in the House, who seemed to be unwilling that those Laws should be repealed. And after that Committee was appointed, the *Roman Catholick* Lords and their Friends for some Days diligently attended it, and made their Observations upon several Acts of Parliament, in which They desired Ease. But on a sudden this Committee was discontinued, and never after revived; the *Roman Catholicks* never afterwards being solicitous for it.

*A Committee of the Lords for relaxing the penal Laws against the Roman Catholicks.*

THE Argument was now to be debated amongst themselves, that They might agree what would please them: And then there quickly appeared that Discord and Animosity between them, that never was nor ever will be extinguished; and of which the State might make much other Use than it hath done. The Lords and Men of Estates were not satisfied, in that They (143) observed the Good-Nature of the House did not appear to extend farther, than the abolishing those Laws which concerned the Lives of the Priests, which did not much affect them: For besides that those Spectacles were no longer grateful to the People, They were confident that They should not be without Men to discharge those Functions; and the Number of such was more grievous to them than the Scarcity. That which They desired was, the Removal of those Laws, which being let loose would deprive them of so much of their Estates, that the Remainder would not preserve them from Poverty. This Indulgence would indeed be grateful to them; for the other They cared not. Nor were the Ecclesiasticks at all pleased with what was proposed for their Advantage, but looked upon themselves as deprived of the Honour of Martyrdom by this Remission, that They might undergo Restraints, which would be more grievous than Death itself: And They were very apprehensive, that there would remain some Order of them excluded, as there was even a most universal Prejudice against the *Jesuits*; or that there would be some

*The Roman Catholicks disagree amongst themselves.*

Limitation of their Numbers, which They well knew the *Catholicks* in general would be very glad of, though They could not appear to desire it.

THERE was a Committee chosen amongst them of the Superiours of all Orders, and of the secular Clergy, that sate at *Arundel-House*, and consulted together with some of the principal Lords and others of the prime Quality of that Religion, what They should say or do in such and such Cases which probably might fall out. They all concluded, at least apprehended, that They should never be dispensed with in Respect of the Oaths, which were enjoined to be taken by all Men, without their submitting to take some other Oath, that might be an equal Security of and for their Fidelity to the King, and the Preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom. And there had been lately scattered abroad some printed Papers, written by some Regular and Secular Clergy, with sober Propositions to that Purpose, and even the Form of an Oath and Subscription to be taken or made by all *Catholicks*; in which there was an absolute Renunciation or Declaration against the temporal Authority of the Pope, which, in all common Discourses amongst the *Protestants*, all *Roman Catholicks* made no Scruple to renounce and disclaim: But it coming now to be the Subject-Matter of the Debate in this Committee, the *Jesuits* declared with much Warmth, "that They ought not, nor could "They with a good Conscience as *Catholicks*, deprive "the Pope of his temporal Authority, which He hath in "all Kingdoms granted to him by God himself," with very much to that Purpose; with which most of the temporal Lords, and very many of the Seculars and Regulars, were so much scandalized, that the Committee being broken up for that Time, They never attended it again; the wiser and the more conscientious Men discerning, that there was a Spirit in the rest that was raised and governed by a Passion, of which They could not comprehend the Ground. And the Truth is, the *Jesuits*, and They who adhered to them, had entertained great Hopes from the King's too much Grace to them, and from the great Liberty They enjoyed; and promised themselves and their Friends another Kind of Indulgence, than They saw was intended to them by the House of Peers. And this was the Reason that that

Com-

Committee was no more looked after, nor any publick Address was any farther prosecuted. Upon which the Committee is discontinued.

AND from this Time there every Day appeared so much Insolence and Indiscretion amongst the imprudent *Catholicks*, that They brought so many Scandals upon his Majesty, and kindled so much Jealousy in the Parliament, that there grew a general Aversion towards <sup>(144)</sup>them. And the King's Party remembered, with what Wariness and Disregard the *Roman Catholicks* had lived towards them in the whole Time of the Usurpation; and how little Sorrow They made Shew of upon the horrid Murder of the King (which was then exceedingly taken Notice of): And They who had been abroad with the King remembered, that his Majesty had received less Regard and Respect from his Catholick Subjects, wherever He found them abroad, than from any foreign *Catholicks*; who always received him with all imaginable Duty, whilst his own looked as if They had no Dependance upon him. And so We return to the Parliament after its Adjournment.

THE Parliament, that had been adjourned upon the thirtieth of *July*, met again upon the twentieth of *November*, with the same Zeal and Affection to advance the King's Service. And the King himself came to them upon the same Day They met, and told them, "that The Parliament meets again. He knew that Visit was not of Course; yet if there The King's Speech. were no more in it, it would not be strange, that He came to see what He and They had so long desired to see, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of *England*, met together to consult for the Peace and Safety of the Church and State, by which Parliaments were restored to their primitive Lustre and Integrity:" His Majesty said, "He did heartily congratulate with them for that Day." But He told them withal, "that He came thither upon another Occasion; which was to say somewhat to them on his own Behalf, to ask somewhat of them for himself, which was more than He had done of them, or of those who met before them, since his Coming into *England*. Nor did He think, that what He had to say to them did alone, or did most concern himself: If the uneasy Condition He was in, if the Streights and Necessities He was to struggle with, did not manifestly relate to the publick Peace and Safety, more than to his own Particular, otherwise than as He was concern-

“ed in the Publick, He would not give them that Trouble that Day; He could bear his Necessities which merely related to himself, with Patience enough.”

He told them, “that He did not importune them to make more Hastē in the settling the constant Revenue of the Crown, than was agreeable to the Method They had proposed to themselves, nor to consider the insupportable Weight that lay upon it, the Obligations it lay under to provide for the Interest, Honour and Security of the Nation, in another Proportion than in any former Times it had been obliged to: His Majesty well knew, that They had very affectionately and worthily taken all that into their Thoughts, and would proceed in it with Expedition: But that He came to put them in Mind of the crying Debts which did every Day call upon him, of some necessary Provisions, which were to be made without Delay for the very Safety of the Kingdom, of the great Sum of Money that should be ready to discharge the several Fleets when they came Home, and for the necessary Preparations that were to be made for the setting out new Fleets to Sea against the next Spring. These were the pressing Occasions which He was forced to recommend to them with all possible Earnestness, and He did conjure them to provide for as speedily as was possible, and in such a Manner as might give them Security at Home, and some Reputation abroad.” His Majesty said, “that He made this Discourse to them with some Confidence, because He was very willing and desirous that They should thoroughly examine, whether those Necessities which He mentioned were real or imaginary, or whether they were fallen upon him by his own Fault, his own ill Managery, or Excesses, and provide for them accordingly. He was very willing that They should make a full Inspection into his Revenue, as well the Disbursements as Receipts; and if They should find that it had been ill managed by any Corruptions in the Officers He trusted, or by his own Unthriftiness, He should take the Advice and Information They should give him very kindly.”

He told them, “that He was very sorry that the general Temper and Affections of the Nation were not so well composed, as He hoped they would have been, after so signal Blessings from God Almighty upon them  
“all,

“all, and after so great Indulgence and Condescensions  
 “from him towards all Interests. But that there were  
 “many wicked Instruments still as active as ever, who  
 “laboured Night and Day to disturb the publick Peace,  
 “and to make all People jealous of each other: It would  
 “be worthy their Care and Vigilance to provide proper  
 “Remedies for the Diseases of that Kind; and if They  
 “should find new Diseases, They must study new Re-  
 “medies. For those Difficulties which concerned Mat-  
 “ters in Religion,” his Majesty confessed to them, “that  
 “they were too hard for him; and therefore He did re-  
 “commend them to their Care and Discretion, which  
 “could best provide for them.”

THE two Houses were abundantly pleased with all that his Majesty had said to them, and immediately betook them to the Consideration of those Particulars, which He had principally recommended to them. And though for the present They looked upon that Clause of his Majesty's Speech, wherein He referred to them to make an Inspection into his Revenue and his Expenses, but as a generous and princely Condescension, which would not become them to make Use of (nor indeed had They at that Time the least Prejudice to or Jealousy of any, who were of the nearest Trust about his Majesty); yet four Years after, when the Expenses had grown to be much greater, and it may be all Disbursements not so warrantable, and when the Factions in Court and Parliament were at a great Height, and Men made Use of publick Pretences to satisfy their private Animosities and Malice, They made Use of that frank Offer of his Majesty, to entitle themselves to make Inquisition into publick and private Receipts and Disbursements, in a very extraordinary Manner never practised before.

LET no Man wonder, that within so little Time—as a *The Reason why the King's Debts were so great.*  
 Year and a Half or very little more after the King's Return, that is, from *May to November* in the next Year, and after so great Sums of Money raised by Acts of Parliament upon the People, his Majesty's Debts could be so crying and importunate, as to disturb him to that Degree as He expressed. It was never enough understood, that in all that Time He never received from the Parliament more than the seventy thousand Pounds towards his Coronation; nor were the Debts which were now so grievous to him contracted by himself (though

it cannot be supposed but that He had contracted Debts himself in that Time): All the Money that had been given and raised had been applied to the Payment of the Land and Sea Forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do seldom make their Computations right, but reckon what They give to be much more than is ever received, and what They are to pay to be as much less than in Truth They owe; so that when all the Money that was collected was paid, there remained still very much due to the Soldiers, and much more to the Seamen: And the Clamour from Both reached the King's Ears, as if They had been levied by his Warrant and for his Service. And his Majesty understood too well, by the Experience of the ill Husbandry of the last Year, when both the Army and the Ships were so long continued in Pay, (147) for Want of Money to disband and pay them off, what the Trouble and Charge would be, if the several Fleets should return before Money was provided to discharge the Seamen; and for that the Clamour would be only upon him.

BUT there was an Expence that He had been engaged in from the Time of his Return, and by which He had contracted a great Debt, of which very few Men could take Notice; nor could the King think fit to discover it, till He had first provided against the Mischief which might have attended the Discovery. It will hardly be believed, that in so warlike an Age, and when the Armies and Fleets of *England* had made more Noise in the World for twenty Years, had fought more Battles at Land and Sea, than all the World had done besides, or any one People had done in any Age before; and when at his Majesty's Return there remained a hundred Ships at Sea, and an Army of near threescore thousand Men at Land; there should not be in the *Tower of London*, and in all the Stores belonging to the Crown, Fire-Arms enough, nor indeed of any other Kind, to arm three thousand Men; nor Powder and naval Provisions enough to set out five Ships of War.

FROM the Death of *Cromwell*, no Care had been taken for Supplies of any of the Stores. And the Changes which ensued in the Government, and putting out and in new Officers; the Expeditions of *Lambert* against Sir *George Booth*, and afterwards into the *North*; and other Preparations for those Factions and Parties which succeeded each

each other; and the continual Opportunities which the Officers had for Embezzlement; and lastly, the setting out that Fleet which was sent to attend upon the King for his Return; had so totally drained the Stores of all Kinds, that the Magazines were no better replenished than is mentioned before: Which as soon as his Majesty knew, as He could not be long ignorant of it, the first Care He took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at Home, in how ill a Posture He was to defend himself against an Enemy. And then He committed the Care of that Province to a noble Person, whom He knew He could not trust too much, and made Sir *William Compton* Master of the Ordnance, and made all the Shifts He could devise for Monies, that the Work might be begun. And hereby insensibly He had contracted a great Debt: And these were Part of the crying Debts, and the necessary Provisions which were to be made without Delay for the very Safety of the Kingdom, which He told the Parliament. And in this He had laboured so effectually, that at the Time when the first *Dutch War* was entered into, all the Stores were more completely supplied and provided for, and the Ships and all naval Provisions in greater Strength and Plenty, than they had ever been in the Reign of any former King, or in the Time of the Usurper himself.

THAT Part of the King's Speech, of the Distempers in the Nation by the Differences in Religion, which He confessed were too hard for him, and recommended the composing them to their Care and Deliberation, gives me a seasonable Opportunity to enter upon the Relation, how that Affair stood at that Time, and how far the Distractions of those several Factions were from being reconciled, though Episcopacy seemed to be fully restored, and the Bishops to their Votes in Parliament; which had been looked upon as the most sovereign Remedy, to cure, reform or extinguish all those Maladies. The Bishops had spent the Vacation in making such Alterations in the *Book of Common Prayer*, as They thought would make it more grateful to the *dissenting Brethren*, for so the schismatical (147) Party called themselves; and such Additions, as in their Judgments the Temper of the present Time and the past Miscarriages required. It was necessarily to be presented to the Convocation, which is the national Synod of the Church; and that did not sit during the Recess of the Parliament,

*An Account of  
the Revision of  
the Liturgy.*



liament, and so came not together till the End of *November*: Where the Consideration of it took up much Time; all Men offering such Alterations and Additions, as were suitable to their own Fancies, and the Observations which They had made in the Time of Confusion.

*Some of the Bishops are against all Alterations in the Liturgy.*

THE Bishops were not all of one Mind. Some of them, who had greatest Experience and were in Truth wise Men, thought it best "to restore and confirm the old *Book of Common Prayer*, without any Alterations and Additions; "and that it would be the best Vindication the *Liturgy* "and Government of the Church could receive, that after so many Scandals and Reproaches cast upon Both, "and after a bloody Rebellion and a War of twenty Years "raised, as was pretended, principally against Both, and "which had prevailed and triumphed in the total Suppression and Destruction of Both, they should now be restored to be in all Respects the same They had been before. Whereas any Alterations and Additions (besides "the Advantage it might give to the common Adversary, "the *Papist*, who would be apt to say that We had reformed and changed our Religion again), would raise "new Scruples in the factious and schismatical Party, that "was ashamed of all the old Arguments, which had so often been answered, and stood at present exploded in "the Judgment of all sober Men; but would recover new "Spirits to make new Objections, and complain that the "Alterations and Additions are more grievous and burdensome to the Liberty of their Conscience, than those "of which They had formerly complained."

*Others of them press earnestly for some.*

OTHERS, equally grave, of great Learning and unblemished Reputation, pressed earnestly both for the Alterations and Additions; said, "that it was a common Reproach upon the Government of the Church, that it "would not depart from the least unnecessary Expression "or Word, nor explain the most insignificant Ceremony; "which would quiet or remove the Doubts and Jealousies "of many conscientious Men, that They did in Truth "signify somewhat that was not intended: And therefore "since some powerful Men of that troublesome Party had "made it their earnest Request, that some such Alterations and Additions might be made, and professed that "it would give great Satisfaction to many very good "Men; it would be great Pity, now there was a fit Opportunity for it, which had not been in former Times

"of

"of Clamour, not to gratify them in those small Particulars, which did not make any important Difference from what was before." It may be there were some, who believed that the Victory and Triumph of the Church would be with the more Lustre, if somewhat were inserted, that might be understood to reflect upon the rude and rebellious Behaviour of the late Times, which had been regulated and conducted by that Clergy: And so both Additions and Alterations were made.

BUT the Truth is, what Shew of Reason soever and Appearance of Charity the latter Opinion seemed to carry with it, the former Advice was the more prudent, and would have prevented many Inconveniences which ensued. Whatever had been pretended or desired, the Alterations which were made to please them did not reduce one of them to the Obedience of the Church; and the Additions raised the Clamour higher than it had been. And when it was evident that They should not be left  
(148) longer without a Liturgy, They cried aloud for the same They had before, though They had inveighed against it for near a hundred Years together.

*The former  
Opinion the  
more prudent.*

It is an unhappy Policy, and always unhappily applied; to imagine that that *Classis* of Men can be recovered and reconciled by partial Concessions, or granting less than They demand. And if all were granted, They would have more to ask, somewhat as a Security for the Enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their Power, and shake the whole Frame of the Government. Their Faction is their Religion: Nor are those Combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial Motives of Conscience how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous Materials, of Will, and Humour, and Folly, and Knavery, and Ambition, and Malice, which make Men cling inseparably together, till They have Satisfaction in all their Pretences, or till They are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other. And if some few, how signal soever (which often deceives us), are separated and divided from the Herd upon reasonable Overtures, and secret Rewards which make the Overtures look the more reasonable; They are but so many single Men, and have no more Credit and Authority (whatever They have had) with their Companions, than if They had never known them, rather less; being less mad than They were makes them

*The unhappy  
Policy of  
making Con-  
cessions to the  
Dissenters.*

*The Continuation of the Life of*

them thought to be less fit to be believed. And They, whom You think You have recovered, carry always a Chagrin about them, which makes them good for Nothing, but for Instances to divert you from any more of that Kind of Traffick.

AND it is very strange, that the Clergy did not at this Time remember what had so lately befallen the poor Church of *Scotland*, upon the Transmission of their *Liturgy*, which had been compos'd with this very Prospect that now dazzled their Eyes. "To receive a *Liturgy* from *England* was below the Dignity of that Nation, which were governed by their own Laws, without Dependance upon any other. Besides there were many Errors in that *Liturgy* that They could never submit to, and some Defects which ought to be supplied; and if such a one should be compil'd, in which all those Exceptions, which were well enough known, might be provided for, They would gladly receive it." All this was carefully performed; and what Reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the Scars which still remain from those Wounds. And then the great Objection that was most impudently urged was, "that it differed from the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, which They were ready to have received, and would have declared to the World, that the two Nations had but one Religion; whereas the Book sent to them would have manifested the contrary, and was the Product of a few particular Men, to whose Spirit and Humour They would not sacrifice their native Liberty of Conscience."

*None of the  
Dissenters  
gained by the  
Concessions  
now made.*

THEY of the same Fraternity in *England* at this present governed themselves by the same Method, though, God be thanked, not yet with the same Success. And there is great Reason to believe, that the very Men, who laboured so much for the Alterations which were made, and profess'd to receive so much Satisfaction in them, did it for no other End, but to procure more Opportunity to continue and enlarge the Contentions; and to gain Excuse and Credit to the ill Things They had done, by the Redress and Reparation that was given them in the Amendment of many Particulars, against which They had always complain'd. There was not one of them who had us'd that Importunity and made that Profession, who afterwards was conformable to the Government of the

the Church, or frequented those Churches where or when the *Liturgy* was used.

WHILST the Clergy was busy and solicitous to prepare this Remedy for the present Distempers, the People of all the several Factions in Religion assumed more License than ever They had done. The *Presbyterians* in all their Pulpits inveighed against the *Book of Common Prayer* that They expected, and took the same Liberty to inveigh against the Government of the Church, as They had been accustomed to before the Return of the King; with Reflections upon the Persons of the Bishops, as if They assumed a Jurisdiction that was yet at least suspended. And the other Factions in Religion, as if by Concert, took the same Liberty in their several Congregations. The *Anabaptists* and the *Quakers* made more Noise than ever, and assembled together in great Numbers, and talked what Reformatations They expected in all Particulars. These Insolencies offended the Parliament very much: And the House of Commons expressed much Impatience, that the *Liturgy* was so long in Preparation, that the *Act of Uniformity* might without Delay be passed and published; not without some Insinuations and Reflections, that his Majesty's Candour, and Admission of all Persons to resort to his Presence, and his Condescension to confer with them, had raised their Spirits to an Insolence insupportable; and that Nothing could reduce them to the Temper of good Subjects, but the highest Severity.

It is very true, from the Time of his Majesty's Coming into *England*, He had not been reserved in the Admission of those who had been his greatest Enemies, to his Presence. The *Presbyterian* Ministers He received with Grace; and did believe that He should work upon them by Persuasions, having been well acquainted with their common Arguments by the Conversation He had had in *Scotland*, and was very able to confute them. The *Independents* had as free Access, both that He might hinder any Conjunction between the other Factions, and because They seemed wholly to depend upon his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, without resorting to the Parliament, in which They had no Confidence; and had rather that Episcopacy should flourish again, than that the *Presbyterians* should govern. The King had always admitted the *Quakers* for his Divertisement and Mirth, because He thought, that of all the Factions They were the most innocent,

nocent, and had least of Malice in their Natures against his Person and his Government: And it was now too late, though He had a worse Opinion of them all, to restrain them from coming to him, till there should be some Law made to punish them; and therefore He still called upon the Bishops, to cause the *Liturgy* to be expedited in the Convocation. And finding that those Distempers had that Influence upon the House of Commons, that the Displeasure and Jealousy which They conceived from thence did retard their Counsels, and made them less solicitous to advance his Service in the settling his Revenue, They having sate near three Months after their coming together again upon their Adjournment, without making any considerable Progress in it; He sent for the Speaker and the House of Commons to attend him at *Whitehall*, where He spake unto them, though very graciously, in a Style that seemed to have more of Expostulation and Reprehension than They had been accustomed to.

*The King  
sends for the  
House of  
Commons to  
attend him at  
Whitehall.*

*His Speech to  
them.*

HE said, "He spake his Heart to them when He told them, that He did believe, that from the first Institution of Parliaments to that Hour, there had never been a House of Commons fuller of Affection and Duty to their King, than They were to him; never any that was more desirous and solicitous to gratify their King, than They were to oblige him; never a House of Commons, in which there were fewer Persons without a full Measure of Zeal for the Honour and Welfare of the King and Country, than there are in this: In a Word," He said, "He knew most of their Persons and Names, and could never hope to find better Men in their Places. Yet after all this He could not but lament and even complain, that He and They and the Kingdom were yet without that present Fruit and Advantage, which They might reasonably promise themselves from such a Harmony of Affections, and Unity in Resolutions to advance the publick Service, and to provide for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom; that They did not expedite those good Counsels, which were most necessary for Both. He knew not how it came to pass, but for many Weeks past, even since their last Adjournment, private and particular Business had almost thrust the Consideration of the publick out of Doors; and He did not know that They were nearer the settling his Revenue,

“venue, than They had been at *Christmas*. He was sure  
“He had communicated his Condition to them without  
“Reserve; what He had coming in, and what his necessary Disbursements were. And,” He said, “He was  
“exceedingly deceived, if whatever They gave him were  
“any otherwise given to him, than to be issued out for  
“their own Use and Benefit; and if They considered it  
“well, They would find that They were the richer by  
“what They gave, since it was all to be laid out that  
“They might enjoy the rest in Peace and Security.”

He said, “He need not put them in Mind of the miserable Effects, that had attended the Wants and Necessities of the Crown; that He needed not to tell them, that there was a Republican Party still in the Kingdom, which had the Courage still to promise themselves another Revolution: And He thought He had as little  
“Need to tell them, that the only Way, with God’s  
“Blessing, to disappoint their Hopes, and indeed to reduce them from those extravagant Hopes and Desires, was, to let them see that They had so provided for the  
“Crown, that it had wherewithal to support itself, and to secure his People; which He was sure was all He desired, and desired only for their Preservation. Therefore He conjured them by all the Professions of Affection which They had made to him, by all the Kindness which He knew They had for him, that They would, after all their Deliberations, betake themselves to some  
“speedy Resolutions, and settle such a real and substantial Revenue upon him, as might hold some Proportion  
“with the necessary Expenses He was at for the Peace and Benefit and Honour of the Kingdom; that They  
“who looked for Troubles at Home might despair of their Wishes; and that our Neighbours abroad, by seeing that all is well at Home, might have that Esteem and Value of his Majesty, as might secure the Honour and Interest of the Nation, and make the Happiness of  
“the Kingdom and of that City once more the Admiration and Envy of the World.”

He told them, “that He heard that They were very  
“zealous for the Church, and very solicitous and even  
“jealous that there was not Expedition enough used in  
“that Affair: He thanked them for it, since He presumed that it proceeded from a good Root of Piety and  
“Devotion. But,” He said, “that He must tell them,  
“that

“that He had the worst Luck in the World, if after all  
 “the Reproaches of being a *Papist* while He was abroad,  
 “He was suspected to be a *Presbyterian* now He was come  
 “Home. He knew They would not take it unkindly, if  
 “He told them, that He was as zealous for the Church  
 “of *England* as any of them could be, and was enough  
 “acquainted with the Enemies of it on all Sides; that  
 “He was as much in Love with the *Book of Common*  
 “*Prayer* as They could wish, and had Prejudice enough  
 “to those who did not love it, who He hoped in Time (151)  
 “would be better informed, and so change their Minds;  
 “and They might be confident, He did as much desire  
 “to have an Uniformity settled, as any Man amongst  
 “them. He prayed them to trust him in that Affair,  
 “and promised them to hasten the Dispatch of it with all  
 “convenient Speed; They might rely upon him in it.”  
 He said, “He had transmitted the *Book of Common Prayer*,  
 “with those Alterations and Additions which had been  
 “presented to him by the Convocation, to the House of  
 “Peers with his Approbation, that the *Act of Uniformity*  
 “might relate to it: so that He presumed that it would  
 “shortly be dispatched there: And that when They had  
 “done all They could,” He said, “the well settling that  
 “Affair would require great Prudence and Discretion,  
 “and the Absence of all Passion and Precipitation.”

His Majesty concluded with assuring them, “that He  
 “did promise himself great Fruits from that Conversation  
 “He had with them, and that They would justify the  
 “Confidence He had in their Affections, by letting the  
 “World see, that They took his Concernments to Heart,  
 “and were ready to do whatsoever He desired for the  
 “Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.”

*The Liturgy  
 presented to  
 the House of  
 Lords with  
 the King's  
 Confirmation.*

WHEN the *Book of Common Prayer* was, by the King's  
 Command, presented to the House of Lords by the two  
 Archbishops (for it had been approved by the Convoca-  
 tion of the Province of *York*, as well as by that of *Can-*  
*terbury*) confirmed by his Majesty under the Great Seal of  
*England*; the Book itself took up no Debate: Only the  
 Earl of *Northumberland* proposed, “that the old *Book of*  
 “*Common Prayer* might be confirmed without any Altera-  
 “tion or Addition, and then the same *Act of Uniformity*,  
 “that had been in the Time of *Queen Elizabeth*, would  
 “be likewise applied to it; whereas a new *Act of Uni-*  
 “formity might take up much Time and raise much

“Debate,

“Debate, all which would be avoided by adhering to the old.”

WHATEVER that Lord's Opinion was, He was known to be of the Presbyterian Party. And it was answered, “that if that Proposition had been heartily made when the King came into *England*, it would have met with a general Approbation, and prevented much Sharpness and Animosity, which had since risen by those who opposed that excellent Form. But after the Clergy had so bitterly inveighed against many Parts thereof, and prevailed with his Majesty to suspend the Use of it till it might be revised, as by his Declaration of the five and twentieth of *October* He had done, and thereupon had granted his Commission under the Great Seal of *England* to several Bishops and other Divines, to review the *Book of Common Prayer*, and to prepare such Alterations and Additions as They thought fit to offer; and that afterwards his Majesty had been pleased to authorize the Convocations of Both the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, called and assembled by his Majesty's Authority, to review the said *Book of Prayer*, and the *Book of the Form and Manner of the making and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons*; and that now after the Bishops and Clergy of Both Provinces had, upon great Deliberation and upon reviewing those Books, prepared and consented to some Alterations, and to the Addition of several Prayers to be used upon emergent Occasions, all which his Majesty had already ratified and confirmed: It could not but be understood Matter of great Levity and Offence, to reject this Book, that was now with all this Ceremony and Solemnity presented, for no other Reason but because They liked better the old Book, which had been for twenty Years discontinued and rejected.” And therefore it was moved, (152) “that there might not be such an Affront put upon the Convocation, and upon the King himself.” And so with little more publick Contest the Book itself was consented and submitted to.

*And consented  
to by them.*

BUT then the *Act of Uniformity* depended long, and took up much Debate in Both Houses. In the House of Peers, where the Act first began, there were many Things inserted, which had not been contained in the former *Act of Uniformity*, and so seemed to carry somewhat of Novelty in them. It admitted “no Person to have any Cure

*Debates there  
upon the Act  
of Uniformity.*



“ of Souls or any Ecclesiastical Dignity in the Church of  
 “ *England*, but such who had been or should be ordained  
 “ Priest or Deacon by some Bishop, that is, who had not  
 “ Episcopal Ordination ; excepting only the Ministers or  
 “ Pastors of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London*  
 “ and other Places, allowed by the King, who should en-  
 “ joy the Privileges They had.”

THIS was new ; for there had been many and at pre-  
 sent there were some, who possessed Benefices with Cure  
 of Souls, and other Ecclesiastical Promotions, who had  
 never received Orders but in *France* or in *Holland* ; and  
 these Men must now receive new Ordination, which had  
 been always held unlawful in the Church, or by this Act  
 of Parliament must be deprived of their Livelihood, which  
 They enjoyed in the most flourishing and peaceable Time  
 of the Church. And therefore it was said, “ that this had  
 “ not been the Opinion of the Church of *England* ; and  
 “ that it would lay a great Reproach upon all other Pro-  
 “ testant Churches who had no Bishops, as if They had  
 “ no Ministers, and consequently were no Churches : For  
 “ that it was well known the Church of *England* did not  
 “ allow Reordination, as the ancient Church never ad-  
 “ mitted it ; infomuch as if any Priest of the Church of  
 “ *Rome* renounces the Communion thereof, his Ordina-  
 “ tion is not questioned, but he is as capable of any Pre-  
 “ ferment in this Church, as if He had been ordained in  
 “ it. And therefore the not admitting the Ministers of  
 “ other *Protestants* to have the same Privilege, can pro-  
 “ ceed from no other Ground, than that They looked not  
 “ upon them as Ministers, having no Ordination ; which  
 “ is a Judgment the Church of *England* had not ever  
 “ owned : And that it would be very imprudent to do  
 “ it now.”

To this it was answered, “ that the Church of *England*  
 “ judged none but her own Children, nor did determine  
 “ that other Protestant Churches were without Ordina-  
 “ tion. It is a Thing without her Cognizance : And most  
 “ of the learned Men of those Churches had made Ne-  
 “ cessity the chief Pillar to support that Ordination of  
 “ theirs. That Necessity cannot be pleaded here, where  
 “ Ordination is given according to the unquestionable  
 “ Practice of the Church of Christ : If They who pretend  
 “ foreign Ordination are his Majesty's Subjects, They  
 “ have no Excuse of Necessity, for They might in all  
 “ Times

Upon the  
 Clause re-  
 quiring Epis-  
 copal Ordina-  
 tion.

"Times have received Episcopal Ordination, and so  
 "They did upon the Matter renounce their own Church;  
 "if They are Strangers, and pretend to Preferment in  
 "this Church, They ought to conform and to be subject  
 "to the Laws of the Kingdom, which concern only those  
 "who desire to live under the Protection thereof. For  
 "the Argument of Reordination, there is no such Thing  
 "required. Rebaptization is not allowed in or by any  
 "Church: Yet in all Churches where it is doubted, as it  
 "may be often with very good Reason, whether the Per-  
 "son hath been baptized or no, or if it hath been bap-  
 "tized by a Midwife or lay Person; without determining  
 "the Validity or Invalidity of such Baptism, there is an  
 "hypothetical Form, *If Thou hast not been already bap-*  
 "*tized, I do baptize, &c.* So in this Case of Ordina-  
 (153) "tion, the Form may be the same, *If Thou hast not been*  
 "*already ordained, then I do ordain, &c.* If his former  
 "Ordination were good, this is void; if the other was in-  
 "valid or defective, He hath Reason to be glad that it  
 "be thus supplied." After much Debate, that Clause  
 remained still in the Act: And very many who had re-  
 ceived Presbyterian Orders in the late Times, came very  
 willingly to be ordained in the Manner aforesaid by a Bi-  
 shop; and very few chose to quit or lose a Parsonage or  
 Vicarage of any Value upon that Scruple.

THERE was another Clause in the Bill, that made very  
 much more Noise afterwards, though for the present it  
 took not up so much Time, and in Truth was little taken  
 Notice of: That is, a Form of Subscription that every  
 Man was to make, who had received, or before He re-  
 ceived, any Benefice or Preferment in the Church; which  
 comprehended all the Governours, Superiours and Fel-  
 lows, in all the Colleges and Halls of either University,  
 and all Schoolmasters and the like, who are subservient  
 towards Learning. Every such Person was to declare  
 "his unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every Thing  
 "contained and prescribed in and by the Book, entitled  
 "*The Book of Common Prayer, &c.*" The Subscription  
 was generally thought so reasonable, that it scarce met  
 with any Opposition in either House. But when it came  
 abroad, and was to be submitted to, all the dissenting  
 Brethren cried out, "that it was a Snare to catch them,  
 "to say that which could not consist with their Con-  
 "sciences." They took great Pains to distinguish and to

*A Clause  
 afterwards  
 raised about  
 the Clause of  
 Assent and  
 Consent.*

make great Difference between *Affent* and *Consent*: “ They  
 “ could be content to read the Book in the Manner They  
 “ were obliged to do, which shewed their Consent; but  
 “ declaring their unfeigned *Affent* to every Thing con-  
 “ tained and prescribed therein would imply, that They  
 “ were so fully convinced in their Judgments, as to think  
 “ that it was so perfect, that Nothing therein could be  
 “ amended, which for their Part They thought there  
 “ might. That there were many Expressions in the *Ru-*  
 “ *brick*, which They were not bound to read; yet by  
 “ this *Affent* They declared their Approbation thereof.”  
 But after many tedious Discourses of this tyrannical-Im-  
 position, They grew by Degrees ashamed of it; and  
 were persuaded to think, that *Affent* and *Consent* had so  
 near the same Signification, that They could hardly con-  
 sent to do what They did not assent to: So that the  
 chiefest amongst them, to avoid a very little Inconveni-  
 ence, subscribed the same.

But there was shortly after another Clause added, that  
 gave them Trouble indeed. When the Bill had passed  
 the Lords House, it was sent of Course to the Commons;  
 where though all the Factions in Religion had too many  
 Friends, for the most contrary and opposite one to ano-  
 ther always were united and reconciled against the Church,  
 yet They who were zealous for the Government, and who  
 hated all the other Factions at least enough, were very  
 much superiour in Number and in Reputation. And the  
 Bill was no sooner read there, than every Man according  
 to his Passion thought of adding somewhat to it, that  
 might make it more grievous to Somebody whom He did  
 not love; which made the Discourses tedious and vehe-  
 ment and full of Animosity. And at last They agreed  
 upon a Clause, which contained another Subscription and  
 Declaration, which every Man was to make before He  
 could be admitted into any Benefice or Ecclesiastical Pro-  
 motion, or to be a Governour or Fellow in either of the  
 Universities. He must first declare, “ that it is not lawful  
 “ upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against  
 “ the King; and that He doth abhor that traiterous Po-  
 “ sition of taking Arms by his Authority against his Per-  
 “ son, or against those that are commissioned by him; (154)  
 “ and that He will conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church  
 “ of *England*, as it is now by Law established.” And He  
 doth declare, “ that He doth hold there lies no Obliga-  
 “ tion

*The Bill passed  
by the Lords.*

*Amendments  
made by the  
House of Com-  
mons.*

“tion upon him, or on any other Person, from the Oath  
 “commonly called *The solemn League and Covenant*, to  
 “endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government,  
 “either in Church or State; and that the same was in it-  
 “self an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects  
 “of this Realm, against the known Laws and Liberties  
 “of the Kingdom;” with some other Clauses, which  
 need not be mentioned because they were afterwards  
 left out. And with this Addition, and some other Altera-  
 tions, They returned the Bill again to the Lords for their  
 Approbation.

*The Bill re-  
 turned to the  
 Lords.*

THE framing and forming this Clause had taken up  
 very much Time, and raised no less Passion in the House  
 of Commons: And now it came among the Lords, it  
 was not less troublesome. It added to the Displeasure and  
 Jealousy against the Bishops, by whom it was thought to  
 be prepared, and commended to their Party in the lower  
 House. Many Lords, who had taken the *Covenant*, were not  
 so much concerned that the Clergy (for whom only this  
 Act was prepared) should be obliged to make this De-  
 claration; but apprehended more, that when such a Clause  
 should be once passed in one Act of Parliament, it could  
 not after be disputed, and so would be inserted into all  
 other Acts which related to the Function of any other Of-  
 fices, and so would in a short Time be required of them-  
 selves. And therefore They opposed it warmly “as a  
 “Thing unnecessary, and which would widen the Breach,  
 “instead of closing up the Wounds that had been made;  
 “which the King had made it his Business to do, and the  
 “Parliament had hitherto concurred with his Majesty in  
 “that Endeavour. That many Men would believe or  
 “fear (which in such a Case is the same), that this Clause  
 “might prove a Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, which had  
 “not only provided against Indictments and Suits at Law  
 “and Penalties, but against Reproaches for what was  
 “past, which this Clause would be understood to give  
 “new Life to. For what concerned the Conformity to  
 “the *Liturgy* of the Church as it is now established, it is  
 “provided for as fully in the former Subscription in this  
 “Act, and therefore is impertinent in this Place. That  
 “the *Covenant* contained many good Things in it, as  
 “defending the King’s Person, and maintaining the Pro-  
 “testant Religion: And therefore to say that there  
 “lies no Obligation from it, would neither be for the

*Debates upon  
 the Amend-  
 ments made by  
 the Commons.*

“Service of the King or the Interest of the Church; especially since it was well known, that it had wrought upon the Conscience of many to serve the King in the late Revolution, from which his Majesty had received great Advantage. However it was now dead, all Men were absolved from taking it, nor could it be imposed or offered to any Man without Punishment; and They, who had in the ill Times been forced to take it, did now inviolably and cheerfully perform all the Duties of Allegiance and Fidelity to his Majesty. If it had at any Time produced any Good, that was an Excuse for the Irregularity of it: It could do no Mischief for the future; and therefore that it was Time to bury it in Oblivion.”

MANY Men believed, that though They insisted principally on that Part which related to the *Covenant*, They were in Truth more afflicted with the first Part; in which it was declared, “that it was not lawful, upon any Pretext whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that He doth abhor that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person:” Which Conclusions had been the Principles which supported their<sup>(155)</sup> Rebellion, and by which They had imposed upon the People, and got their Concurrence. They durst not oppose this, because the Parliament had already by a former Act declared the Law to be so in those Particulars: Yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular Declaration (for They looked upon it as that which in a short Time must be their own), They should upon the Matter confess themselves to have been Traitors, which They had not yet been declared to have been; and no Man could now justify the calling them so.

THEY who were most solicitous that the House should concur with the Commons in this Addition, had Field-room enough to expatiate upon the gross Iniquity of the *Covenant*. They made themselves very merry with the Allegation, “that the King’s Safety and the Interest of the Church were provided for by the *Covenant*, when it had been therefore entered into, to fight against the King and to destroy the Church. That there was no one lawful or honest Clause in the *Covenant*, that was not destroyed or made of no Signification by the next that succeeded; and if it were not, the same Obligation was better provided for by some other Oaths, which  
“the

“ the same had or ought to have taken, and which ought  
 “ to have restrained them from taking the *Covenant*: And  
 “ therefore it may justly be pronounced that there is no  
 “ Obligation upon any Man from thence. That there  
 “ was no Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, nor any Re-  
 “ proach upon any Man for having taken it, except what  
 “ would result from his own Conscience. But that it was  
 “ most absolutely necessary for the Safety of the King’s  
 “ Person, and the Peace of the Kingdom, that They who  
 “ had taken it should declare, that They do not believe  
 “ themselves to be bound by it: Otherwise They may still  
 “ think, that They may fight against the King, and must  
 “ conspire the Destruction of the Church. And They  
 “ cannot take too much Care, or use too much Diligence,  
 “ to discover who are of that Opinion; that They may be  
 “ strictly looked unto, and restrained from doing that  
 “ which They take themselves obliged to do. That the  
 “ *Covenant* is not dead, ‘as was alleged, but still retains  
 “ great Vigour; was still the Idol to which the *Presby-*  
 “ *terians* sacrificed: And that there must and would al-  
 “ ways be a general Jealousy of all those who had taken it,  
 “ until They had declared that it did not bind them;  
 “ especially of the Clergy, who had so often enlarged in  
 “ their Pulpits, how absolutely and indispensably all Men  
 “ were obliged to prosecute the End of it, which is to de-  
 “ stroy the Church, whatever Danger it brings the King’s  
 “ Person to, And therefore They of all Men ought to  
 “ be glad of this Opportunity, that was offered, to vin-  
 “ dicate their Loyalty and Obedience; and if They were  
 “ not ready to do so, They were not fit to be trusted  
 “ with the Charge and Care of the Souls of the King’s  
 “ Subjects.”

AND in Truth there were not any more importunate for  
 the enjoining this Declaration, than many who had taken The Lords con-  
sent to most of  
the Amend-  
ments,  
 the *Covenant*. Many who had never taken it, and had  
 always detested it, and paid soundly for being known to  
 do so, were yet very sorry that it was inserted at this  
 Time and in this Place; for They foresaw it would make  
 Divisions, and keep up the several Factions, which would  
 have been much weakened, and in a short Time brought  
 to Nothing, if the *Presbyterians* had been separated from  
 the rest, who did perfectly hate and were as perfectly  
 hated by all the rest. But since it was brought upon the  
 Stage, and it had been the Subject of so much Debate,

They believed the House of Lords could not now refuse to concur with the Commons, without undergoing some Reproach and Scandal of not having an ill Opinion enough of the *Covenant*; of which as They were in no Degree<sup>(156)</sup> guilty, so They thought it to be of mischievous Consequence to be suspected to be so. And therefore, after They had expunged some other Parts of that Subscription which had been annexed to it, and mended some other Expressions in other Places, which might rather irritate than compose those Humours which already boiled too much, They returned the Bill to the House of Commons; which submitted to all that They had done: And so it was presented to the King, who could not well refuse his Royal Assent, nor did in his own Judgment or Inclination dislike what was offered to him.

*The Commons agree with the Lords.*

*The King confirms the Bill.*

By this *Act of Uniformity* there was an End put to all the Liberty and License, which had been practised in all Churches from the Time of his Majesty's Return, and by his Declaration that He had emitted afterwards. The *Common Prayer* must now be constantly read in all Churches, and no other Form admitted: And what Clergyman soever did not fully conform to whatsoever was contained in that Book, or enjoined by the *Act of Uniformity*, by or before *St. Bartholomew-Day*, which was about three Months after the Act was published; He was *ipso facto* deprived of his Benefice, or any other spiritual Promotion of which He stood possessed, and the Patron was to present another in his Place, as if He were dead: So that it was not in the King's Power to give any Dispensation to any Man, that could preserve him against the Penalty in the *Act of Uniformity*.

THIS Act was no sooner published (for I am willing to continue this Relation to the Execution of it, because there were some intervening Accidents that were not understood), than all the Presbyterian Ministers expressed their Disapprobation of it with all the Passion imaginable. They complained "that the King had violated his Promise made to them in his Declaration from *Breda*," which was urged with great Uningenuity, and without any Shadow of Right; for his Majesty had thereby referred the whole Settlement of all Things relating to Religion, to the Wisdom of Parliament; and declared, "in the mean Time that Nobody should be punished or questioned, for continuing the Exercise of his Religion

*The Presbyterian Ministers complain of the King's Violation of his Declaration.*

"in

"in the Way He had been accustomed to in the late "Confusions." And his Majesty had continued this Indulgence by his Declaration after his Return, and thereby fully complied with his Promise from *Breda*; which He should indeed have violated, if He had now refused to concur in the Settlement the Parliament had agreed upon, being in Truth no less obliged to concur with the Parliament in the Settlement that the Parliament should propose to him, than He was not to cause any Man to be punished for not obeying the former Laws, till a new Settlement should be made. But how evident soever this Truth is, They would not acknowledge it; but armed their Profelytes with confident Assertions, and unnatural Interpretations of the Words in the King's Declaration, as if the King were bound to grant Liberty of Conscience, whatever the Parliament should or should not desire, that is, to leave all Men to live according to their own Humours and Appetites, let what Laws soever be made to the contrary. They declared "that They could not with "a good Conscience either subscribe the one or the other "Declaration: They could not say that They did assent "or consent in the first, nor declare in the second that "there remained no Obligation from the *Covenant*; and "therefore that They were all resolved to quit their Livings, and to depend upon Providence for their Subsistence."

THERE cannot be a better Evidence of the general Affection of the Kingdom, than that this Act of Parliament had so concurrent an Approbation of the two Houses of (157) Parliament, after a Suppression of that Form of Devotion for near twenty Years, and the highest Discountenance and Oppression of all those who were known to be devoted or affected to it. And from the Time of the King's Return, when it was lawful to use it, though it was not enjoined, Persons of all Conditions flocked to those Churches where it was used. And it was by very many sober Men believed, that if the *Presbyterians* and the other Factions in Religion had been only permitted to exercise their own Ways, without any Countenance from the Court; the Heart of all the Factions against the Church would have been broken, before the Parliament did so fully declare itself.

*The Act in general well received.*

AND there cannot be a greater Manifestation of the Distemper and License of the Time, than the Presumption



*Reflections on  
the Behaviour  
of the Presby-  
terian Minis-  
ters.*

tion of those Presbyterian Ministers, in the opposing and contradicting an Act of Parliament; when there was scarce a Man in that Number, who had not been so great a Promoter of the Rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that They had no other Title to their Lives but by the King's Mercy; and there were very few amongst them, who had not come into the Possession of the Churches They now held, by the Expulsion of the Orthodox Ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their Imprisonment, Poverty, and other Kinds of Oppression and Contempt during so many Years, departed this Life, the Usurpers remained undisturbed in their Livings, and thought it now the highest Tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the Law, and Disobedience to the Government. That those Men should give themselves an Act of Oblivion of all their Transgressions and Wickedness, and take upon them again to pretend a Liberty of Conscience against the Government, which They had once overthrown upon their Pretences; was such an Impudence, as could not have fallen into the Hearts even of those Men from the Stock of their own Malice, without some great Defect in the Government, and Encouragement or Countenance from the highest Powers. The King's too gracious Disposition and easiness of Access, as hath been said before, had from the Beginning raised their Hopes and dispelled their Fears; whilst his Majesty promised himself a great Harvest in their Conversion, by his Gentleness and Affability. And They insinuated themselves by a Profession, "that it was more the Regard of his Service, than any Obstinacy in themselves, which kept them from Conformity to what the Law had enjoined; that They might still preserve their Credit with their Parishioners, and by Degrees bring them to a perfect Obedience:" Whereas indeed all the Corruption was in the Clergy; and where a prudent and Orthodox Man was in the Pulpit, the People very willingly heard the *Common Prayer*.

*They have too  
free Access to  
the King.*

NOR did this Confidence leave them, after the passing and publishing this *Act of Uniformity*: But the *London* Ministers, who had the Government of those in the Country, prevailed with the General (who without any violent Inclinations of his own was always ready for his Wife's Sake) to bring them to the King, who always received

received them with too much Clemency, and dismissed them with too much Hope. They lamented "the Sadness of their Condition, which (after having done so much Service to his Majesty, and been so graciously promised by him his Protection) must now be exposed to all Misery and Famine." They told him "what a vast Number of Churches" (five Times more than was true) "would become void by this Act, which would not prove for his Service; and that They much feared, the People would not continue as quiet and peaceable as They had been under their Oversight." They used all the Arguments They thought might work upon him; And He seemed to be the more moved, because (158) He knew that it was not in his Power to help them. He told them, "He had great Compassion for them; and was heartily sorry that the Parliament had been so severe towards them, which He would remit, if it were in his Power; and therefore that They should advise with their Friends, and that if They found that it would be in his Power to give them any Ease, They should find him inclined to gratify them in whatsoever They desired:" Which gracious Expressions raised their Spirits as high as ever; and They reported to their Friends much more than in Truth the King had said to them (which was no new Artifice with them), and advised their Friends in all Parts "to be firm to their Principles," and assured them, "that the Rigour of the Act of Parliament should not be pressed against them."

It cannot be denied, that the King was too irresolute, and apt to be shaken in those Counsels which with the greatest Deliberation He had concluded, by too easily permitting or at least not restraining any Men who waited upon him, or were present with him in his Recesses, to examine and censure what was resolved; an Infirmary that brought him many Troubles, and exposed his Ministers to Ruin: Though in his Nature, Judgment and Inclinations He did detest the *Presbyterians*; and by the Experience He had of their Faculties, Pride and Insolence in *Scotland*, had brought from thence such an Abhorrence of them, that for their Sakes He thought better of any of the other Factions. Nor had He any Kindness for any Person whom He suspected to adhere to them: For the Lord *Lauterdale* took all Pains to be thought no *Presbyterian*; and pleased himself better with  
no

no Humour, than laughing at that People, and telling ridiculous Stories of their Folly and foul Corruptions. Yet the King, from the Opinion He had of their great Power to do him Good or Harm, which was oftentimes unskilfully insinuated to him by Men who He knew were not of their Party, but were really deceived themselves by a wrong Computation and Estimate of their Interest, was not willing to be thought an Enemy to them. And there were too many bold Speakers about the Court too often admitted into his Presence, who being without any Sense of Religion, thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any Trouble and Disturbance on the Behalf of any one.

THE continued Address and Importunity of these Ministers, as *St. Bartholomew's* Day approached nearer, more disquieted the King. They enlarged with many Words "on the great Joy that They and all their Friends had received, from the Compassion his Majesty so graciously had expressed on their Behalf, which They would never forget, or forfeit by any undutiful Carriage." They confessed "that They found, upon Conference with their Friends who wished them well, and upon Perusal of the Act of Parliament, that it was not in his Majesty's Power to give them so much Protection against the Penalty of the Act of Parliament, as They had hoped, and as his great Goodness was inclined to give them. But that it would be an unspeakable Comfort to them, if his Majesty's Grace towards them were so manifested, that the People might discern that this extreme Rigour was not grateful to him, but that He could be well content if it were for some Time suspended; and therefore They were humble Suitors to him, that He would by his Letters to the Bishops, or by a Proclamation, or an Act of Council, or any other Way his Majesty should think fit, publish his Desire that the Execution of the *Act of Uniformity*, as to all but the Reading of the *Liturgy*, which They would conform to, might be suspended for three Months; and that He would take it well from the Bishops or any of the Patrons, who<sup>(159)</sup> would so far comply with his Desire, as not to take any Advantage of those Clauses in the Statute, which gave them Authority to present as in a Vacancy. They doubted not there would be many, who would willingly submit to his Majesty's Pleasure: But whatever the  
"Effect

“Effect should be, They would pay the same humble Acknowledgments to his Majesty, as if it had produced all that They desired.”

WHETHER his Majesty thought it would do them no Good, and therefore that it was no Matter if He granted it; or that He thought it no Prejudice to the Church, if the Act were suspended for three Months; or that He was willing to redeem himself from the present Impor-  
tunity (an Infirmary He was too often guilty of): True it is, He did make them a positive Promise, “that He would do what They desired;” with which They were abundantly satisfied, and renewed their Encouragement to their Friends “to persevere to the End.” And this Promise was solemnly given to them in the Presence of the General, who was to solicit the King’s Dispatch, that his Pleasure might be known in due Time. It was now the long Vacation, and few of the Council were then in Town, or of the Bishops, with whom his Majesty too late thought it necessary to confer, that such an Instrument might be prepared as was fit for the Affair. Hereupon the King told the Chancellor (who was not thought Friend enough to the *Presbyterians* to be sooner communicated with) all that had passed, what the Ministers had desired, and what He had promised; and bade him “to think of the best Way of doing it.”

*The King promises to suspend the Execution of the Act.*

THE Chancellor was one of those, who would have been glad that the Act had not been clogged with many of those Clauses, which He foresaw might produce some Inconveniences; but when it was passed, He thought it absolutely necessary to see Obedience paid to it without any Connivance: And therefore, as He had always dissuaded the King from giving so much Countenance to those Applications, which He always knew published more to be said than in Truth was ever spoken, and was the more troubled for this Progress They had made with the King; He told his Majesty, “that it was not in his Power to preserve those Men, who did not submit to do all that was to be done by the Act, from Deprivation.” He gave many Reasons which occurred, why “such a Declaration as was desired would prove ineffectual to the End for which it was desired, and what Inconveniences would result from attempting it.” His Majesty alleged many Reasons for the doing it, which He had received from those who desired it, and seemed sorry

sorry that they were no better; however concluded, "that He had engaged his Word, and that He would perform what He had promised;" and required him not to oppose it. The Chancellor had always been very tender of his Honour; and advised him "to be very wary in making any Promise, but when He had made it, to perform it though to his Disadvantage:" And it was no new Thing to him, to be reproached for opposing the resolving to do such or such a Thing, and then to be reproached again for pursuing the Resolution.

THE King was at *Hampton-Court*, and sent for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and of *Winchester*, to attend him, with the Chief Justice *Bridgman*, and the Attorney General: There were likewise the Chancellor, the General, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Secretaries. His Majesty acquainted them with "the Importunities used by the *London* Ministers, and the Reasons They had offered why a further Time should be given to them to consider of what was so new to them; and what Answer He had given to them; and (160) how They had renewed their Importunity with a Desire of such a Declaration from him as is mentioned before, in which He thought there was no Inconvenience, and therefore had promised to do it, and called them now together to advise of the best Way of doing it." The Bishops were very much troubled, that those Fellows should still presume to give his Majesty so much Vexation, and that They should have such Access to him. They gave such Arguments against the doing what was desired, as could not be answered; and for themselves, They desired "to be excused for not con-  
 -niving in any Degree at the Breach of the Act of Parliament, either by not presenting a Clerk where themselves were Patrons, or deferring to give Institution upon the Presentation of others: And that his Majesty's giving such a Declaration or Recommendation would be the greatest Wound to the Church, and to the Government thereof, that it could receive."

*He endeavours to fulfil his Promise.*

THE Chancellor, who did really believe that the King and his Service would suffer more by the Breach of his Word and Promise, than either could do from doing the Thing desired, confessed "that He believed it would do them little Good, which would not be imputed to his Majesty, when He had done all He could do; and  
 " that

“that it would be a greater Conformity; if the Ministers generally performed what They offered to do, in reading all the Service of the Church, than had been these many Years; and that once having done what was known to be so contrary to their Inclinations, would be an Engagement upon them in a short Time to comply with the rest of their Obligations: And therefore,” He said, “He should not dissuade his Majesty from doing what He had promised;” which indeed He had good Reason to think He was resolved to do, whatever He was advised to the contrary. The King demanded the Judgment of the Lawyers, “whether He could legally dispense with the Observation of the Act for three Months;” who answered, “that notwithstanding any Thing He could do in their Favour, the Patrons might present their Clerk as if the Incumbents were dead, upon their Not-performance of what They were enjoined.” Upon the whole Matter the King was converted; and with great Bitterness against that People in general, and against the particular Persons whom He had always received too graciously, concluded that He would not do what was desired, and that the Connivance should not be given to any of them.

*But such is  
not in his  
Power.*

THE Bishops departed full of Satisfaction with the King's Resolution, and as unsatisfied with their Friend the Chancellor's Inclination to gratify that People, not knowing the Engagement that was upon him. And this Jealousy produced a greater Coldness from some of them towards him, and a greater Resentment from him, who thought He had deserved better from their Function and their Persons, than was in a long Time, if ever, perfectly reconciled. Yet He never declined in the least Degree his Zeal for the Government of the Church, or the Interest of those Persons; nor thought They could be blamed for their Severity against those Ministers, who were surely the proudest Malefactors, and the most incapable of being gently treated, of any Men living. For if any of the Bishops used them kindly, and endeavoured to persuade them to Conformity, They reported “that They had been caressed and flattered by the Bishops, and offered great Preferments, which They had bravely refused to accept for the Preservation of a good Conscience:” And in Reports of this Kind, few of them ever observed any Rules of Ingenuity or Sincerity.

*The great Dis-  
ingenuity of  
the Presby-  
terian Mini-  
sters.*

WHEN

*They endeavoured to raise Discontents in the People.*

WHEN They saw that They were to expect and undergo the worst, They agreed upon a Method to be observed by them in the leaving and parting with their Pulpits: And the last *Sunday* They were to preach, They endeavoured to infuse Murmur, Jealousy and Sedition into the Hearts of their several Auditories; and to prepare them "to expect and bear with Patience and Courage all the Persecutions which were like to follow, now "the Light of the Gospel was so near being extinguished." And all those Sermons They called their Farewel Sermons, and caused to be printed together, with every one of the Preachers Pictures before their Sermons; which in Truth contained all the Vanity and Ostentation with Reference to themselves, and all the Insinuations to Mutiny and Rebellion, that could be warily couched in Words which could not be brought within Penalty of Law, though their Meaning was well understood.

*An English majority of them conform.*

WHEN the Time was expired, better Men were put into their Churches, though with much murmuring of some of their Parishes for a Time, increased by their loud Clamour, "that They had been betrayed by the King's "Promise that They should have three Months longer "Time:" Which drew the like Clamour upon them by those, who had hearkened to their Advice in continuing their Obstinacy in Confidence of a Dispensation; whereas otherwise They would have conformed, as very many of their Party did. And many of the other who were cozened by them, and so lost the Livings They had, made all the Haste They could to make themselves capable of getting others, by as full Subscriptions and Conformity as the *Act* of Uniformity required. And the greatest of them, after some Time, and after They found that the private Bounty and Donatives, which at first flowed in upon them in Compassion of their Sufferings and to keep up their Courages, every Day began to slacken, and would in the End expire, subscribed to those very Declarations, which They had urged as the greatest Motives to their Nonconformity. And the Number was very small, and of very weak and inconsiderable Men, that continued refractory, and received no Charge in the Church: Though it may without Breach of Charity be believed, that many who did subscribe had the same Malignity to the Church, and to the Government of it; and it may

may be did more Harm, than if They had continued in their Inconformity.

THE long Time spent in Both Houses upon the *Act of* *Great Animosities in Parliament about private Bills.*  
*Uniformity* had made the Progress of all other publick Business much the slower; or rather, the Multitude of private Bills which depended there (and with which former Parliaments had been very rarely troubled), and the Bitterness and Animosities which arose from thence, exceedingly disquieted and discomposed the House; every Man being so much concerned for the Interest of his Friends or Allies, that He was more solicitous for the Dispatch of those, than of any which related to the King and the Publick, which He knew would by a general Concurrence be all passed before the Session should be made; whereas if the other should be deferred, the Session would quickly follow (which the King by frequent Messages desired to hasten, having received News already of the Queen's having been at Sea many Days), and the Benefit of those Pretences would be lost, and with greater Difficulty be recovered in a succeeding Session. Then as those private Bills were for the particular Benefit and Advantage of some Persons, which engaged all their Friends to be very solicitous for their Dispatch; so for the most Part they were to the Loss and Damage of other Persons, who likewise called in Aid of all their Friends to prevent the Houses Consent: And by this Means so many Factions were kindled in Both Houses, between those who (162)drove on the Interest of their own or of their Relations, who mutually looked upon one another as Enemies, and against those who for Justice and the Dignity of Parliament would have rejected all or most of the Addresses of that Kind; that in most Debates which related to neither, the Custom of Contradiction, and the Aversion to Persons, very much disturbed and prolonged all Dispatch.

It cannot be denied, that after a civil War of so many Years, prosecuted with that Height of Malice and Revenge, so many Houses plundered and so many burned, in which the Evidences of many Estates were totally destroyed, and as many by the unskilful Providence of others, who in Order to preserve them had buried their Writings so unwarily under Ground, that they were taken up so defaced or rotted, that they could not be pleaded in any Court of Justice; many who had followed the



King in the War, and so made themselves liable to those Penalties which the Parliament had prepared for them and subjected them to; had made many feigned Conveyances, with such Limitations and so absolutely (that no Trust might be discovered by those who had Power to avoid it) that they were indeed too absolute to be avoided by themselves, and their Estates become so much out of their own Disposal, that They could neither apply them to the Payment of their just Debts, or to the Provision for their Children: I say, there were many such Cases, which could be no other Way provided for but by an Act of Parliament, and to which an Act of Parliament without too much Severity and Rigour could not be denied. And against any of those there appeared none or very little Opposition to be made.

BUT the Example and Precedent of such drew with them a World of unreasonable Pretences; and They, who were not in a Condition to receive Relief in any Court of Justice, thought They had a Ground to appeal to Parliament. They who had been compelled, for raising the Money They were forced to pay for their Delinquency, to sell Land, and could not sell it but at a very low Value (for it was one Species of the Oppression of that Time, that when a powerful Man had an Aspect upon the Land of any Man who was to compound, and so in View like to sell it, no other Man would offer any Money for it, so that He was sure at last to have it upon his own Price); now all that monstrous Power was vanished, They who had made those unthrifty Bargains and Sales, though with all the Formalities of Law, by Fines and Recoveries and the like (which is all the Security that can be given upon a Purchase), especially if the Purchaser was of an ill Name, came with all imaginable Confidence to the Parliament, to have their Land restored to them. Every Man had raised an Equity in his own Imagination, that He thought ought to prevail against any Descent, Testament or Act of Law; and that whatever any Man had been brought to do, which common Reason would make manifest that He would never have done if He could have chosen, was Argument sufficient of such a Force, and ought to find Relief in Parliament, from the unbounded Equity They were Masters of and could dispense, whatever Formalities of Law had preceded or accompanied the Transaction. And whoever opposed those  
extra-

extravagant Notions, which sometimes deprived Men of the Benefit of the *Act of Oblivion*, was thought to be without Justice, or which to them was worse, to be without any Kindness to the King's Party. And without Question, upon those Motives or others as unreasonable, many Acts were passed of very ill Example, and which many Men were scandalized at in the present, and Posterity will more censure hereafter, when Infants who were then unborn shall find themselves disinherited of those Estates, which (163) their Ancestors had carefully provided should descend to them; upon which Irregularities the King made Reflection when He made the Session.

BUT notwithstanding all these Incongruities, and the Indispositions which attended them, They performed all those Respects towards the King, which He did or could expect from them; there being scarce a Man, who opposed the granting any Thing that was proposed for the Benefit of his Majesty, or the Greatness of the Crown: And though some of the Particulars mentioned before did sometimes intervene, to hinder and defer the present Resolutions and Conclusions in those Counsels, the Resolutions and Conclusions in a short Time after succeeded according to the King's Wish. The Militia and many other Regalities were declared and settled according to the original Sense of the Law, and the Authority of the Crown vindicated to the Height it had been at upon the Heads of the greatest Kings who had ever reigned in the Nation. Monies were raised by several Bills, sufficient as They conceived to have paid all the Debts the King or the Kingdom owed; for in their Computations They comprehended the Debts that were owing before his Majesty's Return, and for which the publick Faith had been engaged: And if as much had been paid as They conceived They had given, probably it might have been enough to have discharged all those. They settled a constant Revenue upon the Crown, which according to the Estimate They made would amount to the yearly Revenue of twelve hundred thousand Pounds, a Proportion double to what it was in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and it may be of any King preceding; and declared, "that if it did not amount to that full Value, They would supply it at another Meeting." And though it hath not in Truth amounted to that Sum in his Majesty's Receipts, the Parliament hath imputed it rather to ill Managery, and letting Farms at

*The Parliament proceeds with great Duty towards the King.*

too easy Rates; than to an Error in their Computation. For the present, it was looked upon by the King and by his Ministers as answerable to his Expectation. And so, upon Notice of the Queen's being upon the Coast, and afterwards of her Arrival at *Portsmouth*, the King appointed the Houses to present all their Bills to him upon the nineteenth of *May* for his Royal Assent, it being few Days above a Year from the Time of their being first convened.

*The King's  
Speech to the  
Parliament.*

WHEN the King came to the Parliament, and They had presented the great Number of Bills which They had prepared, and after He had given his Royal Assent to most of them, his Majesty told them, "that He thought "there had been very few Sessions of Parliament, in "which there had been so many Bills, as He had passed "that Day: He was confident, never so many private "Bills, which He hoped They would not draw into Ex- "ample. It was true," He said, "the late ill Times had "driven Men into great Streights, and might have "obliged them to make Conveyances colourably, to "avoid Inconveniences, and yet not afterwards to be "avoided; and Men had gotten Estates by new and "greater Frauds than had been heretofore practised; and "therefore in this Conjuncture extraordinary Remedies "might be necessary, which had induced him to comply "with their Advice in passing those Bills; but He prayed "them that this should be rarely done hereafter: That "the good old Rules of the Law are the best Security;" and He wished "that Men might not have too much "Cause to fear, that the Settlements which They make "of their Estates shall be too easily unsettled, when They "are dead, by the Power of Parliament."

He said, "They had too much obliged him, not only "in the Matter of those Bills which concerned his Reve- "nue, but in the Manner of passing them, with so great "Affection and Kindness, that He knew not how to "thank them enough. He did assure them, and prayed<sup>(164)</sup> "them to assure their Friends in the Country, that He "would apply all that They had given to him, to the "utmost Improvement of the Peace and Happiness of "the Kingdom; and that He would, with the best Ad- "vice and good Husbandry He could, bring his own "Expenses within a narrower Compass." And He said, "now He was speaking to them of his own good Hus- "bandry,

“bandry, He must tell them, that would not be enough;  
 “He could not but observe, that the whole Nation seemed  
 “to him a little corrupted in their Excess of Living. All  
 “Men spend much more in their Cloaths; in their Diet,  
 “in all their Expenses, than They had used to do. He  
 “hoped it had only been the Excess of Joy after so long  
 “Sufferings, that had transported him and them to those  
 “other Excesses; but,” He desired them, “that They  
 “might all take Heed that the Continuance of them did  
 “not indeed corrupt their Natures. He did believe that  
 “He had been that Way very faulty himself: He pro-  
 “mised that He would reform, and that if They would  
 “join with him in their several Capacities, They would by  
 “their Examples do more Good both in City and Coun-  
 “try, than any new Laws would do.” He said many  
 other good Things that pleased them, and no Doubt He  
 intended all He said; but the Ways and Expedients to-  
 wards good Husbandry were no where pursued.

THE Chancellor, by the King's Command, enlarged *The Chan-  
cel-  
lor's Speech.*  
 upon “the general Murmurs upon the Expense, and that  
 “it should so much exceed all former Times.” He put  
 them in Mind, “how the Crown had been used since  
 “those Times, how the King had found it at his blessed  
 “Return: That as soon as He came hither, besides the  
 “infinite Sums that He forgave, He gave more Money  
 “to the People than He had since received from them”  
 (He meant I suppose the Release of all the Rents, Debts  
 and Receipts which were due to him); “that at least two  
 “Parts of three that They had since given him had is-  
 “sued for the disbanding of Armies never raised by him,  
 “and for Payment of Fleets never sent out by him, and  
 “of Debts never incurred by him.” He put them in  
 Mind, “of the vast Disparity between the former Times  
 “and these in which They now lived, and consequently  
 “of the Disproportion in the Expense the Crown was now  
 “at, for the Protection and Benefit of the Subject, to  
 “what it formerly underwent. How great a Difference  
 “there was in the present Greatness and Power of the two  
 “Crowns, and what they had been then possessed of, was  
 “evident to all Men; and if the Greatness and Power of  
 “the Crown of *England* should not be in some Proportion  
 “improved too, it might be liable to Inconveniencies it  
 “would not undergo alone. How our Neighbours and  
 “our Rivals, who court one and the same Mistress, Trade  
 “and

“and Commerce, with all the World, are advanced in  
 “Shipping, Power, and an immoderate Desire to en-  
 “gross the whole Traffick of the Universe, was notorious  
 “enough; and that this unruly Appetite would not be  
 “restrained or disappointed, nor the Trade of the Nation  
 “be supported and maintained, with the same Fleets and  
 “Forces which had been maintained in the happy Times  
 “of *Queen Elizabeth*. He needed not speak of the  
 “naval Power of the *Turks*, who instead of sculking  
 “abroad in poor single Ships as They were wont to do,  
 “domineer now on the Ocean in strong Fleets, make na-  
 “val Fights, and had brought some *Christians* to a better  
 “Correspondence, and another Kind of Commerce and  
 “Traffick with them, than was expected” (for at that  
 Time the *Dutch* had made a low and dishonourable Peace  
 with the Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*): “Inſomuch as  
 “They apprehended no Enemy upon the Sea, but what  
 “They find in the King of *England’s* Ships, which had<sup>(165)</sup>  
 “indeed brought no ſmall Damage upon them, with no  
 “ſmall Charge to the King, but a great Reputation to  
 “the Nation.”

“He did aſſure them, that the Charge the Crown was  
 “then at, by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Security  
 “and Wealth and Honour of the Nation, amounted to  
 “no leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds in the Year;  
 “all which did not coſt the Crown before the late Trou-  
 “bles fourſcore thouſand Pounds the Year: And there-  
 “fore that Nobody could blame them for any Supply  
 “They had given, or Addition They had made to the  
 “Revenue of the Crown.” He told them, “that the  
 “new Acquiſitions of *Dunkirk*, *Mardike*, *Tangier*, *Ja-*  
 “*maica*, and *Bombayne*, ought to be looked upon as  
 “Jewels of an immenſe Magnitude in the Royal Dia-  
 “dem; and though they were of preſent Expence, they  
 “were like in a ſhort Time, with God’s Bleſſing, to  
 “bring vaſt Advantages to the Trade, Navigation,  
 “Wealth and Honour of the King and Kingdom. His  
 “Majeſty had enough expreſſed his Deſire to live in a  
 “perfect Peace and Amity with all his Neighbours; nor  
 “was it an ill ingredient towards the Firmneſs and Sta-  
 “bility of that Peace and Amity which his Royal Anceſ-  
 “tors had held with them, that He hath ſome Advant-  
 “ages in Caſe of a War, which They were without.”

The

The same Day the Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth Day of *February* following.

*The Parliament prorogued.*

It was about the End of *May*, when the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*. The Earl of *Sandwich*, after He had reduced those of *Algiers* and *Tunis* to good Conditions, went to *Tangier*, which was to be delivered to him before He was to go to *Lisbon* for the Reception of the Queen: And delivered to him it was, though by an Accident that might have caused it to be delivered into another Hand. There was never the least Doubt, but that the Queen Regent did resolve religiously to perform all the Conditions on the Part of *Portugal*; and the Government was yet in her Hands. But the King growing towards his Majority, and of a Nature not like to comply long with his Mother's Advice; Factions began likewise to grow in that Court. The Delivery of *Tangier*, and into the Hands of Hereticks, was much murmured at; as like more to irritate the Pope, who did already carry himself towards them very unlike a common Father, notwithstanding the powerful Interposition of *France*, which, upon the Peace lately made between the two Crowns, was already ceased: So that They now apprehended, that this new Provocation would give some Excuse to the Court of *Rome*, to comply more severely with the Importunities from *Spain*, which likewise upon this Occasion They were sure would be renewed with all possible Instance. And though the Queen had lately sent a Governour to *Tangier*, whom She therefore made Choice of, as a Man devoted to her, and who would obey her Commands in the Delivery of this Place; yet it is certain, He went thither with a contrary Resolution.

*The Earl of Sandwich takes Possession of Tangier.*

VERY few Days before the Earl of *Sandwich* came thither, the Governour marched out with all the Horse and above Half the Foot of the Garrison into the Country, and fell into an Ambush of the *Moors*, who being much more numerous cut off the whole Party: And so the Governour with so many of the chief Officers and Soldiers being killed, the Town was left so weak, that if the *Moors* had pursued their Advantage with such Numbers as They might, and did intend within few Days to bring with them, They would have been able to have made little Resistance. And the Earl of *Sandwich* coming happily thither in that Conjunction, it was delivered into his Hands, who convoyed the Remainder of the Garrison in-

*A Design of not giving it up to him.*

to *Portugal*, where They were like to be stoned by the People; and then, having put a good Garrison of Horse and Foot which were sent from *England* into it, He delivered it up to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who had a Commission from the King to be Governour thereof; and himself with the Fleet sailed to *Lisbon*, where He had been long expected, and found his House and Equipage ready, He being then to appear in the Quality of Extraordinary Ambassadour to demand the Queen.

*He comes to  
Lisbon in a  
critical Con-  
juncture.*

HIS Arrival there happened likewise in a very happy Conjunction; for the *Spanish* Army, stronger than it had been before, was upon its March to besiege a Seaport Town, which lay so near *Lisbon*, that being in the Enemies Hands it would very much have infested their whole Trade, and was not strong enough long to have resisted so powerful an Enemy. But upon the Fame of the *English* Fleet's Arrival, the *Spaniard* gave over that Design, and retired: Since as it was impossible that They should be able to take that Place, which the Fleet was so ready to relieve; so They knew not but that the *English* might make a Descent into their own Quarters, which kept them from engaging before any other Town. But the Alarm the March of that Army had given had so much disturbed *Portugal*, which never keep their whole Forces on Foot, but draw them together upon such emergent Occasions; that They were compelled to make Use of most of that Money, which They said had been laid up and should be kept for the Payment of the Queen's Portion, which was to be transported with her into *England*.

WHEREUPON, after the Ambassadour had been received with all possible Demonstration of Respect and publick Joy, and had had his solemn Audience from the King and from the Queen Regent and the Queen his Mistress; and some *English* Gentlemen of Quality, who were sent by the King, were admitted to those Places of Attendance about the Queen, to which his Majesty had assigned them: The Queen Mother with infinite Apologies told the Ambassadour, "that the Streights and Poverty of the Kingdom were so great upon the late Advancement of the *Spanish* Army, that there could at this present be only paid one Half of the Queen's Portion, "and that the other Half should infallibly be paid within "a Year, with which She hoped the King her Brother "would be satisfied; and that for the better doing it, She "resolved

*The Portu-  
guese not able  
to pay the  
Queen's Por-  
tion.*

“resolved to send back the same Ambassadour, who had brought so good a Work with God’s Blessing to so good an End, with her Daughter to the King.”

THE *Earl of Sandwich* was much perplexed, nor did easily resolve what He was to do. His Instructions were to receive the whole Portion, which He knew the King expected, and which They were not able to pay. He had already received *Tangier*, and left a strong Garrison in it, and had neither Authority to restore it, nor wherewithal to carry back the Men. And at last, after He had used all the Means to have the Whole paid, and was so fully informed, that He did in Truth believe that They could do no more; He resolved that He would receive the Queen aboard the Fleet. That which They were ready to deliver for Half the Portion, was not in Money, but to be made up by Jewels, Sugar and other Commodities, which should not be overvalued. The Ambassadour was contented to give his Receipt for the several Species of the Money They would deliver, leaving the Value to be computed in *England*; but expressly refused to accept the Jewels, Sugar and Merchandises at any Rates or Prices; but was contented to receive them on Board the Ships, and to deliver them *in Specie at London* to any Person who should be appointed by them to receive them, (167) who should be obliged to pay the Money they were valued at, and to make up the whole Sum that should be paid to the King for the Moiety. In Conclusion, all Things were delivered on Board the Ships; and *Diego Silvas*, a Jew of great Wealth and full Credit at *Amsterdam*, was sent with it, and obliged to make even the Account with the King’s Ministers at *London*, and to pay what should remain due. And a new Obligation was entered into by the Crown of *Portugal*, for the Payment of the other Moiety within the Space of a Year. And the Queen with all her Court and Retinue were embarked on Board the Fleet; and without any ill Accidents her Majesty arrived safely at *Portsmouth*: And having rested only three or four Days there, to recover the Indisposition contracted in so long a Voyage at Sea, her Majesty together with the King came to *Hampton-Court* at the Time mentioned before, the twenty ninth of *May*, the King’s Birthday, full two Years after his Majesty’s Return and entering *London*.

The Queen  
arrives in  
England.

HOWEVER



*Endeavours  
used to alien-  
ate the King's  
Affection from  
the Queen.*

HOWEVER the publick Joy of the Kingdom was very manifest upon this Conjunction, yet in a short Time there appeared not that Serenity in the Court that was expected. They who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, used ever after all the ill Arts They could to make it disagreeable, and to alienate the King's Affection from the Queen to such a Degree, that it might never be in her Power to prevail with him to their Disadvantage; an Effect They had Reason to expect from any notable Interest She might gain in his Affections, since She could not be uninformed by the Ambassadour of the Disservice They had formerly endeavoured to do her.

*Some Circum-  
stances that  
contribute to-  
wards a Mis-  
understanding  
between them.*

THERE was a Lady of Youth and Beauty, with whom the King had lived in great and notorious Familiarity from the Time of his Coming into *England*, and who, at the Time of the Queen's Coming or a little before, had been delivered of a Son whom the King owned. And as that Amour had been generally taken Notice of, to the lessening of the good Reputation the King had with the People; so it underwent the less Reproach from the King's being young, vigorous, and in his full Strength; and upon a full Presumption that when He should be married, He would contain himself within the strict Bounds of Virtue and Conscience. And that his Majesty himself had that firm Resolution, there want not many Arguments, as well from the excellent Temper and Justice of his own Nature, as from the Professions He had made with some Solemnity to Persons who were believed to have much Credit, and who had not failed to do their Duty, in putting him in Mind "of the infinite Obligations He had to God Almighty, and that He expected "another Kind of Return from him, in the Purity of "Mind and Integrity of Life:" Of which his Majesty was piously sensible, albeit there was all possible Pains taken by that Company which were admitted to his Hours of Pleasure, to divert and corrupt all those Impressions and Principles, which his own Conscience and reverent Esteem of Providence did suggest to him; turning all Discourse and Mention of Religion into Ridicule, as if it were only an Invention of Divines to impose upon Men of Parts, and to restrain them from the Liberty and Use of those Faculties which God and Nature had given them, that They might be subject to their Reproofs and Determinations; which Kind of License was not grateful to the King,

King, and therefore warily and accidentally used by those who had pleasant Wit, and in whose Company He took too much Delight.

THE Queen had Beauty and Wit enough to make herself very agreeable to him; and it is very certain, that at their first Meeting and for some Time after the King had very good Satisfaction in her, and without Doubt made very good Resolutions within himself, and promised himself a happy and an innocent Life in her Company, without any such Uxoriousness, as might draw the Reputation upon him of being governed by his Wife, of which He had observed or been too largely informed of some inconvenient Effects in the Fortune of some of his nearest Friends, and had long protested against such a Resignation; though They who knew him well, did not think him so much superiour to such a Condescension, but that if the Queen had had that Craft and Address and Dexterity that some former Queens had, She might have prevailed as far by Degrees as They had done. But the Truth is, though She was of Years enough to have had more Experience of the World, and of as much Wit as could be wished, and of a Humour very agreeable at some Seasons; yet She had been bred, according to the Mode and Discipline of her Country, in a Monastery, where She had only seen the Women who attended her, and conversed with the Religious who resided there, and without Doubt in her Inclinations was enough disposed to have been one of that Number. And from this Restraint She was called out to be a great Queen, and to a free Conversation in a Court that was to be upon the Matter new formed, and reduced from the Manners of a licentious Age to the old Rules and Limits which had been observed in better Times; and to which regular and decent Conformity the present Disposition of Men or Women was not enough inclined to submit, nor the King enough disposed to exact.

THERE was a numerous Family of Men and Women that were sent from *Portugal*, the most improper to promote that Conformity in the Queen that was necessary for her Condition and future Happiness, that could be chosen: The Women for the most Part old and ugly and proud, incapable of any Conversation with Persons of Quality and a liberal Education. And They desired, and indeed had conspired so far to possess the Queen themselves,

themselves, that She should neither learn the *English* Language, nor use their Habit, nor depart from the Manners and Fashions of her own Country in any Particulars; "which Resolution" They told her "would be for the Dignity of *Portugal*, and would quickly induce the *English* Ladies to conform to her Majesty's Practice:" And this Imagination had made that Impression, that the Taylor who had been sent into *Portugal* to make her Cloaths, could never be admitted to see her or receive any Employment. Nor when She came to *Portsmouth*, and found there several Ladies of Honour and prime Quality to attend her in the Places to which They were assigned by the King, did She receive any of them, till the King himself came; nor then with any Grace, or the Liberty that belonged to their Places and Offices. She could not be persuaded to be dressed out of the Wardrobe that the King had sent to her, but would wear the Cloaths which She had brought, until She found that the King was displeased, and would be obeyed: Whereupon She conformed against the Advice of her Women, who continued their Opiniatrety, without any one of them receding from their own Mode, which exposed them the more to Reproach.

WHEN the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*, She brought with her a formed Resolution, that She would never suffer the Lady who was so much spoken of to be in her Presence: And afterwards to those She would trust She said, "her Mother had enjoined her so to do." On the other Hand, the King thought that He had so well prepared her to give her a civil Reception, that within a Day or two after her Majesty's being there, himself led her into her Chamber, and presented her to the Queen, who received her with the same Grace as She had done the rest; there being many Lords and other Ladies at the same Time there. But whether her Majesty in the Instant knew who She was, or upon Recollection found it afterwards, She was no sooner fate in her Chair, but her Colour changed, and Tears gushed out of her Eyes, and her Nose bled, and She fainted; so that She was forthwith removed into another Room, and all the Company retired out of that where She was before. And this falling out so notoriously when so many Persons were present, the King looked upon it with wonderful Indignation, and as an Earnest of Defiance for the Decision of the Supremacy

premacy and who should govern, upon which Point He was the most jealous and the most resolute of any Man; and the Answer He received from the Queen, which kept up the Obstinacy, displeased him more. Now the Breach of the Conditions grew Matter of Reproach; the Payment of but Half the Portion was objected to the Ambassadour, who would have been very glad that the Quarrel had been upon no other Point. He knew not what to say or do; the King being offended with him for having said so much in *Portugal* to provoke the Queen, and not instructed her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her Time, and in which She could not reasonably be concerned; and the Queen with more Indignation reproaching him with the Character He had given of the King, of his Virtue and good Nature: Whilst the poor Man, not able to endure the Tempest of so much Injustice from Both, thought it best to satisfy Both by dying; and from the extreme Affliction of Mind which He underwent, He sustained such a Fever as brought him to the Brink of his Grave, till some Grace from Both their Majesties contributed much to the Recovery of his Spirits.

In the mean Time the King forbore her Majesty's Company, and sought Ease and Refreshment in that jolly Company, to which in the Evenings He grew every Day more indulgent, and in which there were some, who desired rather to inflame than pacify his Discontent. And They found an Expedient to vindicate his Royal Jurisdiction, and to make it manifest to the World, that He would not be governed; which could never without much Artifice have got Entrance into his Princely Breast, which always entertained the most tender Affections; nor was ever any Man's Nature more remote from Thoughts of Roughness or Hardheartedness. They magnified the Temper and Constitution of his Grandfather, who indeed to all other Purposes was a glorious Example: "That when He was enamoured, and found a Return answerable to his Merit, He did not dissemble his Passion, nor suffer it to be Matter of Reproach to the Persons whom He loved; but made all others pay them that Respect which He thought them worthy of; brought them to the Court, and obliged his own Wife the Queen to treat them with Grace and Favour; gave them the highest Titles of Honour, to draw Reverence and Application to them  
"from

"from all the Court and all the Kingdom; raised the  
 "Children He had by them to the Reputation, State and  
 "Degree of Princes of the Blood, and conferred Fortunes  
 "and Offices upon them accordingly. That his Majesty,  
 "who inherited the same Passions, was without the Gra-  
 "titude and noble Inclination to make Returns propor-  
 "tionable to the Obligations He received. That He  
 "had, by the Charms of his Person and of his Professions,  
 "prevailed upon the Affections and Heart of a young and  
 "beautiful Lady of a noble Extraction, whose Father had  
 "lost his Life in the Service of the Crown. That She  
 "had provoked the Jealousy and Rage of her Husband  
 "to that Degree, that He had separated himself from  
 "her: And now the Queen's Indignation had made the  
 "Matter so notorious to the World, that the disconsolate (170)  
 "Lady had no Place of Retreat left, but must be made  
 "an Object of Infamy and Contempt to all her Sex, and  
 "to the whole World."

THOSE Discourses, together with a little Book newly  
 printed at *Paris*, according to the License of that Nation,  
 of the Amours of *Henry IV.* which was by them presented  
 to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that Im-  
 pression upon his Mind, that He resolved to raise the  
 Quality and Degree of that Lady, who was married to a  
 private Gentleman of a competent Fortune, that had not  
 the Ambition to be a better Man than He was born. And  
 that He might do so, He made her Husband an Earl of  
*Ireland*, who knew too well the Consideration that He paid  
 for it, and abhorred the Brand of such a Nobility, and  
 did not in a long Time assume the Title. The Lady thus  
 qualified was now made fit for higher Preferment: And  
 the King resolved, for the Vindication of her Honour and  
 Innocence, that She should be admitted of the Bedcham-  
 ber of the Queen, as the only Means to convince the  
 World, that all Aspersions upon her had been without  
 Ground. The King used all the Ways He could, by  
 treating the Queen with all Caresses, to dispose her to  
 gratify him in this Particular, as a Matter in which his  
 Honour was concerned and engaged; and protested unto  
 her, which at that Time He did intend to observe, "that  
 "He had not had the least Familiarity with her since her  
 "Majesty's Arrival, nor would ever after be guilty of it  
 "again, but would live always with her Majesty in all Fi-  
 "delity for Conscience Sake." The Queen who was na-  
 turally

turally more transported with Choler than her Countenance declared her to be, had not the Temper to entertain him with those Discourses, which the Vivacity of her Wit could very plentifully have suggested to her; but brake out into a Torrent of Rage, which increased the former Prejudice, confirmed the King in the Resolution He had taken, gave ill People more Credit to mention her disrespectfully, and more increased his Aversion from her Company, and which was worse, his Delight in those, who meant that He should neither love his Wife or his Business, or any Thing but their Conversation.

THESE domestick Indispositions and Distempers, and the Impression They made of several Kinds upon the King's Spirit and his Humour, exceedingly discomposed the Minds of the gravest and most serious Men; gave the People generally Occasion of speaking loudly, and with a License that the Magistrates knew not how to punish, for the Publication of the Scandal: And the wisest Men despaired of finding Remedies to apply to the Dissoluteness and Debauchery of the Time, which visibly increased. No Man appeared to suffer or likely to suffer more than the Chancellor, against whom though no particular Person owned a Malignity, the Congregation of the witty Men for the Evening Conversation were enough united against his Interest; and thought his Influence upon the King's Actions and Counsels would be too much augmented, if the Queen came to have any Power, who had a very good Opinion of him: And it is very probable, that even that Apprehension increased the Combination against her Majesty.

THE Lady had Reason to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable Friendship between her Father and him to his Death, which had been notorious to all Men; and that He was an implacable Enemy to the Power and Interest She had with the King, and had used all the Endeavours He could to destroy it. Yet neither She nor any of the other adventured to speak ill of him to the King, who at that Time would not have borne it; except for Wit's Sake They sometimes reflected upon somewhat He had said, or acted some of his Postures (172) and Manner of speaking (the Skill in Mimickry being the best Faculty in Wit many of them had); which License They practised often towards the King himself, and therefore his Majesty thought it to be the more free from Malice.

lice. But by these Liberties, which at first only raised Laughter, They by Degrees got the Hardiness to censure both the Persons, Counsels and Actions, of those who were nearest his Majesty's Trust, with the highest Malice and Presumption; and too often suspended or totally disappointed some Resolutions, which had been taken upon very mature Deliberation, and which ought to have been pursued. But (as hath been said before) this Presumption had not yet come to this Length.

*The Chancellor endeavours to reconcile their Majesties.*

THE King imparted the Trouble and Unquietness of his Mind to Nobody with equal Freedom, as He did to the Chancellor: To him He complained of all the Queen's Perverseness and ill Humours, and informed him of all that passed between them, and obliged him to confer and advise the Queen, who, He knew, looked upon him as a Man devoted to her Service, and that He would speak very confidently to her whatsoever He thought; and therefore gave him Leave to take Notice to her of any Thing He had told him. It was too delicate a Province for so plain-dealing a Man as He was to undertake: And yet He knew not how to refuse it, nor indeed did despair totally of being able to do some Good, since the Queen was not yet more acquainted with any Man than with him, nor spake so much with any Man as with him; and He believed, that He might hereby have Opportunity to speak sometimes to the King of some Particulars with more Freedom, than otherwise He could well do, at least more effectually.

He had never heard before of the Honour the King had done that Lady, nor of the Purpose He had to make her of his Wife's Bedchamber. He spake with great Boldness to him upon Both; and did not believe that the first was proceeded in beyond Revocation, because it had not come to the Great Seal, and gave him many Arguments against it, which He thought of Weight. But upon the other Point He took more Liberty, and spake "of the Hardheartedness and Cruelty in laying such a Command upon the Queen, which Flesh and Blood could not comply with." He put him in Mind of what He heard his Majesty himself say, upon the like Excess which a neighbour King had lately used, in making his Mistress to live in the Court, and in the Presence of the Queen: That his Majesty had then said, "*that it was such a Piece of Illnature, that He could never be guilty of; and if ever He should be guilty of having a Mistress after*" He

"He had a Wife, which He hoped He should never be, She  
 "should never come where his Wife was: He would never  
 "add that to the Vexation, of which She would have enough  
 "without it." And yet He told him, "that such Friend-  
 "ships were not new in that other Court, nor scandalous  
 "in that Kingdom; whereas in this it was so unheard of  
 "and so odious, that a Woman who prostituted herself to  
 "the King was equally infamous to all Women of Ho-  
 "nour, and must expect the same Contempt from them,  
 "as if She were common to Mankind: And that no Ene-  
 "my He had could advise him a more sure Way to lose  
 "the Hearts and Affections of the People, of which He  
 "was now so abundantly possessed, than the indulging to  
 "himself that Liberty, now it had pleased God to give  
 "him a Wife worthy of him. That the Excess He had  
 "already used in that and other Ways had lost him some  
 "Ground; but that the Continuance in them would break  
 "the Hearts of all his Friends, and be only grateful to  
 "those who wished the Destruction of Monarchy:" And  
 concluded with "asking his Pardon for speaking so plain-  
 (172) "ly," and besought his Majesty to remember "the won-  
 "derful Things which God had done for him, and for  
 "which He expected other Returns than He had yet re-  
 "ceived."

THE King heard him with Patience enough, yet with  
 those little Interruptions which were natural to him, es-  
 pecially to that Part where He had levelled the Mistresses  
 of Kings and Princes with other lewd Women, at which  
 He expressed some Indignation, being an Argument of-  
 ten debated before him by those, who would have them  
 looked upon above any other Men's Wives. He did not  
 appear displeased with the Liberty He had taken, but  
 said, "He knew it proceeded from the Affection He had  
 "for him;" and then proceeded upon the several Parts of  
 what He had said, more volubly than He used to do, as  
 upon Points in which He was conversant, and had heard  
 well debated.

To the first, He begun with the Story of an Accident  
 that had fallen out the Day before; He said, "the Lady  
 "had then told him, that She did hope that the Chancellor  
 "was not so much her Enemy, as He was generally reported  
 "to be, for She was sure He was not guilty of one Discourtesy  
 "of which He had been accused to her, and therefore might  
 "be as innocent in others; and then told his Majesty, that



*The Continuation of the Life of*

*"the Day before, the Earl of Bristol"* (who was never without some Reason to engage himself in such Intrigues, and had been a principal Promoter of all those late Resolutions) *"came to her, and asked her whether the Patent was not yet passed; She answered, No; He asked if She knew the Reason, which She seeming not to do, He told her that He came in Confidence to tell her, and that if She did not quickly curb and overrule such Presumption, She would often meet it to her Prejudice; then told her a long Relation, how the Patent had been carried to the Chancellor prepared for the Seal, and that He according to his Custom had superciliously said, that He would first speak with the King of it, and that in the mean Time it should not pass; and that if She did not make the King very sensible of this his Insolence, his Majesty should never be judge of his own Bounty. And then the Lady laughed, and made sharp Reflections upon the Principles of the Earl of Bristol"* (who had throughout his Life the rare good Fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the same Persons, in the Space of one Month; and now finding that there was a Stop of the Patent, made a very natural Guess where it must be, and gratified his own Appetite in the Conclusion), *"and pulled the Warrant out of her Pocket, where She said it had remained ever since it was signed, and She believed the Chancellor had never heard of it: She was sure there was no Patent prepared, and therefore He could not stop it at the Seal."*

THE Truth is: Though according to the Custom She had assumed the Title as soon as She had the Warrant, that the other Pretence might be prosecuted, She made not Haste to pass the Patent, lest her Husband might stop it; and after long Deliberation was not so confident of the Chancellor, as to transmit it to the Seal that was in his Custody, but, the Honour being *Irish*, sent it into that Kingdom to pass the Great Seal there, where She was sure it could meet no Interruption.

WHEN the King had made this Relation, and added some sharp Remarks upon the Earl of *Bristol*, as a Man very particularly known and understood by him; He said, *"that He had undone this Lady, and ruined her Reputation, which had been fair and untainted till her Friendship for him; and that He was obliged in Conscience and Honour to repair her to the utmost of his Power. That He would always avow to have a great Friendship*  
*"for*

"for her, which He owed as well to the Memory of her  
 (173) "Father as to her own Person; and that He would look  
 "upon it as the highest Disrespect to him, in any Body  
 "who should treat her otherwise than was due to her  
 "own Birth, and Dignity to which He had raised her.  
 "That He liked her Company and Conversation, from  
 "which He would not be restrained, because He knew  
 "there was and should be all Innocence in it: And that  
 "his Wife should never have Cause to complain that He  
 "brake his Vows to her, if She would live towards him  
 "as a good Wife ought to do, in rendering herself grate-  
 "ful and acceptable to him, which it was in her Power  
 "to do; but if She would continue uneasy to him, He  
 "could not answer for himself, that He should not endea-  
 "vour to seek Content in other Company. That He had  
 "proceeded so far in the Business that concerned the La-  
 "dy, and was so deeply engaged in it, that She would  
 "not only be exposed to all imaginable Contempt, if it  
 "succeeded not; but his own Honour would suffer so  
 "much, that He should become ridiculous to the World,  
 "and be thought too in Pupilage under a Governour;  
 "and therefore He would expect and exact a Conformity  
 "from his Wife herein, which should be the only hard  
 "Thing He would ever require from her, and which She  
 "herself might make very easy, for the Lady would be-  
 "have herself with all possible Duty and Humility unto  
 "her, which if She should fail to do in the least Degree,  
 "She should never see the King's Face again: And that  
 "He would never be engaged to put any other Servant  
 "about her, without first consulting with her, and receiv-  
 "ing her Consent and Approbation. Upon the Whole,"  
 He said, "He would never recede from any Part of the  
 "Resolution He had taken and expressed to him: And  
 "therefore He required him to use all those Arguments  
 "to the Queen, which were necessary to induce her to a  
 "full Compliance with what the King desired."

THE Chancellor addressed himself to the Queen with  
 as full Liberty and Plainness as He had presumed to use  
 to his Majesty, but could not proceed so far at a Time,  
 nor hold so long Conferences at once. When He first la-  
 mented the Misintelligence He observed to be between  
 their Majesties, and She perceived the King had told  
 him some Particulars, She protested her own Innocence,  
 but with so much Passion and such a Torrent of Tears,

that there was Nothing left for him to do, but to retire, and tell her, "that He would wait upon her in a fitter Season, and when She should be more capable of receiving humble Advice from her Servants, who wished her well;" and so departed.

THE next Day He waited upon her again at the Hour assigned by her, and found her much better composed than He had left her. She vouchsafed to excuse the Passion She had been in, and confessed "She looked upon him as one of the few Friends She had, and from whom She would most willingly at all Times receive Counsel: But that She hoped He would not wonder or blame her, if having greater Misfortunes upon her, and being to struggle with more Difficulties, than any Woman had ever been put to of her Condition, She sometimes gave Vent to that Passion that was ready to break her Heart." He told her, "He was desirous indeed to serve her, of which He would not make great or many Protestations, since She could not but believe it, except She thought him to be a Fool or mad, since Nothing could contribute so much to his Happiness, as an eminent Sympathy between the King and her in all Things: And He could not give her a greater Evidence of his Devotion, than in always saying that to her which was fit for her to hear, though it did not please<sup>(174)</sup> her; and He would observe no other Rule towards her, though it should render him ungracious to her."

SHE seemed well satisfied with what He said, and told him "He should never be more welcome to her, than when He told her of her Faults:" To which He replied, "that it was the Province He was accused of usurping with Reference to all his Friends." He told her, "that He doubted She was little beholden to her Education, that had given her no better Information of the Follies and Iniquities of Mankind, of which He presumed the Climate from whence She came could have given more Instances than this cold Region would afford;" though at that Time it was indeed very hot. He said, "if her Majesty had been fairly dealt with in that Particular, She could never have thought herself so miserable, and her Condition so insupportable as She seemed to think it to be; the Ground of which heavy Complaint He could not comprehend." Whereupon with some blushing and Confusion and some Tears She said, "She did not think  
"that

“that She should have found the King engaged in his Affection to another Lady;” and then was able to say no more: Which gave the Chancellor Opportunity to say, “that He knew well, that She had been very little acquainted with or informed of the World; yet He could not believe that She was so utterly ignorant, as to expect that the King her Husband, in the full Strength and Vigour of his Youth, was of so innocent a Constitution, as to be reserved for her whom He had never seen, and to have had no Acquaintance or Familiarity with the Sex;” and asked “whether She believed, when it should please God to send a Queen to *Portugal*, She should find that Court so full of chaste Affection.” Upon which her Majesty smiled, and spake pleasantly enough, but as if She thought it did not concern her Case, and as if the King’s Affection had not wandered, but remained fixed.

UPON which the Chancellor replied with some Warmth, “that He came to her with a Message from the King, which if She received as She ought to do and as He hoped She would, She would be the happiest Queen in the World. That whatever Correspondencies the King had entertained with any other Ladies, before He saw her Majesty, concerned not her; nor ought She to enquire more into them or after them, than into what other Excesses He had used in his Youth in *France*, *Holland* or *Germany*. That He had Authority to assure her, that all former Appetites were expired, and that He dedicated himself entirely and without Reserve to her; and that if She met his Affection with that Warmth and Spirit and good Humour, which She well knew how to express, She would live a Life of the greatest Delight imaginable. That her good Fortune, and all the Joy She could have in this World, was in her own Power, and that She only strove to drive it from her.” She heard all this with apparent Pleasure, and infinite Expressions of her Acknowledgments of the King’s Bounty; thanked the Chancellor more than enough, and desired him “to help in returning her Thanks to his Majesty, and in obtaining his Pardon for any Passion or Peevishness She might have been guilty of, and in assuring him of all future Obedience and Duty.”

UPON this good Temper He approached to the other Part of his Message, "how necessary it would be that her Majesty should gratify this good Resolution and Justice and Tenderness in the King, by meeting it with a proportionable Submission and Resignation on her Part to whatsoever his Majesty should desire of her;" and then insinuated what would be acceptable with Reference to the Lady. But this was no sooner mentioned, than it raised all the Rage and Fury of Yesterday, with fewer Tears, the Fire appearing in her Eyes, where the Water was. She said, "that the King's insisting upon that Particular could proceed from no other Ground but his Hatred of her Person, and to expose her to the Contempt of the World, who would think her worthy of such an Affront, if She submitted to it; which before She would do, She would put herself on Board any little Vessel, and so be transported to *Lisbon*:" With many other extravagant Expressions, which her Passion suggested in Spite of her Understanding; and which He interrupted with a very ill Countenance, and told her "that She had not the Disposal of her own Person, nor could go out of the House where She was without the King's Leave;" and therefore advised her "not to speak any more of *Portugal*, where there were enough who would wish her to be." He told her, "that He would find some fitter Time to speak with her, and till then only desired that She would make Shew of no such Passion to the King; and that whatever She thought fit to deny that the King proposed to her, She should deny in such a Manner, as should look rather like a Deferring than an utter Refusal, that his Majesty might not be provoked to enter into the same Passion, which would be superiour to hers."

THE Chancellor made the more Haste to inform the King of all that had passed, that He might prevail with him to suspend for some little Time the prosecuting that Argument farther with the Queen. He gave him an Account of all the good and kind Things She had said with Reference to his Majesty, of the Professions She had made of all Duty and Obedience to him throughout the whole Course of her Life; "that her Unwillingness to obey him in this one Particular proceeded only from the great Passion of Love which She had for him, that

"transf.

“transported her beyond the Limits of her Reason.” He confessed, “He had not discoursed it so fully with her Majesty as He resolved to have done, because a sudden Passion had seized upon her, which She must have some Time to overrule;” and therefore He entreated his Majesty “for a Day or two to forbear pressing the Queen in that Matter, till He had once more waited upon her, by which He hoped He might in some Degree dispose her Majesty to give him Satisfaction.” And though He was in no Degree pleased with the Account, yet the other did think, that He would for a little have respite the farther Discourse of it.

BUT the King quickly found other Counsellors, who told him, “that the Thing He contended for was not of so much Importance as the Manner of obtaining it; that the Contention now was, who should govern; and if He suffered himself to be disputed with, He must resolve hereafter to do all Things *precario*.” And as this Advice was more suitable to his present Passion and Purpose, so it was embraced greedily and resolutely. The Fire flamed that Night higher than ever: The King reproached the Queen with Stubbornness and Want of Duty, and She him with Tyranny and Want of Affection; He used Threats and Menaces, which He never intended to put in Execution, and She talked loudly how ill She was treated, and that She would return again to *Portugal*.” He replied, “that She should do well first to know whether her Mother would receive her: And He would give her a fit Opportunity to know that, by sending to their Home all her *Portuguese* Servants; and that He would forthwith give Order for the Discharge of them all, since They behaved themselves so ill, for to them and their Counsels He imputed all her Perversenesses.”

(176) THE Passion and Noise of the Night reached too many Ears to be a Secret the next Day; and the whole Court was full of that, which ought to have been known to Nobody. And the mutual Carriage and Behaviour between their Majesties confirmed all that They had heard or could imagine: They spake not, hardly looked on one another. Every Body was glad that They were so far from the Town (for They were still at *Hampton-Court*), and that there were so few Witnesses of all that passed. The Queen sat melancholick in her Chamber in Tears,

except when She droye, them away by a more violent Passion in cholerick Discourse : And the King sought his Divertisements in that Company that said and did all Things to please him ; and there He spent all the Nights, and in the Morning came to the Queen's Chamber, for He never slept in any other Place. Nobody knew how to interpose, or indeed how to behave themselves, the Court being far from one Mind ; with this Difference, that the young and frolick People of either Sex talked loudly all that They thought the King would like and be pleased with, whilst the other more grave and serious People did in their Souls pity the Queen, and thought that She was put to bear more than her Strength could sustain.

THE Chancellor came not to the Court in two or three Days ; and when He did come thither, He forbore to see the Queen, till the King sent him again to her. His Majesty informed him at large, and with more than his natural Passion, of all that had passed ; and “ of the foolish Extravagancy” (as He called it) “ of returning to *Portugal* ; and of the positive Resolution He had taken, and the Orders He had given, for the present sending away all the *Portugueses*, to whom He did impute all his Wife's Frowardness.” He renewed his former Declaration, “ that He would gain his Point, and never depart from that Resolution ;” yet was content to be blamed by the Chancellor, for having proceeded with so much Choler and Precipitation, and seemed to think that He had done better, if He had followed his former Advice. But then He added, “ that besides the Uneasiness and Pain within himself, the Thing was more spoken of in all Places, and more to his Disadvantage, whilst it was in this Suspence, than it would be when it was once executed ; which would put a final End to all Debates, and all would be forgotten.”

THE Chancellor desired his Majesty to believe, “ that He would endeavour, by all the Ways He could devise, to persuade the Queen to submit to his Pleasure, because it is his Pleasure ; and that He would urge some Arguments to her, which He could not himself answer ; and therefore He was not without Hope that they might prevail. But He desired him likewise to believe, that He had much rather spend his Pains in endeavouring to convert his Majesty from pursuing his  
“ Resol.

“Resolution, which He did in his Conscience believe to  
 “be unjust, than in persuading her Majesty to comply  
 “with it, which yet He would very heartily do.” He  
 desired him “to give him Leave to put him in Mind of  
 “a Discourse his Majesty had held with him many Years  
 “ago, upon an Occasion that He had administered by  
 “telling him what his Father, the late King, had said to  
 “him: *That He had great Reason to acknowledge it due to*  
 “*God’s immediate Blessing, and in Truth to his Inspiration,*  
 “*that He continued firm in his Religion: For though his*  
 “*Father had always taken Pains himself to inform and in-*  
 “*struct him, yet He had been so much deceived by others*  
 “*that He put about him when He was young, a Company*  
 “*of the arrantest Knaves and Puritans*” (they were his  
 own Words) “*that could be found in the two Kingdoms;*  
 “whereof He named two or three, who were Enemies  
 (177) “to the Church, and used to deride all Religion. . That  
 “when He had related this Discourse accidentally of his  
 “late Majesty, the King replied, *that if it should please*  
 “*God ever to give him a Wife and Children, He would*  
 “*make Choice of such People to be about Both in all*  
 “*Places of near Trust, who in their Natures and Manners,*  
 “*and if it were possible in their very Humours, were such*  
 “*as He wished his Wife and Children should be; for He*  
 “*did believe that most young People (and it may be elder)*  
 “*were upon the Matter formed by those, whom They saw*  
 “*continually and could not but observe.*” The King an-  
 swered with some Quickness, “that He remembered the  
 “Discourse very well, and should think of it; but that  
 “the Business which He had commended to him must be  
 “done, and without Delay.”

WHEN the Chancellor was admitted to the Queen, He  
 presumed with all Plainness to blame her “for the illi-  
 “mited Passion with which She had treated the King,  
 “and thereby provoked him to greater Indignation than  
 “She could imagine or in Truth sustain;” and begged,  
 “that for her own Sake She would decline and suppress  
 “such Distempers, which could have no other Effect,  
 “than in making the Wound incurable; which it would  
 “do, in a very little Time more, inevitably, and reduce  
 “all her faithful Servants to an Incapacity of serving  
 “her.” She acknowledged with Tears, “that She had  
 “been in too much Passion, and said somewhat She ought  
 “not to have said, and for which She would willingly ask  
 “the



*The Continuation of the Life of*

"the King's Pardon upon her Knees; though his Manner of treating her had wonderfully surpris'd her, and might be some Excuse for more than ordinary Commotion. That She prayed to God to give her Patience, and hoped She should be no more transported with the like Passion upon what Provocation soever."

THEN He entreated, "that He might find some Effect of that her good Resolution, in permitting him to enlarge upon the Argument He was obliged to discourse to her; and that if He offered any humble Advice, it should be such as He was most confident would prove for her Benefit, and such as He would himself submit to if He were in her Condition." He told her, "He came not to justify and defend the Proposition that had been made to her concerning the Lady, as a just or a reasonable Proposition; He had not dissimul'd his own Opinion as to either, and when He should now insist upon it again, which He must do, He could not but confess that it was a very hard Injunction, not to be yielded to without some Reluctancy:" But He besought her to tell him, "whether She thought it in her Power to divert it; or that it was not in the King's Power to impose it upon her."

SHE answered, "She knew it was in her own Power to consent or not to consent to it; and that She could not despair, but that the King's Justice and Goodness might divert him from the Prosecution of a Command so unreasonable in him, and so dishonourable to her. She would not dispute the King's Power, what it might impose, being sure that She could not rescue herself from it: But," She said, "Nobody knew better than He, whether the King was obliged to leave the Choice of her own Servants to herself; and if it were otherwise, She had been deceived."

HE told her, "that She had and would always enjoy that Privilege: But that it was always understood in Conditions of that Nature, that as the Husband would not impose a Servant, against whom just Exceptions could be made; so it was presumed, that no Wife would refuse to receive a Servant, that was esteemed and commended by her Husband. That He did assure her, upon as much Knowledge as He was capable to have in Affairs of such a Nature, that the King would exact an entire Conformity to his Pleasure in this Particular;

“ticular; and then the Question would only be, whether it would be better that She conform herself with Alacrity to an Obedience, with those Circumstances which might be obliging and meritorious on her Part; or that it should be done without her Consent, and with all the Repugnancy She could express, which could only be in angry Words and ungracious Circumstances, which would have a more bitter Operation in her own Breast and Thoughts, than any where else: And therefore He did very importunately advise her to submit to that cheerfully, that She could not resist; which if She should not do, and do out of Hand, She would too late repent.”

To which She replied with great Calmness, “that it may be worse could not fall out than She expected; but why She should repent the not giving her Consent, She could not apprehend, since her Conscience would not give her Leave to consent.” Which when She saw him receive with a Face of Trouble and Wonder, which it was his Misfortune and Weakness never to be able to conceal or dissemble, She continued her Discourse and said, “She could not conceive how any Body could, with a good Conscience, consent to what She could not but suppose would be an Occasion and Opportunity of Sin.” To which He suddenly replied, “that He now understood her; and that She ought to have no such Apprehension, but to believe the Professions the King made, of the Sincerity whereof She would hereby become a Witness; and if there should be any Tergiversation, the Opportunity, which She fancied, would be more frequent at a Distance than by such a Relation, which Nothing but a resolved Innocence could make desirable by either Party.” To which He added, “that He thought her Majesty had too mean and low an Opinion of her Person and her Parts, if She thought it could be in the Power of any other Lady to deprive her of the Interest She had a Right to, if She did all that became her to retain it; and which in that Case She could not lose but by the highest Fraud and Perjury, which She could not justly entertain the Suspicion of.”

THERE cannot be a greater Patience and Intentness of hearing, than the Queen manifested during the Time of his Discourse, sometimes seeming not displeased, but oftener

oftener by a Smile declaring that She did not believe what He said: And in Conclusion; in few Words declared, "that the King might do what He pleased, but "that She, would not consent to it;" and pronounced it with a Countenance, as if She both hoped and believed, that her Obstinacy would in the End prevail over the King's Importunity: And it is very probable, that She had Advice given her to that Purpose. The Chancellor concluded with telling her, "that He would give her no "more Trouble upon this Particular: That He was "sorry He had not Credit enough to prevail with her "Majesty in a Point that would have turned so much "to her Benefit; and that She would hereafter be sorry "for her Refusal." And when He had given the King a faithful Account of all that had passed; and "that He "believed them Both to be very much to blame, and "that that Party would be most excusable who yielded "first;" He made it his humble Suit, "that He might "be no more consulted with, nor employed in an Affair "in which He had been so unsuccessful."

*His Endeavours prove  
unsuccessful.*

THE King came seldom into the Queen's Company, and when He did He spake not to her; but spent his Time in other Divertisements, and in the Company of those who made it their Business to laugh at all the World, and who were as bold with God Almighty as (179) with any of his Creatures. He persevered in all his Resolutions without any Remorse; directed a Day for all the *Portugueses* to be embarked, without assigning any considerable Thing of Bounty to any of them, or vouchsafing to write any Letter to the King or Queen of *Portugal* of the Cause of the Dismission of them. And this Rigour prevailed upon the great Heart of the Queen, who had not received any Money to enable her to be liberal to any of those, who had attended her out of their own Country, and promised themselves Places of great Advantage in her Family: And She earnestly desired the King, "that She might retain some few of "those who were known to her, and of most Use, that "She might not be wholly left in the Hands of Strangers;" and employed others to make the same Suit to the King on her Behalf. Whereupon the Countess of *Penalva*, who had been bred with her from a Child, and who, by the Infirmary of her Eyes and other Indisposition of Health, scarce stirred out of her Chamber, was per-

permitted to remain in the Court: And some few inferior Servants in her Kitchen and in the lowest Offices, besides those who were necessary to her Devotions, were left here. All the rest were transported to *Portugal*.

THE Officers of the Revenue were required to use all Strictness in the Receipt of that Part of the Portion that was brought over with the Fleet; and not to allow any of those Demands which were made upon Computation of the Value of Money, and other Allowances, upon the Account: And *Diego de Silva*, who was designed in *Portugal* without any good Reason to be the Queen's Treasurer, and upon that Expectation had undertaken that troublesome Province to see the Money paid in *London* by what was assigned to that Purpose, was committed to Prison for not making Haste enough in the Payment and in finishing the Account; and his Commitment went very near the Queen, as an Affront done to herself. The *Portugal* Ambassadour, who was a very honest Man, and so desirous to serve the King that He had upon the Matter lost the Queen, was heartbroken; and after a long Sickness, which all Men believed would have killed him, as soon as He was able to endure the Air, left *Hampton-Court*, and retired to his own House in the City.

In all this Time the King pursued his Point; the Lady came to the Court, was lodged there, was every Day in the Queen's Presence, and the King in continual Conference with her; whilst the Queen gave untaken Notice of: And if her Majesty rose at the Indignity and retired into her Chamber, it may be one or two attended her, but all the Company remained in the Room She left, and too often said those Things aloud which Nobody ought to have whispered. The King (who had in the Beginning of this Conflict appeared still with a Countenance of Trouble and Sadness, which had been manifest to every Body, and no Doubt was really afflicted, and sometimes wished that He had not proceeded so far, until He was again new chafed with the Reproach of being governed, which He received with the most sensible Indignation, and was commonly provoked with it most by those who intended most to govern him) had now vanquished or suppressed all those Tendernesses and Reluctancies, and appeared every Day more gay and pleasant, without any Clouds in his Face, and full of good Humour; saving that the close Observers thought it more feigned and affected than of a  
natural

natural Growth. However to the Queen it appeared very real, and made her the more sensible, that She alone was left out in all Jollities, and not suffered to have any Part of those pleasant Applications and Caresses, which She saw made almost to every Body else; an universal Mirth in all (180) Company but in hers, and in all Places but in her Chamber; her own Servants shewing more Respect and more Diligence to the Person of the Lady, than towards their own Mistresses, who They found could do them less Good. The nightly Meeting continued with the same or more License; and the Discourses which passed there, of what Argument soever, were the Discourse of the whole Court and of the Town the Day following: Whilst the Queen had the King's Company those few Hours which remained of the preceding Night, and which were too little for Sleep.

ALL these Mortifications were too heavy to be borne: So that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the Queen on a sudden let herself fall first to Conversation and then to Familiarity, and even in the same Instant to a Confidence with the Lady; was merry with her in publick, talked kindly of her, and in private used Nobody more friendly. This Excess of Condescension, without any Provocation or Invitation, except by Multiplication of Injuries and Neglect, and after all Friendships were renewed, and Indulgence yielded to new Liberty, did the Queen less Good than her former Resoluteness had done. Very many looked upon her with much Compassion, commended the Greatness of her Spirit, detested the Barbarity of the Affronts She underwent, and censured them as loudly as They durst; not without assuming the Liberty sometimes of insinuating to the King himself, "how much his own Honour suffered in the Neglect and Disrespect of her own Servants, who ought at least in publick to manifest some Duty and Reverence towards her Majesty; and how much He lost in the general Affections of his Subjects: And that, besides the Displeasure of God Almighty, He could not reasonably hope for Children by the Queen, which was the great if not the only Blessing of which He stood in Need, whilst her Heart was so full of Grief, and whilst She was continually exercised with such insupportable Afflictions." And many, who were not wholly unconvertant with the King, nor Strangers to his Temper and Constitution, did believe that He grew weary

weary of the Struggle, and even ready to avoid the Scandal that was so notorious, by the Lady's withdrawing from the Verge of the Court and being no longer seen there, how firmly soever the Friendship might be established. But this sudden Downfal and total abandoning her own Greatness, this low Demeanour and even Application to a Person She had justly abhorred and worthily contemned, made all Men conclude, that it was a hard Matter to know her, and consequently to serve her. And the King himself was so far from being reconciled by it, that the Esteem, which He could not hitherto but retain in his Heart for her, grew now much less. He concluded that all her former Aversion expressed in those lively Passions, which seemed not capable of Dissimulation, was all Fiction, and purely acted to the Life by a Nature crafty, perverse and inconstant. He congratulated his own ill-natured Perseverance, by which He had discovered how He was to behave himself hereafter, and what Remedies He was to apply to all future Indispositions: Nor had He ever after the same Value of her Wit, Judgment and Understanding, which He had formerly; and was well enough pleased to observe, that the Reverence others had for all three was somewhat diminished.

THE Parliament assembled together at the same Time The Parliament meets. in *February* to which They had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the End of *July* following. They brought the same Affection and Duty with them towards the King, which They had formerly; but (18.) were much troubled at what They had heard and what They had observed of the Divisions in Court. They had the same Fidelity for the King's Service, but not the same Alacrity in it: The Dispatch was much slower in all Matters depending, than it had used to be. The Truth is; the House of Commons was upon the Matter not the same: Three Years sitting, for it was very near so long since They had been first assembled, had consumed very many of their Members; and in the Places of those who died, great Pains were taken to have some of the King's menial Servants chosen; so that there was a very great Number of Men in all Stations in the Court, as well below Stairs as above, who were Members of the House of Commons. And there were very few of them, who did not think themselves qualified to reform whatsoever was amiss

amiss in Church or State, and to procure whatsoever Supply the King would require.

THEY, who either out of their own Modesty, or in Regard of their distant Relation to his Service, had seldom had Access to his Presence, never had presumed to speak to him; now by the Privilege of Parliament every Day resorted to him, and had as much Conference with him as They desired. They, according to the Comprehension They had of Affairs, represented their Advice to him for the conducting his Affairs; according to their several Opinions and Observations represented those and those Men as well affected to his Service, and others, much better than They, who did not pay them so much Respect, to be ill affected and to want Duty for his Majesty. They brought those, who appeared to them to be most zealous for his Service, because They professed to be ready to do any Thing He pleased to prescribe, to receive his Majesty's Thanks, and from himself his immediate Directions how to behave themselves in the House; when the Men were capable of no other Instruction, than to follow the Example of some discreet Man in whatsoever He should vote, and behave themselves accordingly.

To this Time, the King had been content to refer the Conduct of his Affairs in the Parliament to the Chancellor and the Treasurer; who had every Day Conference with some select Persons of the House of Commons, who had always served the King, and upon that Account had great Interest in that Assembly, and in Regard of the Experience They had and their good Parts were hearkened to with Reverence. And with those They consulted in what Method to proceed in disposing the House, sometimes to propose sometimes to consent to what should be most necessary for the Publick; and by them to assign Parts to other Men, whom They found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be desired: And all this without any Noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to Parliaments, and however it may succeed for a little Time, will in the End be attended with Prejudice.

*Characters of  
two leading  
Men in the  
House of Com-  
mons.*

BUT there were two Persons now introduced to act upon that Stage, who disdained to receive Orders, or to have any Method prescribed to them; who took upon them to judge of other Mens Defects, and thought their own Abilities beyond Exception.

THE one was Sir Harry Bennet, who had procured him-  
 self to be sent Agent or Envoy into *Spain*, as soon as the  
 King came from *Brussels*; being a Man very well known  
 to the King, and for his pleasant and agreeable Humour  
 acceptable to him: And He remained there at much Ease  
 till the King returned to *England*, having waited upon his  
 Majesty at *Fuentarabia* in the Close of the Treaty between  
 the two Crowns, and there appeared by his Dexterity to  
 (182) have gained good Credit in the Court of *Spain*, and par-  
 ticularly with *Don Lewis de Haro*; and by that short Ne-  
 gotiation He renewed and confirmed the former good In-  
 clinations of his Master to him. He had been obliged  
 always to correspond with the Chancellor, by whom his  
 Instructions had been drawn, and to receive the King's  
 Pleasure by his Signification; which He had always done,  
 and professed much Respect and Submission to him:  
 Though whatever Orders He received, and how positive  
 soever, in Particulars which highly concerned the King's  
 Honour and Dignity, He observed them so far and no  
 farther than his own Humour disposed him; and in some  
 Cases flatly disobeyed what the King enjoined, and did di-  
 rectly contrary, as in the Case of the *Jesuit Peter Talbot*;  
 who having carried himself with notorious Insolence to-  
 wards the King in *Flanders*, had transported himself into  
*England*, offered his Service to *Cromwell*, and after his  
 Death was employed by the ruling Powers into *Spain*,  
 upon his undertaking to procure Orders, by which the  
 King should not be suffered longer to reside in *Flanders*;  
 of all which his Majesty having received full Adver-  
 tisement, He made Haste to send Orders into *Spain* to Sir  
*Harry Bennet*, "that He should prepare *Don Lewis* for his  
 "Reception by letting him know, that though that *Je-*  
 "suit was his natural Subject, He had so misbehaved  
 "himself, that He looked upon him as a most inveterate  
 "Enemy and a Traitor; and therefore his Majesty de-  
 "fired, that He might receive no Countenance there,  
 "being as He well knew sent by the greatest Rebels to  
 "do him Prejudice."

THIS was received by Sir Harry Bennet before the Ar-  
 rival of the Man, who found no Inconvenience by it;  
 and instead of making any Complaint concerning him,  
 He writ Word, "that *Talbot* had more Credit than He  
 "in that Court, that He professed to have great Devo-  
 "tion for the King; and therefore his Advice was, that



“ the King would have a better Opinion of him, and employ him in his Service :” And himself received him into his full Confidence, and consulted with no Man so much as with him ; which made all Men believe that He was a *Roman Catholick*, who did believe that He had any Religion. But He had made his full Excuse and Defence for all this at the Interview at *Fuentarabia*, from whence the King returned with marvellous Satisfaction in his Discretion as well as in his Affection. And until, contrary to all his Expectation, He heard of the King’s Return into *England*, all his Thoughts were employed how to make Benefit of the Duke of *York’s* coming into *Spain* to be Admiral of the Gallies ; which He writ to hasten all that might be.

THOUGH He continued his formal Correspondence with the Chancellor, which He could not decline ; yet He held a more secret Intelligence with *Daniel ONeile* of the Bed-chamber, with whom He had a long Friendship. As soon as the King arrived in *England*, He trusted *ONeile* to procure any Direction from the King immediately in those Particulars which himself advised. And so He obtained the King’s Consent, for his consenting to the old League that had been made between *England* and *Spain* in the Time of the late King, and which *Spain* had expressly refused to renew after the Death of that King (which was suddenly proclaimed in *Spain*, without ever being consulted in *England*) ; and presently after Leave to return into *England* without any Letter of Revocation : Both which were procured or rather signified by *ONeile*, without the Privy of the Chancellor or of either of the Secretaries of State ; nor did either of them know that He was from *Madrid*, till They heard He was in *Paris*, from whence He arrived in *London* in a very short Time after. So far the Chancellor was from that powerful Interest or Influence, when his Credit was at highest.

BUT He was very well received by the King, in whose Affections He had a very good Place : And shortly after his Arrival, though not so soon as He thought his high Merit deserved, his Majesty conferred the only Place then void (and that had been long promised to a noble Person, who had behaved himself very well towards his Majesty and his blessed Father) upon him, which was the Office of Privy Purse ; received him into great Familiarity, and into the nightly Meeting, in which He filled  
a prin-

a principal Place to all Intents and Purposes. The King very much desired to have him elected a Member in the House of Commons, and commanded the Chancellor to use his Credit to obtain it upon the first Opportunity: And in Obedience to that Command, He did procure him to be chosen about the Time We are now speaking of, when the Parliament assembled in *Februdry*.

THE other Person was Mr. *William Coventry*, the youngest Son to a very wise Father, the Lord *Coventry*, who had been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* for many Years with an universal Reputation. This Gentleman was young whilst the War continued: Yet He had put himself before the End of it into the Army, and had the Command of a Foot Company, and shortly after travelled into *France*; where He remained whilst there was any Hope of getting another Army for the King, or that either of the other Crowns would engage in his Quarrel. But when all Thoughts of that were desperate, He returned into *England*: Where He remained for many Years without the least Correspondence with any of his Friends beyond the Seas, and with so little Reputation of caring much for the King's Restoration, that some of his own Family, who were most zealous for his Majesty's Service, and had always some signal Part in any reasonable Design, took Care of Nothing more, than that Nothing They did should come to his Knowledge; and gave the same Advice to those about the King, with whom They corresponded, to use the same Caution. Not that any Body suspected his being inclined to the Rebels, or to do any Act of Treachery; but that the Pride and Censoriousness of his Nature made him unconversable, and his Despair that any Thing could be effectually done made him incompetent to consult the Ways of doing it. Nor had He any Conversation with any of the King's Party, nor They with him, till the King was proclaimed in *London*; and then He came over with the rest to offer his Service to his Majesty at the *Hague*, and had the good Fortune to find the Duke of *York* without a Secretary. For though He had a *Walloon* that was, in Respect of the Languages of which He was Master, fit for that Function in the Army, and had discharged it very well for some Years; yet for the Province the Duke was now to govern, having the Office of High Admiral of *England*, He was without any fit Person to discharge the Office of Secretary.

of Mr. William Coventry.

tary with any tolerable Sufficiency: So that Mr. *Coventry* no sooner offered his Service to the Duke, but He was received into that Employment, very honourable under such a Master, and in itself of the greatest Profit next the Secretaries of State, if they in that Respect be to be preferred.

He had been well known to the King and Duke in *France*, and had a Brother whom the King loved well and had promised to take into his Bedchamber, as He shortly after did, *Harry Coventry*, who was beloved by every Body, which made them glad of the Preferment of the other; whilst They who knew the worst of him, yet knew him able to discharge that Office, and so contributed to the Duke's receiving him. He was a fullen, illnated, proud Man, whose Ambition had no Limits, nor could be contained within any. His Parts were very good, if He had not thought them better than any other Man's; and He had Diligence and Industry, which Men of good<sup>(184)</sup> Parts are too often without, which made him quickly to have at least Credit and Power enough with the Duke; and He was without those Vices which were too much in Request, and which make Men most unfit for Business and the Trust that cannot be separated from it.

He had sate a Member in the House of Commons, from the Beginning of the Parliament, with very much Reputation of an able Man. He spake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard; and was one of those with whom They, who were trusted by the King in conducting his Affairs in the lower House, consulted very frequently; but not so much, nor relied equally upon his Advice, as upon some few others who had much more Experience, which He thought was of Use only to ignorant and dull Men, and that Men of Sagacity could see and determine at a little Light, and ought rather to persuade and engage Men to do that which They judged fit, than consider what themselves were inclined to do: And so did not think himself to be enough valued and relied upon, and only to be made Use of to the celebrating the Designs and Contrivance of other Men, without being signal in the Managery, which He aspired to be. Nor did any Man envy him the Province, if He could indeed have governed it, and that others who had more useful Talents would have been ruled by him. However being a Man who naturally loved Faction and  
Contradiction,

Contradiction, He often made Experiments how far He could prevail in the House, by declining the Method that was prescribed, and proposing somewhat to the House that was either beside or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppose, believing, in Regard of his Relation, that He had received newer Directions: And then if it succeeded well (as sometimes it did), He had Argument enough to censure and inveigh against the Chancellor, for having taken so ill Measures of the Temper and Affections of the House; for He did not dissemble in his private Conversation (though his outward Carriage was very fair) that He had no Kindness for him, which in Gratitude He ought to have had; nor had He any Thing to complain of from him, but that He wished well and did all He could to defend and support a very worthy Person, who had deserved very well from the King, against whom He manifested a great and causeless Animosity, and desired to oppress for his own Profit, of which He had an immoderate Appetite.

WHEN those two Persons, Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry*, (between whom there had been as great a League of Friendship, as can be between two very proud Men equally illnatured) came now to sit together in the House of Commons; though the former of them knew no more of the Constitution and Laws of *England* than He did of *China*, nor had in Truth a Care or Tenderness for Church or State, but believed *France* was the best Pattern in the World; They thought They should have the greatest Wrong imaginable, if They did not entirely govern it, and if the King took his Measures of what should be done there from any Body but themselves. They made Friendships with some young Men, who spake confidently and often, and upon some Occasions seemed to have Credit in the House. And upon a little Conversation with those Men, who being Country Gentlemen of ordinary Condition and mean Fortunes were desirous to have Interest in such a Person as Sir *Harry Bennet*, who was believed to have great Credit with the King; He believed He understood the House and what was to be done there, as well as any Man in *England*.

He recommended those Men to the King "as Persons  
 "of sublime Parts, worthy of his Majesty's caressing:  
 (185) "That He would undertake to fix them to his Service;  
 "and when They were his own, He might carry what He  
 "would

"would in the House of Commons." The Men had Parts indeed and good Affections, and often had resorted to the Chancellor, received Advice from him, and thought themselves beholden to him; being at that Time entirely governed by Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who was himself still advised by the Chancellor (with whom He had a long and fast Friendship) how He should direct his Friends, having indeed a greater Party in the House of Commons willing to be disposed of by him, than any Man that ever sat there in my Time. But now these Gentlemen had got a better Patron; the new Courtier had raised their Value, and talked in another Dialect to them, of Recompenses and Rewards, than They had heard formerly. He carried them to the King, and told his Majesty in their own Hearing, "what Men of Parts They were, what Services "They had done for him, and how much greater They "could do." And his Majesty received and conferred with them very graciously, and dismissed them with Promises which made them rich already.

THE two Friends before mentioned agreed so well between themselves, that whether They spake together or apart to the King, They said always the same Things, gave the same Information, and took Care that Both their Masters might have the same Opinions and Judgments. They magnified the Affections of the House of Commons, "which were so great and united, that They would do "whatsoever his Majesty would require. That there were "many worthy and able Men, of whose Wisdom the "House was so well persuaded, that They commonly consented to whatsoever They proposed: And these Men "complained, *that They had no Directions given to them "which Way They might best serve the King; They knew not "what He desired, which when They should do, it would "quickly appear how much They were at the King's Disposal, "and all Things which now depended long would be hereafter "dispatched in Half the Time."*

THE King wondered very much, "that his Friends "in the House were no better informed, of which He "had never heard any Complaint before, and wished "them to speak with the Chancellor." For neither of these Men were yet arrived at the Confidence to insinuate in the least Degree any Ill-Will or Prejudice to him, though They were not united in any one Thing more than the Desire of his Ruin, and the Resolution to compass

pass it by all the ill Arts and Devices They could use; but till it should be more seasonable, They dissembled to Both their Masters to have a high Esteem of him, having not yet Credit enough with either to do him Harm. They said, "They would very willingly repair to him, and be directed by him: But They desired that his Majesty himself would first speak to him (because it would not so well become them) to call those Persons, whom They had recommended to him, to meet together with the rest with whom He used to advise; which the Persons They named They were sure would be very glad of, having all of them a great Esteem of the Chancellor, and being well known to him," as indeed They were, and most of them obliged by him.

THE King willingly undertook it: And being shortly after attended by the Chancellor, his Majesty told him all that the other two had said to him, and did not forget to let him know the great Good-Will They had Both professed towards him. He asked him "what He thought of such and such Men," and particularly named Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Churchill*, and some other Men of better Quality and much more Interest, "who," He said, "took it ill that They were not particularly informed what the (136) King desired, and which Way They might best serve him;" and bade him, "that at the next Meeting of the rest, these Men might likewise have Notice to be present, together with Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *William Coventry*; for *Harry Coventry* (who was a much wiser Man than his Brother, and had a much better Reputation with wise Men) was constantly in those Councils.

THE Chancellor told him, "that great and notorious Meetings and Cabals in Parliament had been always odious in Parliament: And though they might produce some Success in one or two Particulars till they were discovered, they had always ended unluckily; until they were introduced in the late ill Times by so great a Combination, that they could not receive any Discountenance. Yet that They, who compassed all their wicked Designs by those Cabals, were so jealous that They might be overmatched by the like Practices, that when They discovered any three or four of those, who were used to concur with them, to have any private Meetings, They accused them to conspire against the Parliament. That when his Majesty returned, and all

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“the World was full of Joy and Delight to serve him,  
 “and Persons were willing and importunate to receive  
 “Direction how They might do it in that Convention;  
 “Care had been taken without any Noise, or bringing  
 “any Prejudice upon those who were willing to be Instru-  
 “ments towards the procuring what was desirable, and  
 “to prevent what would be ingrateful, that little Notice  
 “might be taken of them, which had good Success.”

“THAT since this Parliament the Lord Treasurer and  
 “He had, by his Majesty’s Direction, made Choice of  
 “some Persons eminent for their Affection to the Crown,  
 “of great Experience and known Abilities, to confer with  
 “for the better preparing and conducting what was to be  
 “done in the House of Commons: But the Number of  
 “them was not so great as to give any Umbrage. Nor  
 “did They meet oftner together with them, than upon  
 “Accidents and Contingencies was absolutely necessary;  
 “but appointed those few who had a mutual Confidence  
 “in each other, and every one of which had an Influence  
 “upon others and advised them what to do, to meet by  
 “themselves, either at the Lord *Bridgman’s* or Mr. At-  
 “torney’s Chambers, who still gave Notice to the other  
 “two of what was necessary, and received Advice. That  
 “there were very few of any notable Consideration, who  
 “did not frequently repair to Both of them, either to dine  
 “with them or to perform some Office of Civility; with  
 “every one of whom They conferred, and said what was  
 “necessary to inform them what was fit for them to do.”

“THAT two of those who were named by his Majesty,  
 “Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Churchill*, were honest Gentlemen,  
 “and received the Advice They were to follow from Sir  
 “*Hugh Pollard*, who had in Truth a very particular In-  
 “fluence upon all the *Cornish* and *Devonshire* Men, And  
 “that his Majesty might know that He had not been well  
 “informed, *that the others named by him took it unkindly*  
 “*that They did not know his Pleasure, who were leading*  
 “*Men*, as indeed They were; He assured his Majesty  
 “that there was not one of those who was not particularly  
 “consulted with, and advertised by some Person who was  
 “chosen by every one of them for that Purpose; and that  
 “They would by no Means resort to any Meeting, fear-  
 “ing to undergo the odious Name of *Undertakers*, which  
 “in all Parliaments hath been a Brand: But as They had  
 “never opposed any Thing that related to his Service, so  
 “upon

“upon any private Insinuation They had been ready to  
(1787) “propose any Thing which would not have been so ac-  
“ceptable from any, who had been known to have Re-  
“lation to his Service, or to depend upon those who  
“had.”

He besought his Majesty to consider, “whether any  
“Thing had hitherto, in near three Years, fallen out  
“amiss or short of what He had expected, in the way  
“Administration that had been in that Affair,” and did  
not conceal his own Fears, “that putting it into a more  
“open and wider Channel, his Majesty’s own too publick  
“speaking with the Members of Parliament, and be-  
“lieving what every Man who was present told him passed  
“in Debates, and who for Want of Comprehension as  
“well as Memory committed many Mistakes in their Re-  
“lations, would be attended with some Inconveniences not  
“easy to be remedied.” The King was not dissatisfied  
with the Discourse, but seemed to approve it: However  
He would have Sir *Harry Bennet*, Mr. *Clifford* and *Church-  
ill*, called to the next Meeting; and because They were  
to be introduced into Company They had not used to  
converse with, that it should be at the Chancellor’s Cham-  
ber, who should let the rest know the good Opinion his  
Majesty had of those who were added to the Number.

By this Means and with these Circumstances this Al-  
teration was made in the Conduct of the King’s Service  
in the Parliament; upon which many other Alterations  
followed by Degrees, though not at once. Yet presently  
it appeared, that this Introduction of new Confidants was  
not acceptable to those, who thought They had very well  
discharged their Trust. Sir *Harry Bennet* was utterly un-  
known to them, a Man unversed in any Business, who  
never had nor ever was like to speak in the House, ex-  
cept in his Ear who sat next to him to the Disadvantage  
of some who had spoken, and had not the Faculties to  
get himself beloved, and was thought by all Men to be  
a *Roman Catholick*, for which They had not any other  
Reason but from his Indifference in all Things which  
concerned the Church.

*An Alteration  
in the Ma-  
nagement of  
the House of  
Commons.*

WHEN They met first at the Chancellor’s Chamber, as  
the King had directed, They conferred freely together  
with little Difference of Opinion: Though it appeared  
that They, who had used to be together before, did not  
use the same Freedom as formerly in delivering their par-  
ticular



ticular Judgments, not having Confidence enough in the new Comers, who in their private Meetings afterwards took more upon them, rather to direct than to advise; so that the other grew unsatisfied in their Conversation. And though the Meetings continued at one of the Places before mentioned, some always discontinued their Attendance; so that by Degrees there were less Resolutions taken than had been formerly: Nor was there so cheerful a Concurrence, or so speedy a Dispatch of the Business depending in the House, as had been.

HOWEVER, there appeared Nothing of Disunion in the Parliament, but the same Zeal and Concurrence in all Things which related to the King. The Murmurs and Discontents were most in the Country, where the People began to talk with more License and less Reverence of the Court and of the King himself, and to reproach the Parliament for their raising so much Money, and increasing of the Impositions upon the Kingdom, without having done any Thing for the Redress of any Grievance that lay upon the People. The License with Reference to Religion grew every Day greater, the Conventicles more frequent and more insolent, which disturbed the Country exceedingly; but not so much as the Liberty the *Papists* assumed, who behaved themselves with Indiscretion, and bragged as if They had a Toleration and cared not what the Magistrates could do. The Parliament had a Desire to have provided against those Evils with the same Rigour: But though there would have been a general Consent in any Provision that could be made against the *Fanaticks* and the Conventicles, yet there would not be the like Concurrence against the *Papists*; and it was not possible to carry on the one without the other. And therefore the Court, that They might be sure to prevent the last, interrupted all that was proposed against the former, which They wished provided against, and chose to have neither out of Fear of Both; which increased the Disorders in the Country, and caused more Reflections upon the Court: So that this Session of Parliament produced less of Moment than any other.

AND the King, after They had given him four Subsidies, which was all the Money They could be drawn to give, that He might part as kindly with them as He used to do, and upon Discovery of several seditious Meetings amongst the Officers of the disbanded Army, which He

He could best suppress when He had most Leisure, He resolved to prorogue the Parliament, And so sending for them upon the 27th of *July*, He thanked them for the Present which They had made to him of the four Subsidies, "which," He told them, "He would not have received from them, if it were not absolutely necessary for their Peace and Quiet as well as his: And that it would yet do him very little Good, if He did not improve it by very good Husbandry of his own; and by retrenching those very Expenses, which in many Respects might be thought necessary enough. But They should see that He would much rather impose upon himself, than upon his Subjects; and that if all Men would follow his Example in retrenching their Expenses (which possibly They might do with much more Convenience than He could do his) the Kingdom would in short Time gain what They had given him that Day." He told them, "He was very glad that They were going into their several Countries, where their Presence would do much Good: And He hoped their Vigilance and Authority would prevent those Disturbances, which the restless Spirits of ill and unquiet Men would be always contriving, and of which his Majesty did assure them They promised themselves some Effects that Summer. And that there had been more Pains and unusual Ways taken to kindle the old fatal Fears and Jealousies, than He thought He should ever have lived to have seen, at least to have seen so countenanced."

*The King's  
Speech at the  
Prorogation  
of the Parlia-  
ment.*

He told them, "that He had expected to have had some Bills presented to him against the several Distempers in Religion, against seditious Conventicles, and against the Growth of Popery: But that it might be They had been in some Fear of reconciling those Contradictions in Religion into some Conspiracy against the publick Peace, to which himself doubted Men of the most contrary Motives in Conscience were inclinable enough. He did promise them that He would lay that Business to Heart; and the Mischiefs which might flow from those Licenses; and if He lived to meet with them again, as He hoped He should, He would himself take Care to present two Bills to them to that End. And that, as He had already given it in Charge to the Judges, in their several Circuits, to use their utmost Endeavours to prevent and punish the scandalous and  
"seditious

“seditious Meetings of *Sectaries*, and to convict the *Papists*; so He would be as watchful, and take all the Pains He could, that neither the one or the other “should disturb the Peace of the Kingdom.” And adding many gracious Expressions of his Esteem and Confidence in their Affections, He caused them to be prorogued towards the End of *March*, which would be the Beginning of the Year 1664.

*The King intends to prepare two Bills against the Papists and Sectaries.*

THE King had an Intention at that Time to have prepared against the next Meeting two such Bills as He mentioned to them, and was well enough content that the Parliament had not presented such to him, which He well foresaw would not have been such as He should have been pleased with. He would have liked the most rigorous Acts against all the other Factions in Religion, but did not think the *Papists* had deserved the same Severities, which would have been provided against them with the other, it being very apparent, that the Kingdom generally had resumed their old Jealousies of them, provoked by the very unwary Behaviour of that People, who bragged of more Credit in the Court than They could justify, though most Men thought They had too much: And that was the Reason that He had commanded the Chancellor to require the Judges, who were then beginning their Circuits, to cause the *Roman Catholics* to be convicted, which He believed would allay much of the Jealousies in the Country, as for the present it did. And then He resolved to cause two such Bills to be prepared for several Reasons, of which the principal was, that He might divide them into two Bills; presuming that when He had sent one against either, They would not affect reducing Both into one, which was that which the Catholick Party most apprehended.

*Imprudent Behaviour of the Papists.*

HIS Majesty was himself very unsatisfied with the imprudent Carriage of the *Catholicks*, and thought They did affect too much to appear as if They stood upon the Level with all other Subjects: And He received very particular and unquestionable Information, that some Priests had made it an Argument to some whom They endeavoured to make their Profelytes, “that the King “was of their Religion in his Heart, and would shortly “declare it to all the World;” with which his Majesty was marvellously offended, and did heartily desire that  
any

any of those indiscreet Persons might be proceeded against with Severity. Yet He had no Mind that any Man should be put to Death, which could hardly be avoided if any Man should be brought to Trial in the Case aforesaid, except He had granted his Pardon, which with these Circumstances would have carried Scandal in it. Besides He did think the wisest of that Party had not carried themselves with Modesty enough, with what was good for themselves and for his Majesty's Honour. And therefore He had, without imparting it to any Friends of theirs, given that Direction to the Judges for convicting them, as the best Means to reclaim them to a better Temper: And He had a Purpose, that the Bill He meant should be prepared should more effectually perform that Part, without exposing them to any notable Inconveniences in their Persons or their Fortunes, if They behaved themselves well and warily.

He did believe, that it was necessary for his Service that They should be all convicted, that it might be evident to himself what their Numbers consisted of and amounted to, which He believed would be found much inferiour to what they were generally computed, and then the Danger from their Power would not be thought so formidable: And it could be no Prejudice to them without a further Proceeding upon their Conviction, which He was resolved to restrain, as He well might, and had done hitherto; resolving within himself, that no Man should suffer under those penal Laws which had been made against them in the Age before, if They lived like good Subjects, and administered no Occasion of Scandal. And as He was not reserved in declaring that his gracious Purpose towards them (as hath been said before); so hitherto it had not been attended by any Murmurs: And yet He was not without a Purpose of keeping such a Power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

*The King designs to have the Papists convicted.*

- (190) His Majesty did in his Judgment and Inclination put a great Difference between those *Roman Catholics*, who being of antient Extraction had continued of the same Religion from Father to Son, without having ever been *Protestant*, amongst whom there were very few who had not behaved themselves very worthily; and those, who since the late Troubles had apostatized from the Church of *England* to that of the *Roman*, without any such Evidence

dence of Conscience, as might not administer just Reason to suspect, that their Inducements had been wholly from worldly Temptations. And He did resolve in his Bill to make a Distinction between those Classes, and to prevent or at least to discourage those Lapses which fell out too frequently in the Court; nor did Men believe that They need make any Apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all Places. He did resolve likewise to contract and lessen the Number of the Ecclesiastical Persons, who upon Missions resorted hither as to an Infidel Nation (which was and is a Grievance that the *Catholicks* would be glad to be eased in), and to reduce them into such an Order and Method by this Bill, that He might himself know the Names of all Priests remaining in the Kingdom, and their several Stations where They resided; which must have produced such a Security to those who stayed, and to those with whom They stayed, as would have set them free from any Apprehension of any Penalties imposed by preceding Parliaments.

*Measures taken to frustrate his Design.*

BUT this Design (which comprehended many other Particulars) vanished as soon as it was discovered. The King's own Discourse of a Bill that He would cause to be drawn against the *Roman Catholicks* awakened great Jealousies; nor did They want Instruments or Opportunities to discover what the Meaning of it could be. Nor was the King reserved in the Argument, but communicated it with those who He knew were well affected to that Party, and to one or two of themselves who were reputed to be moderate Men, and to desire Nothing but the Exercise of their Religion with the greatest Secrecy and Caution, and who often informed him and complained "of the Folly and Vanity of some of their Friends, and more particularly of the Presumption of the *Jesuits*." And such Kind of Factions and Divisions there are amongst them, which might be cultivated to very happy Productions: But such Ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own Pretences, there is not amongst them.

THESE moderate Men complained already, "that the King was deceived by their Enemy the Chancellor," who indeed was generally very odious to them, for no other Reason, but because They knew He was irreconcilable to their Profession; not that They thought He desired that the Laws should be put in Execution against them;

them; and some of the chief of them believed him to be much their Friend, and had Obligations to him. But They all lamented this Direction given to the Judges for their Conviction, "which," They informed the King, "was the necessary Preamble to the highest Persecution the Law had prepared against them. That till They were convicted They were in the same Predicament with the rest of his Subjects; but as soon as They were convicted" (which the Judges now caused to be prosecuted throughout the Kingdom), "They were liable to all the other Penalties, which his Majesty was inclined to protect them from." They presented to him a short Memorial of the Disadvantages which were consequent to a Conviction, in which They alleged some Particulars which were not clear in the Law, at least had never been practised in the severest Times.

(191) THOUGH the King had well weighed all He had done before He did it, and well knew, after all their Insinuations and Allegations, that none of those Inconveniences could ensue to them, if He restrained any further Prosecution, which He always had intended to do; yet They wrought so far upon him, that He was even sorry that He had proceeded so far: And though it was not fit to revoke any Part of it, yet He cared not how little it was advanced. And for the Bill He meant to present in the next Session, They said "all their Security and Quiet They had enjoyed since his Majesty's happy Return depended wholly upon the general Opinion, that He had Favour for them, and Satisfaction in their Duty and Obedience as good Subjects, and their Readiness to do him any Service, which They would all make good with their Lives and all that They had. But if He should now discover any Jealousy of their Fidelities, and that there was Need of a new Law against them, which his Purpose of providing a Bill implied, what Mitigation soever his Majesty intended in it, it would not be in his Majesty's Power to restrain the Passion of other Men; but all those Animosities which had been hitherto covered and concealed, as grateful to him, would upon this Occasion break out to their Destruction: And therefore They hoped, that whatever Bitterness the Parliament might express against them when They came together, They should receive no Invitation or Encouragement

“ragement by any Jealousy or Displeasure his Majesty  
“should manifest to have towards them.”

*The King  
gives over his  
Purpose.*

THESE and the like Arguments, or the Credit of those who urged them, made that Impression, that He declined any further Thought of that Bill; nor was there ever after Mention of it. The *Catholicks* grew bolder in all Places, and conversant in those Rooms of the Court into which the King's Chaplains never presumed to enter; and to crown all their Hopes, the Lady declared herself of that Faith, and inveighed sharply against the Church She had been bred in.

*End of the FIRST VOLUME.*







